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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

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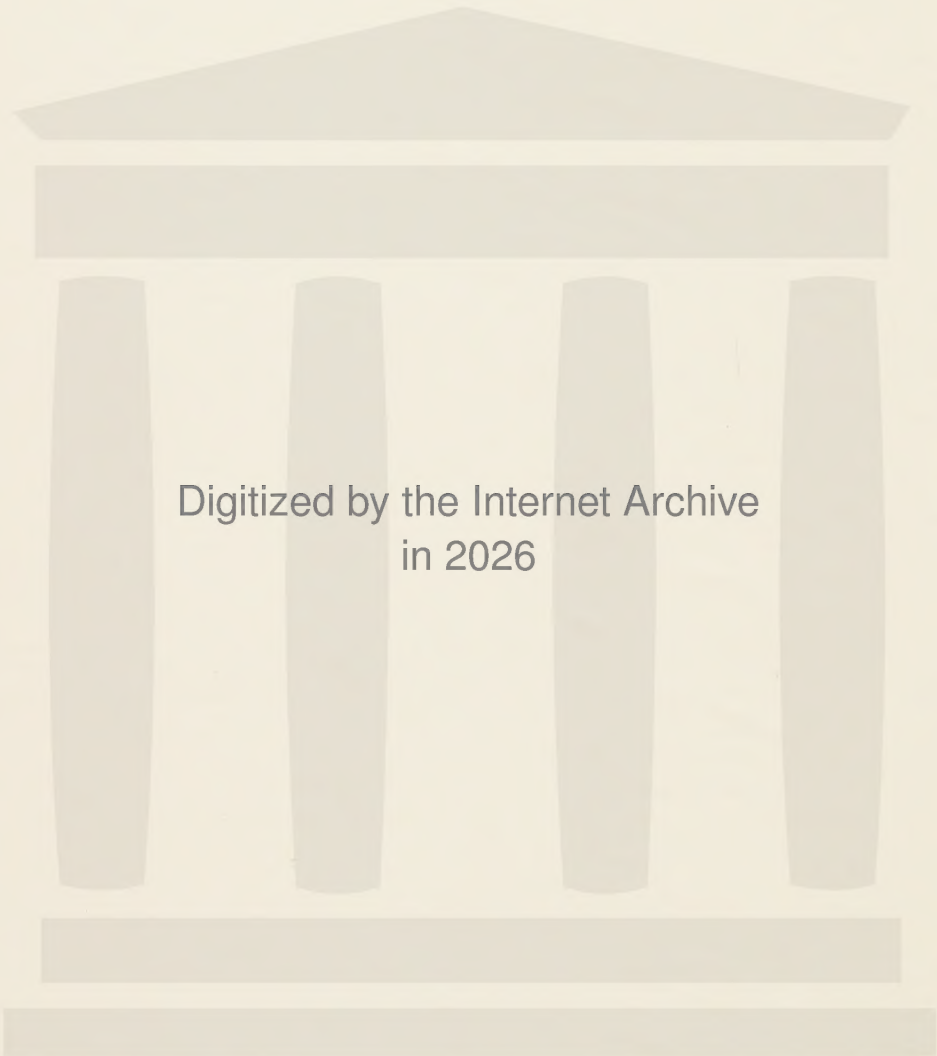
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HENRY R. WAGNER

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

N. ISRAEL

AMSTERDAM - 1969

Le vray portraict du Cappitaine Draeck, lequel a circuit toute la terre, en trois annees, moins deux mois, et 17. iours, il partit du Royaulme D'Angleterre, le 13. de Decembre 1577. et fist son retour audict Royaulme, le 26. iour de Sept. 1580.

Paul^us de la Houue excud.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

ITS AIMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

BY

HENRY R. WAGNER

JOHN HOWELL

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PREFACE

Nearly three hundred and fifty years have elapsed since Francis Drake reached home in 1580, and during all that time the glamour produced by the treasure he brought back, stupendous for those times, has sufficed to throw into total obscurity the real object of the expedition. Those who were not blinded by the dazzle of gold and did not approve Drake's freebooting methods took comfort in the fact that he had accomplished a great feat in circumnavigating the globe, forgetful of the fact that Magellan's *Victoria* had sailed over a similar route fifty years before.

Since he returned, his exploits on this voyage have been recorded in numberless books, but few attempts have been made to rewrite the account from the available documents, almost everyone being satisfied to accept the *World Encompassed* as a faithful representation of the events. The first writer to employ his critical faculties to do this was Commodore James Burney. Besides the *World Encompassed*, he used those accounts printed by Richard Hakluyt, and a few documents he found in the British Record Office. In 1898, Sir Julian S. Corbett wrote another story of the voyage. In addition to the material available to Burney, Corbett was able to make use of some which in the meantime had been found in the Spanish and British archives. His account is therefore much fuller and better than that of Burney, although marred by a display of inordinate admiration for Drake. His work, in fact, is the apotheosis of Drake, and as such can only be accepted by Drake's unconditional admirers. For the last three years, I have made in person and through agents in London and Seville, a continued search for further evidence, and some success has been attained. As it is hardly likely that any other document of real value will be discovered in the future, it seems not inopportune to attempt once more to reconstruct the voyage with the aid of all the available material bearing on the subject, and restore the enterprise to its true status as the first expedition sent out by English adventurers for the discovery of new trades to reach the fabled Spice Islands of the East. Drake made some kind of treaty

with the Sultan of Ternate for future trade based on mutual concessions, and if he brought home only a few spices, it was because his hold was already filled with silver. Such were the real aims and lasting achievements of the expedition.

It has seemed advisable for readier reference to reproduce the English contemporary accounts of the voyage and such of those of Spanish origin as contain anything of real value. It would perhaps be a meritorious work to bring together all the documents bearing on the voyage, but they are so numerous and some so long that the task is beyond my resources. Besides this, many, especially the stories of Drake's prisoners, contain the same statements and a mere accumulation of such means nothing; all the essential facts can be obtained from a few. An analysis of the cartographical documents illustrating the course of the voyage is included.

In the story of the voyage my aim has been to present all the facts known regarding it of any importance, leaving to my readers to consult the original texts where my notices may be thought too brief. In making up the narrative it has been necessary, naturally, to exercise a choice where the accounts conflict, and I have made it a rule in such cases to follow those which seem to me to be the earliest, the best corroborated, and the least likely to have been affected by reasons of state or a desire to please the public.

I have added a chapter in which the facts about Edward Fenton's expedition are set forth as briefly as possible, as the claim has been made that it was sent out in 1582 to found a colony on the Northwest coast of America, and as an account of it is necessary for the due understanding of many things connected with that of Drake. In marked contrast to the paucity of English documents concerning the voyage of Drake, those relating to that of Fenton still extant are numerous. From them we get a very good picture of the way expeditions were prepared and financed at that time, which is of the greater value since none of a similar character about Drake's expedition have survived. The extracts printed herein from the documents of the Record Office in London and the correspondence of Bernardino de Mendoza, will, I think, go far to sustain the views which I have set forth on some of the disputed questions about

Drake's voyage. It was from reading the narratives of the Fenton expedition written by Madox and Hawkins, in which the design of diverting that expedition from its legitimate object of a trading voyage to the Moluccas to another raid into the South Sea is disclosed, that I first became convinced that something similar had happened on Drake's voyage.

During the four years in which I have been engaged on this work I have received assistance from many friends. I take this opportunity of extending my thanks to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Miss Alice H. Lerch and the staff in the Reserve Section of the New York Public Library, Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth and Miss Gertrude E. Robson of the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, Mr. Edward Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. F. G. Sprent of the Department of Cartography of the British Museum, Dr. C. Hart Merriam of Washington, Dr. A. L. Kroeber of Berkeley, and Dr. George Watson Cole of Pasadena. I am also indebted to Miss Dorothy H. Huggins and Mr. Charles L. Camp of Berkeley for valuable suggestions.

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PART I

THE VOYAGE

INTRODUCTION

THE idea that Cathay, as Marco Polo called China, could be reached by sailing around America to the northwest began to be current shortly after 1492. John Cabot and especially his son, Sebastian, seem to have been the principal persons in England engaged in propagating the idea.[1] Various efforts were made during the closing years of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth to find the passage, not only by the English, but by other nations as well. The strait was purely imaginary, its existence being supported by hypothetical reasoning, but as time went on, stories of voyages through it began to float around and were used by believers as evidence corroborative of their theories. Some time about 1540, possibly even as early as 1520,[2] a story began to circulate that the Portuguese had passed through from the Pacific to the Atlantic. It obtained sufficient currency perhaps to induce the Emperor, Charles V, to send instructions to his Viceroy in New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, to send an expedition up the west coast of America to investigate the matter and to see if the western entrance to the strait could be found.[3] The failure of all the expeditions sent out discouraged the financial backers, although Sebastian Cabot, who seems to have been the chief promoter, continued to maintain his conviction that the passage existed.

While the valuable parts of the newly discovered world were being occupied by others, the English stood idly by, occasionally arousing from their lethargy long enough to send out another expedition in search of the fabled passage, or to go through the motions of preparing for one. About the middle of the sixteenth century it began to dawn on them that they were being left out in the cold. They were in the position of a hungry man on the sidewalk looking through a window at two gentlemen seated at a banquet table within. A Spaniard seemed to have on his side all that part of the world where the precious metals were to be found, and a Portuguese opposite, the other part where spices were produced. Although in England food was plentiful, yet it was coarse, and spices, which help to make this palatable, could only be obtained at high prices, and as for silver and gold, which were the sinews of war at least, English products had to be exported to obtain them by way of trade, and

goods suitable for this purpose were few and commanded relatively low prices.

Although in a general way information regarding the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries must have reached England, chiefly by word of mouth from merchants trading in Spain and Portugal or by letters from those settled there, published accounts about them existed only in foreign languages which but few except those of the educated class could read. By about 1545, the treasures of gold and silver which the natives in Peru, Mexico and Colombia had accumulated had been found and appropriated by the Spaniards, and aside from washing the sands for gold but little mining was being done. The gold and silver had come to Spain and had been largely dispersed over Europe by Charles V in his various foreign enterprises. A new era of vast and increasing production of silver from newly discovered mines in Mexico and Peru was just about to begin. Pedro de Valdivia was soon to embark on his career of conquest in Araucania where he discovered some richer gold placers than any hitherto found.[4]

While, therefore, there was a lull in the excitement caused by discoveries of the precious metals in the New World, the passage of the spice trade out of the hands of the Venetians into those of the Portuguese was beginning to attract the interest and cupidity of other nations. The Portuguese had reduced the prices of spices considerably, but the profits were still enormous, even after allowing for the losses of vessels and their cargoes in the long voyages between Lisbon and Calicut. In 1544, Sebastian Münster published in Basle his famous *Cosmographia* in which some account of this trade is given, and in 1550, Giovanni Battista Ramusio published his first volume of voyages, in which he gave a more extended account of it and a description of Muscovy and Cathay. In that of Cathay he tells the story about Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, who, having passed great deserts, reached the ocean where he found ships loaded with merchandise and with gold and silver pelicans at their prows. From signs made by the mariners on board it was calculated that they had been thirty days on the voyage from their country, and consequently it was thought that the ships must certainly have come from Cathay.[5]

A number of English merchants, influenced perhaps by these stories, formed in 1552 the Muscovy Company which sent out in 1553 an expedition under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby to open trade with Russia.[6] He was also to negotiate with Cathay in case

he should be fortunate enough to reach that country, as at that time, no doubt inspired by Ramusio's account, it was believed that that country could be reached by sea north of Russia. This was called the Northeast Passage, and various unsuccessful attempts were made by the English to pass through it before the end of the century.

Interest in England in these enterprises was stimulated by the publications of Richard Eden. In 1553, he issued a little tract called, *A treatyse of the newe India,* an extract from Münster's *Cosmographia,* and in 1555 he published his famous *Decades of the newe worlde or west India.* The first part of this book contains a translation of the first three decades of Peter Martyr,[7] and Peter Martyr's account of Yucatan and Mexico,[8] to which Eden added the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan, extracts from Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, and such parts of Ramusio as treated of spices, of Muscovy and of Cathay. Notices regarding Russia were also inserted from other authors.

About 1565, the project of reaching the East by way of the Northwest Passage must have been revived, as on May 30 of that year, Anthony Jenkinson addressed a memorial to the Queen in regard to opening up trade by the North Sea, that is, the Northeast Passage.[9] He gave some opinions concerning the feasibility of the Northwest Passage and said he was not satisfied of their correctness. November 17, 1566, a bill passed Parliament incorporating a company for discovery of new trades.[10] It was entitled "The Fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of new trades" and seems to have continued to exist for some time. After the bill had been passed, Sir Humphrey Gilbert memorialized the Queen twice, stating that he was one of the company and wished to attempt the project as soon as possible.[11] An answer to this petition was presented by William Garrard and Rowland Harward in behalf of the Muscovy Company January 23, 1567.[12] From this it appears that the object of the new company was to subdue and take possession of all heathen towns, islands and mainlands lying to the north, northeast and northwest of England. To this, the Muscovy Company objected, claiming that they had been granted an exclusive right to traffic in, visit, or sail to any such country which had not been discovered. From this time dates Gilbert's interest, apparently, in the discovery of the Northwest Passage; his object was not one of discovery pure and simple, but only to find a shorter and more direct route to the East where he expected to develop a profitable trade.

Although as early as 1540, a map by Sebastian Münster appeared in the Basle "Ptolemy" showing America as separated from Asia by water, and with a passage extending eastward to the Atlantic, it was not until Gerard Mercator endorsed this idea that the Northwest Passage began to figure largely in the literature of the day.[13] On Münster's map there is a legend near the east end of the passage, "per hoc fretū iter patet ad Molucas." The land to the north side of the passage is called "Terra Nova sive de Bacalhos," and from this, no doubt, the passage came to be known as the "Strait of Bacallaos."

In 1562, however, Giacomo Gastaldi, from a study of Marco Polo's voyage, came to the conclusion that America was separated from Asia by a strait. In order to demonstrate his views, he published a small pamphlet[14] and perhaps constructed a map which seems never to have been published.[15] In 1564 Abraham Ortelius issued a map in Antwerp[16] on which appears a strait some four hundred miles wide, separating the two continents, and a passage north of America is also shown with a connection to the Atlantic. In some respects this map conforms to Gastaldi's ideas. In 1566 Bolognino Zaltieri produced his famous map of Nova Francia, in which a strait also appears, labeled *Streto di Anian*, between America and Asia, but very much narrower than Ortelius' strait. The *Streto* only connects the Pacific with a *Mare Setentrionale Incognita* to which on the east there was an entrance between Greenland and the mainland of America. From this time on, the Strait of Anian began to figure largely in the imaginary geography of America. Although the existence of such a strait between the Pacific and a polar sea does not of necessity imply another connection between the latter and the Atlantic, yet such had already been indicated by Münster. In current literature, the passage north of America continued to be called for a long time, the "Strait of the Bacallaos," the name "Anian" being restricted to that part which immediately separated Asia and America, but later the whole passage was frequently referred to as the "Strait of Anian."

Sometime in 1573 a petition was prepared, asking a grant for a company for discovery of land beyond the Equinoctiall,[17] and March 22, 1574, another was presented to the Queen[18] and another similar to it to the Lord High Admiral,[19] by some gentlemen in the west part part of England, asking her to allow an enterprise "for the discovery of sundry riches and unknown lands." The former document is endorsed on the back "Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham,

Mr. Carleill, Sir Richard Grenville and others." Whether the grant was allowed by the Queen or not is not known, but there must have been some results, as an expedition seems to have been fitted out at that time, to which reference was made by the Spanish agent in London in a letter dated May 17, 1574, written to the Spanish governor of the Netherlands.[20] In this it is said that

> An English gentleman named Grenfield (Grenvile), a great pirate, and another called Champerknowne, Vice-Admiral of the West, a co-father-in-law with Montgomeri, with others, recently armed seven ships, four large and three small, with the avowed intention of going on a voyage of discovery to the Labrador, but the real intention was to help Montgomeri in Normandy, which is very near the west coast. Since Montgomeri's defeat it is said they will be too late to help him, and they consequently assert that they are going to the straits of M(agellan?), their fleet being increased by three sail, making 10 ships in all, amongst which is the "Castle of Comfort," a celebrated ship of 240 tons, the largest of them. The fleet is very well fitted and sound, and will carry 1,500 men, soldiers and sailors, 500 of them being gentlemen. The real design is not yet known, as there are so many plans afoot, but, as they are going in this guise, they probably mean to sack some of the islands and lie in wait for the ships from the Indies and other merchantmen. They say they are taking with them a store hulk of 600 tons, with provisions, but I believe it is more likely to carry their plunder than to take stores. They sail this month.

There is nothing about this expedition in current English literature nor any further reference to it in the Spanish correspondence, but undoubtedly it was the same as the one mentioned by John Butler and John Oxenham, English prisoners in Lima, in their declarations made on February 20, 1579, before the Inquisitors.[21] A few days previously, Drake had made a raid on the ships in the harbor of Callao, and they were brought up for examination to see if anything could be learned from them regarding Drake or his expedition or whether the Queen of England was entertaining any project to found settlements on the coasts of the North or South seas. John Butler testified that a gentleman named Grenville had applied to the Queen for a license to found one towards the Rio de la Plata, in a country which was reported by the Portuguese to be very rich, and had bought four ships for that purpose. The Queen had demanded that a security be given in the sum of thirty to forty thousand pounds that they would not touch any country belonging to the King of Spain, and on this account the expedition had been given up and the ships sold. He also testified that Grenville expected, after having established his settlement on the Rio de la Plata, to pass through the Strait and make others wherever a good country

could be found. He said that Francis Drake had often spoken to him saying that if the Queen would grant him a license he would pass through the Strait and found a colony on the west side in some good land. Oxenham testified that four years previously, Grenville had bought two vessels and thought of buying four more in order to pass through the Strait of Magellan and take possession of some land which the King of Spain had not occupied, but that the Queen had opposed this for fear that he might do some harm in the territories of her brother, King Philip.

From the above declarations it is not very clear just what Grenville intended to do, but it is likely that his real plan was to take possession of the province of Arauco in Chile. Great stories were then current about the richness of the gold mines in that country, which however, could only be worked on a very limited scale as the Araucanian Indians by this time had succeeded in driving the Spaniards out of most of the open country into a few fortified towns.[22] The same idea that Grenville may have had about this province was later embraced by a company which sent out John Chidley's expedition, according to the account of it written by W. Magoths.[23] He said, "The voyage was intended for the streight of Magellan for the South Sea, and chiefly for the famous province of Arauco on the Coast of Chili." Whether there was ever any serious intention of making settlements either in the neighborhood of the Rio de la Plata or in Chile may be questioned. Probably both Grenville and Chidley were simply using this as a pretext in order to get into the South Sea and then to plunder the Spaniards,[24] a business which about that time became an established English industry in the West Indies and the North Atlantic, localities to which it was confined, until Drake discovered an equally fruitful field elsewhere.[25]

In 1576, a little tract by Sir Humphrey Gilbert was published which had a great influence on subsequent English enterprise.[26] It was entitled *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new passage to Cataia*, and with it was printed a very crude map copied from that issued by Abraham Ortelius in 1564. In his pamphlet, Gilbert advances sundry arguments to prove that there must be a Northwest Passage, claiming it was a better one than the Northeast Passage even if there were any that way, and dilates upon the great advantages that England would derive from finding a short cut to the rich lands of the East. As one of the supports to his theory of a Northwest Passage, and indeed his principal one, is a story which he tells to the

effect that in 1568 a Spaniard named Salvaterra told Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland, in his presence, that one Andrew Urdaneta had told him in Mexico eight years before that he had gone through the Northwest Passage to Germany, and that he had shown him a chart made by himself in which the Passage was set down and described as in the Ortelius map. No doubt the reference was to the Ortelius map of 1564, which Gilbert had copied for his book, and not to that of 1570,[27] which although showing a passage between the two seas, does not conform in that respect to Gilbert's description of it. Salvaterra or Gilbert was mistaken; it was only in 1565 that Miguel Lopez de Legaspi had obtained a permanent footing in the Philippines, and in the latter part of that year had sent Andres de Urdaneta back to Acapulco by the northern route on his now famous return voyage on which the route afterward followed by the Philippine galleons was discovered.[28] It does not appear that Salvaterra was referring to this voyage which had taken place only some two years or more before he told this story, but more likely to some story of the Portuguese passing through that way,[29] which he may have heard from Urdaneta in 1560 and had misunderstood.[30]

In June, 1576, Martin Frobisher set out to find this Northwest Passage and discovered what is now known as Frobisher's Strait, which he considered was the eastern entrance to the Passage. He thought that the land on the north side of this was Asia and that on the south side, America. He came back in October with a stone, which on being submitted to a gold finder in London was thought to be rich in gold. As a result of this discovery a second voyage was financed in 1577 to bring back gold ore, and Frobisher after succeeding in obtaining two hundred tons, returned in the latter part of September. The third expedition went out in 1578 and brought back thirteen hundred tons of ore which turned out to contain no gold at all.[31]

Frobisher's expeditions were all financed by companies, comprised chiefly of merchants.[32] The joint-stock company had not yet been invented—that is to say, an organization which acts under a general law and issues shares representing the amount which each stockholder has contributed. The method of working these operations seems to have been for a few people to undertake to raise the money necessary, somewhat as underwriters do at present, who then distributed interests to their friends or the public as the case might be. The total amount subscribed was what might be called the capital,

and each person interested was said to have so many pounds in the venture; for instance, if the total stock was 5,000 pounds and an adventurer had 1,000 pounds in it, he really had a twenty per cent interest and was entitled to that percentage of the proceeds when the venture was liquidated. The Queen herself as an individual was a subscriber to many enterprises of this character, and so were many of the members of the Council, especially Francis Walsingham, Christopher Hatton[33] and the Earl of Leicester, who seem to have been the most enterprising or perhaps the most venturesome. Mendoza was accustomed to refer to these three as the principal supporters of pirates, as he invariably called the captains of the industry of plundering his Majesty's subjects, but to their credit it may be said that their names will be found as subscribers to other expeditions which could have had no such object in view.

Drake's expedition was probably planned shortly after the appearance of Gilbert's pamphlet in April, 1576.[34] It may be that the results achieved by Frobisher during his voyage of 1576, among which, in his opinion, was the finding of an eastern entrance to a so-called passage, had something to do with it, but on the whole it seems more likely that in a sense, Drake's voyage was complementary to that of Frobisher, rather than one of its results. Getting to the Spice Islands of the East was the object of both. Evidently, however, Drake believed in the existence of this Passage as Bernardino de Mendoza wrote, January 9, 1581,[35] that Frobisher was again being urged to undertake a new voyage for the discovery of the Northwest Passage, and that Drake was of the opinion that it certainly must exist. As nothing had transpired since 1577 to strengthen the belief in its existence, it may be considered that Drake had held the same opinion when he set out in that year, although this must have been modified by the results of Frobisher's two expeditions. A very patent fact existed, however, that even if the strait he had discovered was the entrance to a continuous one to the Pacific, it was not navigable. He had been there in the summer and found his advance barred by fields of ice.

At this time, Francis Drake was by no means an unknown man. His remarkable exploits on the Isthmus must have given him a reputation for daring, and the good luck which attended him during most of his early life must already have been noted. He had certainly earned the enmity of the Spaniards who had already had occasion to complain about him. This probably, however, only

FRANCISCVS DRAECK NOBILISSIMVS EQVES ANGLIÆ ANNO ÆT SVÆ 43
ASIA
OCEANVS
Habes Lector candide veritatis ac virtutis Divus Draecus ad vivum imaginem qui toto terrarum orbe, diuturnis annorum, et incognitum decem spatijs, Zephiris faucibus circumductos, Angliam sedes proprias, 4. Cal. Octobris anno à partu Virginis 1580 revisit cum aurea portu solvisset Id. Decemb. anno 1577.

The so-called Hondius Portrait from the original plate

added to his popularity in England, and any disability which he had incurred by reason of his attacks on them having been removed either by lapse of time or a change in the Queen's policy, he was chosen as the man best available among English seamen to head a new effort to reach the East by a route hitherto untried by his fellow countrymen.

The man himself and his previous history now call for a little attention. Of his early life, nothing of importance has ever been added to the very brief account which William Camden says he obtained from Drake himself.[36] There is much difference of opinion as to when he was born, the only definite contemporary statement being by Antonio de Herrera, who wrote in 1606 that Drake was fifty-two years old at the time of his death, February 7, 1596.[37] From this it would appear that he had been born in 1543, which seems the more likely as the portrait of him, containing the legend to the effect that he was forty-three years of age, was most probably made at the time of his visit to Holland in 1586.[38]

He saw the light of day on a farm near Plymouth in Devonshire, called Crowndale, and came of a family which would now be called in England the lower middle class. His forbears were tillers of the soil under leases which in those days almost constituted them owners. By payment of a small yearly fixed rental such persons enjoyed the practical benefits of ownership without being subjected to the burdens attaching to holding land in fee simple. His father's name was Edmund, and Francis was the eldest of twelve children, the names of most of whom are unknown. He probably received little or no education, as his crabbed handwriting indicates; Herrera even says he barely knew how to read and write.[39] There is abundant evidence, however, that he had received religious instruction from some Puritan source, either his father, who is supposed to have held that persuasion, or his master, the sea captain.

At some early age, by reason of the poverty of his father, he was apprenticed to the owner of a small coasting vessel which made, no doubt, occasional voyages to France and Holland.[40] He is now completely lost to sight until he appears with John Hawkins in 1568 at Vera Cruz; but he told Camden that his master, when he died, willed him the little vessel, which he speedily sold and with the proceeds set out from Kent, on the coast of which he therefore seems to have been living, and went to Plymouth, taking along some sailors to join Hawkins who he had heard was setting on foot some

expedition to the West Indies. Probably this was in 1564 when Hawkins was preparing his first expedition to Guinea.[41] He was later placed in command of one of the small vessels called the *Judith,* in Hawkins' second expedition which came to grief in the harbor of Vera Cruz.[42] Drake escaped on that fateful occasion with the *Judith,* into which Hawkins had placed the gold he had accumulated in trade, and arrived in England in January 1569, five days before Hawkins. He was charged with having deserted Hawkins during the fight, and the latter's studied omission to mention Drake's name in the narrative he published after his return gives some color to the assertion.[43] The Spanish writers always claimed that on that occasion Drake ran off with the gold and thus laid the foundation of his fortune.[44] Later, in the South Sea, Drake talked a great deal to his prisoners about the money he had lost on this occasion by the perfidy of the Viceroy, Martin Enriquez, and about how much money the Spaniards owed him; but it is not easy to see how he lost anything since he escaped with his ship, and it is still less easy to see how the Spaniards owed him anything, in view of the spoil he afterwards took from them on his own expedition to Nombre de Dios, a trifling matter no doubt which he always forgot to mention.

In 1570, Drake went to the Spanish Main with two small ships, and in 1571 with a single one of only forty tons burden, and relieved some barks in the Chagres River of a large quantity of valuable goods and some gold and silver. In May, 1572, backed perhaps by Sir William Winter and some of the Hawkins family, he started out with the *Pascha* of seventy-five tons burden and the *Swan* of twenty-five on his renowned voyage to Nombre de Dios. His brother John commanded the *Swan* and altogether Drake had only seventy-three men.

On his previous voyage, he had probably learned all about the movement of silver across the Isthmus by mule trains to Nombre de Dios, where pending the arrival of the *flota* considerable quantities accumulated at times. He first landed in a small hidden harbor he had previously found, which lay at some distance to the east of that place, where he set up some pinnaces. Joined by Ranse, another English rover, he proceeded along the coast in four of these until they arrived at the mouth of the Rio San Francisco near Nombre de Dios. Early in the morning they attacked the town, finding the place practically unfortified, although there were a number of soldiers there. As a result of the surprise he soon gained possession of

the plaza and the Governor's house, in which were discovered some three hundred and sixty tons of silver. While endeavoring to find the gold and pearls, the Spanish soldiers and the townspeople having rallied, attacked him and his men, Drake himself being shot in the leg at the first volley. When he fainted, his men retreated to the boats, carrying him along, and in spite of his protests, rowed out to an island in the bay. Dissolving partnership with Ranse, Drake sailed away to some islands near Cartagena, where he captured two or three vessels. Knowing that the Spaniards would now provide Nombre de Dios with such a strong force that he could not take it with his few men, he evolved a scheme to capture one of the mule trains, but as at that season of the year they were not moving he was obliged to stay in hiding somewhere near the Magdalena River. Five months or more did he wait here, and only in February of 1573 did he begin his march across the Isthmus. Led by his friends the Cimarrones, who also in the capacity of spies had kept him abundantly supplied with information, in four or five days he arrived at the top of the range, where he looked out over the Pacific from the top of a tree, and it is said, made a vow to spread his sails thereon some day, God willing.[45] He soon reached the outskirts of Panama where he and his party lay concealed awaiting the passage of a special train of fourteen mules which he had been informed was to convey the treasurer of Lima and his daughter and a large quantity of gold and jewels across the Isthmus. Up to this point Drake's plan had been admirable, his calculations correct and the execution perfect, but at this moment all was spoiled by a drunken sailor. Drake had neglected to destroy all the liquor. Jumping up when he heard the noise of a horse's hoofs on the road, a gentleman rider saw his white shirt, and suspecting something was wrong, stopped the train of the treasurer of Lima and persuaded him to allow some others to pass on ahead. When these came opposite Drake's party in the darkness his men rushed out and captured them, only to find—food. Two mules only were loaded with silver. Instead of going back by the way he had come, Drake now took the road to Venta Cruz, which after a short fight he captured and sacked, burning the warehouses in the town.[46] In a short time he made his way back to his former camp. About this time a Frenchman, le Testu by name, appeared upon the scene with seventy men. All of Drake's party had died or been killed except thirty-one, but le Testu was willing to agree to a partnership arrangement calling for equal distribution of plun-

der,[47] and after the French had rested themselves, a new party was organized.

This time an attempt was made to capture a mule train almost in sight of Nombre de Dios. The train was guarded, but after a short fight in which le Testu was wounded, the Spaniards fled to the town. The raiders were unable to carry off the silver, some fifteen tons in weight, contenting themselves with what gold was found. The silver they buried and then hastened back to their boats, leaving le Testu on the way, too much disabled to walk, and a Frenchman who refused to leave his captain. Subsequently an effort was made to recover the buried silver, but the captured Frenchmen had been compelled to disclose the hiding places, and when Oxenham, who was in charge of the party, reached there, none of it was to be found except thirteen bars of silver and a little gold.

Drake purposely had had the *Swan* destroyed a long time before in order to prevent his men from returning in her,[48] and the *Pascha,* having been dismantled and given to some of his Spanish prisoners, he now set out to capture a new vessel in which to carry home his small crew and their plunder. He was soon successful in finding a well-built one of twenty-five tons, and breaking up the pinnaces, he loaded up his prize and another small vessel he had with food and gold and silver and made sail for Plymouth, where he arrived August 9, 1573, after an extraordinary voyage of only twenty-three days from the Cape of Florida to the Scilly Islands.

In the account of this expedition preserved in *Sir Francis Drake Revived,*[49] which is supposed in the main to have been written by Drake himself, more light is shed on his character than in the more numerous stories about the "Famous Voyage." He displayed a fertility in invention, a degree of audacity and boldness in execution of his plans rarely equalled. These qualities were combined with a thorough unscrupulousness and a cautiousness which never permitted him to take unnecessary chances.

The effect of these experiences on the Spanish Main was to imbue Drake with a profound contempt for Spanish valor and Spanish arms, and no doubt he soon matured in his mind a plan for another attack, but he had to wait a few years to carry it into effect. On his return he disappeared from view for several years, evidently fearing punishment. It seems from Corbett's researches that during a part if not all of the time he was in Ireland. While there, he probably met Thomas Doughty, who afterwards asserted, so it is

said, that he planned the "Famous Voyage" and went to see Walsingham and Hatton to enlist their support. Drake denied this and claimed to have been the originator of it himself. Between such absolutely contradictory statements it is difficult to choose, especially as they were both made during the time of strained relations between the two men. Walsingham and Hatton, however, were without much doubt two of the prime movers in the enterprise. Whether the objects of Doughty and Drake were the same may be questioned, but one thing seems certain and that is, that no matter what the former may have had in view, Drake himself planned to fulfill the vow which he had taken on the top of the tree where he looked out over the Pacific. No records exist in the British Archives which throw any light on the matter in dispute between them, nor has any document so far been unearthed which affords any information about the organization of his next expedition.

At this time England was at peace with Portugal and ostensibly so with Spain, but Spain's restrictive monopolistic colonial policy had begun to be felt in England as binding and as unduly hampering her newly felt aspirations. A great cry went up that she had a right to trade anywhere, and especially in the East, certainly with those potentates not subject to either Spain or Portugal. Not having any colonies of her own to keep to herself, she was extremely resentful of such efforts by other nations. According to all the axioms of state policy current at that time, a nation had a perfect right to restrict the trade of its colonies to its own subjects, and later when England had colonies of her own she followed exactly this same policy, the only difference being that she then had sufficient sea power to enforce her "navigation laws," while in 1577 neither Spain nor Portugal were in that position.

In the contraband trade which the French and English carried on with the American possessions of Spain and Portugal, most of which was attended with the use of force, many times not distinguishable from piracy, and in the slave trade which had already been begun by the English, they had no legal or moral leg on which to stand. In the East, however, and especially in China, Japan and the Indian Archipelago, the position of Spain and Portugal was not so securely planted, as it rested for its exclusive feature on the division of the New World made in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI.[50] The English did not recognize the validity of this famous document, especially after the Reformation, and claimed a right, not only to

navigate the Pacific Ocean, but to enter into trade relations with the natives, a right which they were entirely willing to maintain by force of arms if necessary. Every one of their expeditions destined to those parts for many years consisted of trading vessels so heavily armed that they could hardly be distinguished from men-of-war.

The revolt of the Netherlands had made matters worse, the English sympathized with the Dutch in their struggles with Spain, and even rendered them open as well as secret assistance. The Spanish King was extremely displeased at this, and even went so far later as to give some moral and financial support to an expedition organized by the Pope to help out the Irish Catholics who were in rebellion against the Queen. A sort of underground warfare existed between the two powers, who were in the position at this time of the two boys who were threatening to fight—"one was afraid and the other dassent."

CHAPTER I

THE OBJECTS OF THE VOYAGE

IN THE Introduction a short outline of the various attempts of English adventurers to open trade with the East has been given, and it has been shown that the voyage undertaken by Drake was in point of time, at least, contemporary with those of Frobisher which had that end in view. Notwithstanding the self-evident fact that Drake went to the Moluccas and settled the beginning of a future trade in both Ternate and Java, his contemporaries utterly failed to comprehend that this might have been either the sole or chief object of his expedition. They were so dazzled by the treasure he brought back and his success in bearding the Spanish lion in his hitherto unmolested den in the Pacific, that they forgot all about the cloves of the Moluccas. His circumnavigation of the globe appealed to their pride and they flattered themselves that a fellow-countryman had been the first after Magellan to accomplish what seemed to them a marvelous feat. Ignorant of the various Spanish passages through the Strait of Magellan after those of Magellan and Loaysa, they endorsed Drake's boast that he had opened a new route to Peru that way,[1] and unaware of the extent of Spanish exploration on the Northwest coast of America, claimed that he had discovered lands there far north of any previously seen. Although Drake availed himself of Spanish maps to reach the Moluccas and Portuguese ones to sail home from there, all mention of these was suppressed and his safe return across the Pacific past the Cape of Good Hope was considered little short of miraculous. So it came about that he passed into history as a freebooter and an explorer.

Shortly after his return, England became engaged in a struggle with Spain which lasted nearly twenty years. A change of policy brought peace for a time, but the wide-spread possessions of Spain and her weakness on the sea constituted an ever-standing temptation to her enemies. Another of these, Holland, soon rose to be a great naval power, and imitating England's methods, was successful in lopping off a few of Spain's distant possessions and more fortunate in the pursuit of treasure, captured the silver fleet,[2] thus inflicting a terrible blow on her adversary. Under such circumstances it need

cause no wonder that Drake's exploit of sailing round the world and his alleged discoveries gradually faded away and Drake as a freebooter became "The English Hero,"[3] resurrected on every occasion when his example seemed necessary to call his countrymen "to follow his noble steps for gold and silver."[4] In this rôle Drake paraded the pages of English literature for two centuries, and even today his exploits on the Spanish Main and the capture of the *Cacafuego* off the coast of Peru are the principal themes of his biographers of the romantic school. In forming this conception of his place in history, religious intolerance had no small part. In his day religion was the dominant passion and King Philip of Spain, as the head of the "Papists" and the chief supporter of the Pope of Rome, was the object of an intense hatred by Englishmen, who applauded Drake and even made him a popular idol as a personification of their own Protestant ideals.

While Spain soon ceased to be a menace to England as *the* great world power and a new aspirant for that position, France, took her place in the person of Louis XIV, England, in her efforts to enlarge her export trade, was continually blocked by Spain's restrictive colonial policy. The friction ensuing brought on new wars in which England aimed to force commercial concessions for her traders and when successful appropriated some of her enemies' overseas territories. In every contest *letters of marque* were freely issued to such of her adventurous seamen as were desirous of emulating the example of "The English Hero," and on every such occasion some new edition of this famous work appeared, making it almost possible to compile a chronology of England's disputes with Spain from the dates of the some seventeen or more editions of this little book.

The best statement of the opinions prevalent in England for over two centuries about the objects of Drake's expedition is contained in the work of James Burney, published in 1803.[5] He says:

> In 1577, was undertaken the celebrated voyage of Francis Drake into the South Sea. England and Spain still preserved the appearance of peace with each other, and the justice of Drake's undertaking has accordingly been a subject of much question. Arguments, indeed, may more readily be found in its exculpation than in its defence. Drake had himself first received injury from the Spaniards, he being one of those who accompanied Sir John Hawkins to *St. Juan de Ulloa,* in 1567-8. It is true that he had afterwards made himself some amends by reprisals upon the Spaniards: but he had seen the South Sea, and the golden dreams which that sight presented to his imagination, were a stimulant not easily to be resisted by a man of his enterprising and adventurous spirit.[6] . . . . The purposes of Discovery, or the

advancement of Science, were not among the motives of his voyage. Whatever journal or account he kept himself, the doubtful complexion of his undertaking would render him more solicitous to conceal than to make public.[7]

"The English Hero," today, in his character of freebooter, no longer appears so noble; times have changed. Drake must be invested with a new one more in keeping with the ideas of the day. Our heroes must be clothed with those attributes to which we attach the greatest importance. The nineteenth century produced a new standard of morality, and very early, evidence began to appear that a new set of habiliments was being prepared for him. His feat of circumnavigation now came to the front, and his plundering proclivities were relegated to the background in an apologetic manner. It began to be painful to English-speaking people to hear Drake referred to as a pirate; it began to be said that he was an explorer, even one of the greatest of all time. This movement has culminated in the pages of Sir Julian S. Corbett and Mrs. Zelia Nuttall. Sir Julian tells us in his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*[8] that Drake was a statesman with some hankering after colonization. Although he frequently refers in the course of his book to Drake as a pirate, his whole object was to gloss over his activities as a corsair by setting him forth in an entirely different light as an explorer and even as a statesman. He says:

The romantic fascination of his career as a corsair and explorer began, it is true, very shortly after his death to overshadow his work as an admiral and a statesman, but in his own time it was not so; and a principal object of the present work is to restore him to the position he once held as one of the great military figures of the Reformation[9] . . . . For an Englishman, whether the voyage be regarded as piracy or as a calculated affair of state, there must be always something irresistibly attractive in the personality of the man who thus first dared to challenge the Spanish dominion of the Pacific.[10]

In order to sustain his view of Drake as a statesman, Corbett inserted in his book an interesting chapter entitled, "Drake and the War Party." His object, apparently, was to elevate Drake's enterprise from that of a trading, exploring, or privateering expedition into a move in the game which he says was being played in the Court between a so-called "War party" and a so-called "Peace party."[11] It is beyond the scope of this book to enter into an examination of the Court intrigues in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and still less to try to arrive at any understanding of the tortuous course of her foreign policy. It is hardly possible, however, that the "War

party," of which the leading spirits, according to Corbett, were the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, seriously contemplated forcing the King of Spain into war with England by means of Drake's attacks on his subjects. That perhaps they were of the opinion that war with Spain was inevitable and therefore should be brought about at once, may be true, but that they expected to do this by making use of Drake seems a very far-fetched idea. The mere fact that Leicester and Walsingham may have had an interest in the enterprise, as they probably did, proves nothing on this particular point, as they were also subscribers to at least two of the Frobisher voyages, which could hardly have had any such purpose as Drake's is alleged by Corbett to have had. They were also interested in the Fenton expedition, which was certainly intended to be a trading expedition. In fact, Leicester, Walsingham and Hatton at heart were nothing but speculators willing to take a chance in any enterprise which promised a good profit. Even if Corbett's view of the designs of these men be accepted, it does not follow that Drake was privy to their plan, nor even granting that Leicester and Walsingham were statesmen that Drake was also. With his notorious greed for Spanish gold perhaps they were simply using him without acquainting him with the object they may have had in view.

Corbett was certain that Drake had discovered Cape Horn and implies that he also attempted to discover the northern strait, although apparently he was not quite sure of it. In speaking of Drake's efforts to induce Colchero to go with him he says, "In Drake's persistence we may read how small was his faith in the existence of a practicable northern passage. It is clear he was determined to solve the problem, if he might; but that already, with the instinct of the great navigator he was, he divined what the result would be."[12]

Although there is not a word in his book regarding any project which Drake might have had to found a colony, he threw out two hints, unsupported by any evidence whatever: "For the development of Drake's projects of colonial and commercial expansion his arrival [at Ternate] could hardly have been better timed."[13] Speaking of New Albion, he says, "So was sought to be established the first of those protectorates upon which so large a part of the British Empire has been built. Though it was destined to go no further, there can be small doubt that Drake believed he had laid the foun-

dations in America of a New England which was to rival New Spain. To a man so deeply impressed as he was with the cruelty of the Spaniards' native policy, it was perfectly natural that the Californians should wish to become the vassals of a monarch who could protect them."[14] This last suggestion was not lost on Mrs. Nuttall, who in her *New Light on Drake,* elaborated on it as follows in her Introduction:

> Whose hand but that of Drake, the explorer and discoverer, could have had the audacity to set limits to the Spanish and French possessions in America, and whose mind but his could have conceived, at that early period, the thought of so vast a country colonized by people of English extraction? It thus appears as though the present occupation of the North American Continent by the Anglo-Saxon race is, after all, but a realisation of what may be called Drake's Dream.[15] . . . . It was Drake's dream that in the "New England" of which he had thus laid the foundations (in defiance of the Papal Bull which had apportioned the New World between Spain and Portugal) the natives might, by kindly treatment and "the preaching of the Gospell be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and everlasting God." . . . . The New English Protestant colony was to offer a contrast to the Portuguese and Spanish dominions in America, conquered with bloodshed and ruled by methods which, as Drake had occasion to realize in Brazil and Mocha, had caused the natives to regard their conquerors as their worst enemies.[16]

Not content with the discovery of her "Drake's Dream," Mrs. Nuttall attempted to prove that when he sailed from England in 1577, his *greater* object was to found an agricultural colony on the Northwest coast of America, and she even asserted that Fenton's expedition of 1582 set out with a similar purpose.[17] She founded her opinion about Drake's intentions upon a statement made by John Oxenham in his deposition in Lima, February 20, 1579, a chance statement of Drake himself to Silva which she misinterpreted, and an erroneous translation of some words used by San Juan de Anton in describing Drake's cargo. Oxenham said that Drake had often told him that if the Queen would give him a license he would pass through the Strait of Magellan and make a settlement in some good country on that side. Silva said that Drake told him that he had come for an *otro* (that is, another) object than seizing vessels. Mrs. Nuttall translated *otro* as "greater," or in another place, "for something more." When Drake was showing Anton his cargo, the latter said that he saw some *herramientas* (that is, tools) and some *machetes de rozar* (that is, working-machetes). She translated *machetes de rozar* as "sickles," and *herra-*

mientas as "other agricultural implements." Even if the implements had been agricultural implements, which they were not, and Drake had really said that he had come "for a greater purpose," which he did not, this would afford little evidence that he intended to use the implements for an agricultural colony, and none at all that it was to be on the Northwest coast of America. If Drake ever told Oxenham what he related in Lima, the most reasonable interpretation would be that he wished to make a settlement in southern Chile. What might have been in Drake's mind when he took possession of Nova Albion can never be known, but considering his very practical nature it will take more than unsupported assertion to make any but myth builders and lovers of the romantic believe in his "Dream."

Drake was a product of his country and his age, and what Englishmen were looking for in those days were profits derived from trade. They wanted to exchange the products of England for gold and silver, or in default thereof, for valuable merchandise which could be used either for home consumption or for further trade abroad. Colonization in a country whose products were similar to those produced in England was the last thing which entered their heads. It was precisely for this reason that the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States was effected with such great difficulty and completed so slowly. Possibly it might have been considered good business to take possession of some country where gold and silver were produced, but no such wild idea as colonization of the Northwest coast of America, as suggested by some, ever entered the heads of Englishmen. The difficulties of keeping any settlement in such a region in the sixteenth century or even in the seventeenth would have proved insurmountable, certainly in the face of an active Spanish opposition which such an enterprise would have encountered. Even if such a colony could have maintained itself, it would have been of no benefit to the colonists or to England. The merchants and speculators who provided the funds for these expeditions would never have countenanced any project which simply contemplated the barren honor of possessing some remote country productive only of commodities which in the nature of things could not be transported to the home country, lacking as they did the necessary requisite of great value in small bulk. All that can be conceded is that perhaps Drake, and certainly Fenton, had instructions to plant a factory somewhere, if a good opportunity offered.

It is true that a factory might be called a colony, but in reality it bore no resemblance to one. The English afterwards set up numbers of factories throughout the East, which were nothing but fortified settlements to carry on trade and accumulate merchandise to be brought home by vessels sent out for that purpose.

Drake's alleged attempt to find the Northwest Passage is usually considered ample proof that the discovery of this was one of the objects of the expedition. The basis for the belief is very probably an ambiguous passage in the "Anonymous Narrative," in which it is said, "but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite hee turned back againe." This was repeated in somewhat similar language by John Stow,[18] Camden,[19] Thomas Blundeville[20] and Sir William Monson.[21] The same idea with the customary embellishments will be found in the *World Encompassed:*

> Considering also that the time of the yeare now drew on wherein we must attempt, or of necessitie wholly giue ouer that action, which chiefly our Generall had determined, namely, the discouery of what passage there was to be found about the Northerne parts of America, from the South Sea, into our owne Ocean (which being once discouered and made knowne to be nauigable, we should not onely do our countrie a good and notable seruice, but we also ourselues should haue a nearer cut and passage home; where otherwise, we were to make a very long and tedious uoyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we hauing been so long from home already, and so much of our strength seperated from vs), which could not at all be done if the opportunity of time were now neglected: we therefore all of vs willingly harkened and consented to our Generalls aduice, which was, first to seeke out some conuenient place wherein to trimme our ship, and store our selues with wood and water and other prouisions as we could get, and thence-forward to hasten on our intended iourney for the discouery of the said passage, through which we might with joy returne to our longed homes.[22]

In the various statements on the subject there is a certain suggestion of a process of a posteriori reasoning—Drake went to the Northwest coast where the strait was supposed to enter—ergo, he must have done so to look for it. Evidence will be produced in Chapter VI to show that the statement in the *World Encompassed* is untrue and that in reality Drake went to the Northwest coast for other and entirely different reasons. If the expedition had any such object in view, the instructions must have been to search for it after the Moluccas had been reached, as we must infer was the case in one afterward given to Edward Fenton in 1582:[23] "You shall not passe to the Northeastward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of the Malucos for the better

discovery of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, & within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do wel to be inquisitive, as occasion in this sort may serve."

It is usually stated that the expedition was entitled "An Expedition for Trade and Exploration,"[24] or "An Expedition for Discovery and other causes of Trade,"[25] but what was really meant was "An expedition for the discovery of new trades." Among all the accounts of English voyages at this period which have come down to us in the pages of Hakluyt, Purchas and others, none can be found in which discovery was the sole or even the principal object, and this must, from the very nature of the case, have been so. England was not rich enough to afford the luxury of setting forth expeditions bent on simple discovery. Profit had to be in view or funds could not be raised with which to finance them.

A great deal has been written about an effort to keep the object of the expedition from becoming known to Lord Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, and from this it is argued that he, being a well-known member of the "Peace party," must have been kept in ignorance of the true design, because if he had known it, he would have opposed it. Drake even went so far as to assert, according to the Cooke account, that the Queen had charged him especially to keep the objects of the expedition a secret from Burghley, and the final ostensible reason for executing Doughty was his admission that he had given the "plot" of the voyage to the Lord Treasurer.

By the "plot" of the voyage, is usually understood the plan to attack Spanish commerce on the west coast of America, but aside from the common belief that such was the real object of the expedition, there is no reason to suppose that that "plot" embraced such a purpose other than Drake's remarks when he heard that Doughty had given a copy of it to Burghley. The rage which Drake evinced at that moment appears to have been pretended, as his subsequent remarks seem to demonstrate. If Doughty was aware of Drake's intention to plunder the Spaniards and had communicated that knowledge to Burghley before leaving, it would have been a simple matter for the latter, if he had disapproved, to have stopped the expedition by direct order or by some indirect means. In order to get around this difficulty, Corbett has suggested that Burghley did not have sufficient power to stop the expedition but employed Doughty as an *agent provocateur* to go along with it and endeavor

to break it up.[26] What was to be gained by this fantastic move, or why Doughty waited until he reached the Cape Verde Islands to make the attempt is not explained. If such were the plan, the outcome proved how dangerous it was and also how impossible. It would have been far easier and safer for Doughty to have communicated the facts to the leaders in Plymouth before starting, as this course would have been entirely effective, subsequent events demonstrating that many of those embarked on the expedition refused to go through with it when they discovered Drake's real purposes.

Instead of the "plot" of the voyage indicating any piratical purpose, it must simply have shown the route of the expedition to the Moluccas, either by the Cape of Good Hope or by the Strait of Magellan,[27] and contained nothing to indicate that the design was to plunder the Spaniards. Why then should Burghley not have been informed of it? No good answer appears, unless the suggestion offered hereafter that the enterprise was an encroachment on the rights of the Muscovy Company be the correct one. Drake himself disclosed *his* "plot" of the voyage, and it may be doubted that there was a man in the fleet who knew it at the time of leaving except possibly some of those who had been his followers in his expedition of 1572, perhaps even none of them, as he must have felt well assured that they would follow him in any enterprise.

While on the coast of Peru, there is not a single one of Drake's actions that betokened any fear that news of his coming might have reached there before him, a fear which he might very reasonably have felt if he believed even his own statements made after Doughty had avowed giving the "plot" to Burghley, because he then tried to make the sailors believe that the King of Spain would find out something about his proposed enterprise, a knowledge which could only have been obtained through Burghley, according to the line of reasoning which Drake pursued. All this was pure pretence simply to deceive his hearers, as he was well aware that Burghley did not know his plan before leaving, for the simple reason that no one but he himself knew it.

Out of the mass of contradictory evidence on Doughty's troubles with Drake, which culminated in Doughty's execution, the fact plainly stands out that there was a party on board the ships which was not willing to follow Drake in some enterprise he proposed. Doughty was the leader of the party, of which John Winter and

probably John Thomas as well as some of the gentlemen, were members. The story about the "plot" of the voyage and John Winter's statement about the capture of Silva's ship give us the clue to the cause of these differences of opinion. As previously stated, the original "plot" showed nothing but the route to the Moluccas and back by way of the Cape of Good Hope or the Strait of Magellan. Drake intended to vary the monotony of the voyage by putting into effect his own plot to plunder the Spaniards en route, and when this was disclosed at the Cape Verde Islands by the capture of a Portuguese ship the respectable members of the party refused to agree to it, and no doubt attempted to persuade the sailors to return home. In order to get rid of this opposition and overawe the rest of the party, Drake was forced to execute Doughty and to appeal to the sailors by that strongest of all appeals—booty—to follow him. To gain his point during Doughty's trial, Drake affected to believe that Doughty knew his "plot" and had communicated it to Lord Burghley, but the circumstances clearly show that Doughty had no such knowledge to communicate.

That Drake's voyage to the Moluccas from the coast of America was part of the original plan and not one undertaken for the purpose of reaching home in the safest way with his cargo of treasure, is very evident from various remarks made by Fletcher and even by Drake himself to his prisoners. Fletcher said that after leaving the Strait of Magellan they laid out their course at least twelve degrees toward the northwest on account of an error in the maps "by reason wherof wee lost the wind which would have caried us right on our way, and held the right course to the unfortunate Ilands wherewith Magilanus so unhappily fell in the first voyage about the world: which way wee had holden, if the wind had served, ... "[28] The plain inference from this is, that before the storm drove Drake to the south and separated his squadron he had intended to go directly to the Moluccas, and even if Fletcher was mistaken in saying that they were going there *directly,* he at least indicates that that was the ultimate destination. Drake himself on several occasions told his prisoners that his lost ships must have gone to the Moluccas, since they had failed to meet him at the appointed rendezvous.

It might be argued that the situation had altered by reason of the capture of the *Cacafuego.* Although he afterwards claimed that he could reach home by sailing around by the southern end of the continent, where he said the two seas were one, even then he himself

furnished the strongest kind of proof that the original intention was to go to the Moluccas.[29] Drake gave to most of his important prisoners, such as Anton and Zárate, letters of safe conduct in which the following clause will be found: "The agreement which we made about returning to our country will be carried out, God willing."[30] As Drake then intended to return by way of the Moluccas, this message affords proof that this was the route to which he referred, and was the one agreed upon between him and Winter and Thomas before the vessels separated, in fact before the expedition left England. As he could hardly at that time have had the faintest hope that either Winter or Thomas would appear on the coast of Peru, the information must have been disseminated by Drake in this way in the expectation that it would in some way reach home.

After Drake had captured the *Cacafuego* he was careful to tell all his prisoners that he had come to the South Sea by orders of the Queen, and is even reported to have said that he had a *carta de marca,* that is, a "letter of marque," "to rob the Spaniards for her."[31] No one read this famous *carta* so we have to take Drake's word for its contents, merely adverting, by way of contrast, to the story he told Diaz Bravo the day before he captured the *Cacafuego,* that God had sent him into the South Sea. Drake's studied object in making these statements is not perfectly clear. He was under no necessity to justify himself to his prisoners, but only to the Queen. In view of the official peaceful relations existing between England and Spain when Drake left, it is not possible that the Queen could have given him any such commission. All that he had was one similar to that issued to Edward Fenton, in other words, the customary form of commission of the day.[32] The only plausible explanation of his action in claiming to possess a letter of marque is that he expected his remarks to be transmitted to Spain simultaneously with the news of the great booty he had obtained and ultimately to reach the Queen long before he could return.[33] He probably knew the Queen well enough to be certain that this booty would make the strongest kind of appeal to her, and hearing at the same time that he had claimed to have such a commission from her she might be deterred from saying in an unguarded moment that he had none and in this way prejudice his case before he could return. The Queen was almost certainly one of the adventurers in the voyage, as she also was in many other trading expeditions, both before and after. Drake took occasion to flourish in Port San Julian her famous bill of adventure,

as he called it, for one thousand crowns, but he did this as a theatrical substitute for his commission, which he was unwilling to exhibit, probably because it did not confer on him authority to put to death his associates. That Drake had some verbal arrangement with the Queen, known only to her and to himself, is not impossible, but the only evidence of it exists in his own statements, and he was an interested party. The Queen was much more anxious to obtain money than to annoy King Philip, but perhaps the opportunity to do both at the same time may have appealed to her, and Drake was just the kind of man to undertake such an enterprise, under conditions which meant disgrace if he were unsuccessful, but wealth and glory if he could carry through. If she was not actually an accessory before the voyage, she certainly was after the return, as she accepted a share of the booty and refused to punish Drake.

Any purpose of trade which the expedition might have had has been so much ignored that the presence with the expedition of two men who were obviously merchants has been entirely overlooked. Both of them, John Saracold and John Audley, returned on the *Elizabeth,* as can be seen from the deposition of John Winter regarding Nuño da Silva's ship wherein he stated that he had sold some of the goods at home in their presence for the purpose of raising money for necessary expenses.[34] As neither were officers of the *Elizabeth,* the fact that he called the men as witnesses is strong evidence that in some way they represented the adventurers. John Saracold can hardly be any other than the John Sarracoll who went out with the expedition of the Earl of Cumberland and wrote an account of it.[35] In this he is distinctly referred to as a merchant. The probabilities are that these men, acting in the capacity of supercargoes, had under their charge the goods which were to be used in trading, and represented those of the adventurers who had supplied them.[36]

Sufficient evidence will be presented from a study of the different accounts of the expedition to warrant a presumption, which is entirely in consonance with what might be expected from a study of the antecedent literature dealing with projects for the discovery of new trades, that the expedition was essentially one for trading purposes, directed to the Moluccas and perhaps China, with authority to Drake to establish a factory if the circumstances should so warrant. Although there are no documents extant which throw any light on the organization of the expedition or the objects of the subscribers, there are two which, showing as they do the views held

by those striving to open trade with the East, furnish the most illuminating glimpse ever likely to be obtained of the fundamental motives underlying the enterprise.[37] These documents were probably written in support of the petition dated March 22, 1574, of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Christopher Carleill and Sir Richard Grenville. While it was proposed by these promoters to take possession of any land south of the Equator not already reduced to possession by some Christian prince in Europe, yet this was purely incidental to the expected enrichment of England as furnishing a market for English commodities which were to be exchanged for spices, which they thought could be obtained at nominal prices.

It must not be forgotten that when Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1566 presented a petition asking permission to set forth just such an expedition as this, opposition was made by the "Muscovy Company," that is, the "Fellowship of English Merchants for discovery of New Trades," who claimed exclusive rights to all new trades discovered to the northeast or northwest, which they construed to mean north of the Equator.[38] Their opposition was apparently successful and it is not at all unlikely that the secrecy which was so prominent a feature in setting forth Drake's expedition may have been due to the fact that the adventurers endeavored to prevent any knowledge of its destination from reaching the members of that company, and thus avoid renewed opposition. It is even not unlikely that this was the reason why so much stress was laid upon the fact that no knowledge of its purposes should reach Lord Burghley, who could usually be counted on to oppose any illicit enterprise. The diversion of the expedition en route into a raid on Spanish commerce on the west coast of America was accomplished by Drake himself, without the consent of the representatives of the adventurers, by force of his eloquence and by the execution of Doughty, the head of the opposing party.

CHAPTER II

THE PREPARATIONS

AS EARLY as 1575, Antonio de Guaras, the Spanish agent in London, began to note preparations for an expedition which, although carrying a quantity of goods for trade, he thought was really intended to be a plundering expedition to the Indies. The first news was communicated by him on May 29,[1] and on July 18[2] he wrote that Captain Hawkins' ships, five in number, which were those referred to, were ready to sail from Plymouth. In reality this expedition was not the one afterwards taken out by Drake. On February 18, 1576,[3] Guaras wrote to Spain that an Irishman named Captain John had recently arrived from the Indies, where he had lived for fifteen years, and had stated that much treasure would be found there, so a fleet of ten sail was being equipped in the Thames and the ports near Falmouth for the purpose, he thought, of making a raid on the Indies. On September 20, 1577,[4] in a letter from Guaras there is the first definite notice of Drake's expedition. "Drake the pirate," he wrote, "is to go to Scotland. . . . for the purpose of getting possession of the prince of Scotland for a large sum of money. . . . They have offered Captain Bingham, whom his Highness knows, and other important people to embark, as if for the Indies, under the command of this sailor Drake, whereupon they are greatly surprised."

From this, it is clear that the preparations for the voyage must have been effected with great secrecy, as at that time Drake was already a suspected person and the Spanish secret service no doubt kept close watch on him. However, it is to be said that but few of the letters which passed between the agent in London and the Spanish court have been printed; Martin Fernandez de Navarrete saw others which may still be in existence. The outstanding fact is that the Spaniards were entirely ignorant of any plan to raid their commerce in the South Sea; seemingly they expected Drake to operate in the West Indies.[5]

Neither can anything be derived from any of the accounts of the voyage nor the documents in the Record Office. About all that is known is that two of the vessels were fitted out in the Thames, namely the *Elizabeth* of eighty tons burden, and the pinnace, called

the *Benedict*, of twelve or fifteen tons burden. At Plymouth, three others had been prepared, namely, the *Pelican* of 100 or 120 tons, the *Marigold* of thirty tons, and a fly-boat called the *Swan*, of fifty tons. They were all heavily armed; according to John Drake, the *Pelican* carried eighteen pieces of artillery, the *Elizabeth* sixteen, the *Marigold* six, the *Swan* which carried the provisions, five, and the pinnace had some *versos* on board.[6] Besides the artillery, the vessels were provided with different kinds of appliances in use in

The Golden Hind (From the Hondius Broadside)

naval warfare at the time. Many of the men were armed with harquebuses and cross-bows. In the holds were four pinnaces framed ready to set up.

Some of Drake's various prisoners gave in their depositions some interesting descriptions of the *Pelican*, or *Golden Hind* as she was afterwards known, and her armament. Curiously enough, none of them quite agreed about the number or character of the guns, but it is quite probable that John Drake was correct in his statement that she carried eighteen, as Silva gave the same number, and he was on board the vessel long enough to obtain accurate information, which

was still fresh in his memory. According to him she had seven armed portholes on each side. Of the other four pieces of artillery two were placed in the poop, probably below, and two others either above these or in the bow. Although he said that thirteen pieces were bronze and five were of cast iron, several of the other prisoners seemed to think that most of them were of cast iron.[7] They also noted large quantities of pistols and pikes and appliances of one kind or another for setting on fire a ship or her sails. Altogether, for her size, she was a kind of floating arsenal. Silva said that she was of French build,[8] was double-sheathed—no doubt according to the device invented by John Hawkins[9]—but was not leaded; she was adapted to fighting and well equipped with very good masts, tackle and double sails. He said she was water-fast when navigating with a light wind astern, labored in a high sea, and leaked a great deal when sailing on the tack or with a strong wind astern. Her dimensions are not given, but even if it be assumed that her beam was less than customary, her length on the keel could not have exceeded seventy feet.

John Cooke tells us that Francis Drake, John Winter and Thomas Doughty were equal companions and friendly gentlemen.[10] This statement has usually been stamped as part of the fiction of Cooke's malicious narrative, but from what is known of the methods in vogue in England at that time of dividing the command on expeditions by sea, it may not be so very far from the truth. Winter was the son of George Winter and probably related in some way to Sir William Winter. He was undoubtedly a man of some social position, probably a soldier and not a sailor. Thomas Doughty, an educated gentleman, was also a soldier and in charge of land operations. Drake had probably met him in Ireland where he was serving as secretary to the Earl of Essex. Both these men undoubtedly stood far higher in the social scale than Drake and that they consented to make the expedition with him is certainly very good proof that they did not do so in any subordinate capacity. At that time the relative status of the commander of a naval expedition and the soldier who was in charge of the fighting men on board the ship was rather uncertain.[11] The instructions issued when such an expedition set out commonly laid down exact rules as to the management of the voyage; a council was usually, if not always, provided for, composed of the principal officers and the preacher, and although the actual commander of the expedition was not subordinate to them, yet he

incurred great responsibility if he neglected to follow their advice. Although the instructions issued for the voyage are lacking, nothing can be more certain than that they provided for holding such councils, as they were actually held on board the vessel on several occasions.[12] John Winter officiated as captain of the *Elizabeth*, William Markham as master; John Thomas was captain and Nicolas Anthony master of the *Marigold*, and some unnamed person was the master of the *Swan* although John Chester was in charge of her. It does not appear who commanded the pinnace at the time of sailing; it may have been Tom Moone, who had accompanied Drake on his expedition to the Spanish Main in 1572. Thomas Cuttill was the master of the *Pelican*, which Drake himself commanded. Little is known of the personality of these men, but all were almost certainly young. Drake was at this time about thirty-four years of age, of medium stature, heavy set and with a large round face of ruddy hue. He wore a reddish beard and his brown hair stood up from his forehead in a peculiar way noticeable in all his early portraits. His eyes were large and round and his eyebrows very arched. He still carried around the ball which he had received in his leg in 1572 in Nombre de Dios.

On board the *Pelican*, it is said, there were twelve young gentlemen who it is generally assumed made the voyage for the purpose of learning navigation, but it seems much more likely that some, at least, were just making the voyage for pleasure or had some interest in the venture. Some were members of the council. Like most gentlemen of the day, probably all were skilled either in the use of the harquebus or the cross-bow. Who they all were is not now possible to determine. One, Thomas Doughty, who certainly had an interest in the venture, was executed; another, according to Silva, died somewhere on the voyage before reaching Peru,[13] and Robert Winterhey, still another, most likely the surgeon as well,[14] was killed at San Julian. If all the twelve were originally on the *Pelican*, nine then should have returned on that vessel, and nine was the number one of Drake's prisoners said seated themselves at the table during the religious exercises on board the *Golden Hind* at Guatulco. It is generally taken for granted that included in the twelve were Thomas and John Drake, Francis Drake's brother and cousin, William Hawkins and Francis Fletcher, but such could not have been the case. Thomas Drake officiated as a common sailor,[15] John Drake as a page, Francis Fletcher while no doubt a gentleman

was also the preacher, and William Hawkins was probably also a sailor. Omitting these and the three previously mentioned, the following can possibly be identified: Lawrence Eliot, George Fortescue, John Doughty, John Chester, Gregory Cary, Gregory Raymond, Emanuel Wattkyns, Leonard Vicary and Thomas Hood. Hood afterwards accompanied the Fenton expedition and that of the Earl of Cumberland as a pilot, so perhaps he does not belong in the category of "gentleman." In Drake's letters of safe conduct a M. Charles and M. Caube are also mentioned, who could hardly have been seamen, but they were either on the *Elizabeth* or the *Marigold*.

Lawrence Eliot was somewhat of an amateur naturalist, evidently, and after his return, communicated to Charles L'Ecluse some notes about plants found during the voyage.[16] George Fortescue wrote an account of the voyage, now lost.[17] William Hawkins accompanied the Fenton expedition in 1582, and John Doughty after the return prosecuted Francis Drake for the murder of his brother. Thomas Drake survived Francis and inherited most of his property, and John Drake was captured by the Spaniards during the Fenton expedition and probably remained in South America. Aside from Hood and a sailor named Thomas Blacoller, who accompanied the Fenton expedition, little or nothing is known of any of the rest. Diego, a Negro whom Drake had brought away from the Isthmus in 1572, accompanied him as servant. He had evidently learned some English during the intervening five years and acted at times as interpreter. Who the Englishmen on board were who understood Spanish, is not known, but there were evidently several. That Drake carried some pilot or pilots when he left England, either Portuguese, Spanish or Italian, seems certain, although no mention of them is made in any of the English accounts.[18] There were also two men, John Saracold and John Audley, who, as previously pointed out, were almost certainly merchants.[19]

The estimates of the number of men on board the vessels vary from 140 to 164. The crew, besides Englishmen, consisted of a few Frenchmen, Danes, Flemings, Scotchmen and even Biscayans, among whom on the *Pelican* at least, and probably also on the *Elizabeth,* there were various mechanics, a smith, a shoemaker, a carpenter, a cooper, an apothecary, a tailor and some musicians. Of the latter four were on the *Pelican*. There must have been some servants and also some boys, three of whom were noted by one of Drake's prisoners.

It would be very interesting to know what sort of food supplies were carried on the fleet when Drake left England and of what the cargo consisted. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, was accustomed to say that the English were such great eaters that there was not room on board their vessels for both cargo and food for any great length of time, and certainly an inspection of the list of the food put on board the *Leicester* and *Edward Bonaventure* of the Fenton expedition bears out his statement. The ordinary food consisted of biscuit and meal, beef, pork, codfish, dried peas and butter and cheese, with meal, oatmeal and rice as a reserve. Besides these staples, vinegar, mustard, sweet oil, salt, spices and raisins were included, not forgetting white and gray soap.[20] The pork, of course, was pickled, the beef powdered, and from remarks made by Sir Richard Hawkins, it appears that it was also the custom to carry pickled beef,[21] which he said kept very well. The curse of all long voyages at that time was scurvy, brought on mainly from a lack of fresh vegetables. Although no mention of this disease occurs in any of the narratives of the expedition there can hardly be room for doubt that many of the men died of it. Just about that period, sour oranges and lemons were discovered to be a good preventive. Hawkins spoke of this remedy,[22] and Sir James Lancaster, in the account of his voyage somewhat later,[23] also recorded their value. The Spaniards about the same time also found this out quite independently.

Drink was by no means neglected, as in those days Englishmen, and especially English sailors, consumed enormous quantities of beer, and wine when they could get it. For the Fenton expedition strong beer and sea beer were provided, the latter evidently a weaker variety of beer, as well as "malmsey," probably Madeira wine, and "secke" or Canary wine. These latter were very expensive, the malmsey costing ten pounds sterling per butt and the Canary wine twenty pounds sterling per ton, while the strong beer only cost two pounds eight shillings per ton and the sea beer one pound twelve shillings.[24] The high cost of wine in England was no doubt the principal reason why most of the English expeditions sent out went either to the Canary Islands or to Madeira, where it cost little, and frequently, as in Drake's case, nothing at all.

What Drake carried to trade for spices or necessities can only be gathered from an occasional mention in his narratives of the things given as presents or in exchange. These were either trifles, knives, linen or woolen cloth. The linen which he took from Silva's ship

seems to be the thing most frequently mentioned. The list of what might be called trifles, in part at least, carried by the Fenton expedition is rather interesting. They are scheduled as follows: Metals, horsetails, copper kettles and basins, brass bracelets, knives, daggers, hatchets, shirts of mail, paper, cards, dice, pens and ink-horns, looking-glasses, colored ribbons, pins, needles, saddles, bridles, bits, pistols and scissors.[25] Drake showed some of his prisoners part of his cargo and he even gave away some of it. San Juan de Anton saw many pickaxes, working knives, tools and linen goods.[26] These tools may have been for clearing ground for the erection of buildings or merely hardware for use in trade. Noticeable in the schedule of the supplies on board the ships of the Fenton expedition, are shovels, spades, pickaxes, axes and hatchets, indicating that it was nothing unusual to find them on board ships, in fact as hardware they were common exports.

Besides such goods as were carried for trade Drake had with him a supply of articles of luxury which presumably were to be used as gifts to Eastern potentates with whom he hoped to set up commercial relations. He showed some of these to Zárate who even noted that there were some perfumed waters among them.[27] He also said that Drake was served on plate with gilded borders and decorations on which his arms were engraved. Silver plate was a great luxury in England at the time on account of its extremely high cost, and it is difficult to believe that it actually was of silver in spite of Zárate's statement, but if so it may have belonged to some of the gentlemen on board. The general air of opulence which seems to have impressed Zárate was also characteristic of Fenton's ships, if Father Juan de Rivadeneyra may be believed,[28] and of those of other expeditions subsequently fitted out for the East Indies. They all seem to have had musicians on board with which the guests whom they wished to honor were entertained. Music also seems to have been employed on board ships at the change of the watch and during the time when certain labor was being performed, or to accompany the psalm singing.

More interesting still are speculations about the books and maps Drake may have carried with him to point out the way to the Moluccas and back home to England. At the time he left England very little knowledge could have been current in that country of the geography of the South Atlantic, the Strait of Magellan or the Pacific Ocean. Only the Spaniards and the Portuguese had navi-

gated in those parts of the world, and not only were the maps which they made very inaccurate but a policy in both countries had been adopted of restricting their sale. Most of those in circulation had been made either in Italy, Germany or the Netherlands, and while in the beginning they were, to a certain extent at least, based on Portuguese or Spanish originals, as time went on more and more imaginary geography was introduced to supply the lack of further more accurate information which the Portuguese and Spaniards withheld. Two accounts of Magellan's voyage around the world had been published, but neither contained any map.[29] At Seville soon after the *Victoria* returned in 1522, several maps were made which contained delineations of the Strait of Magellan taken either from the written accounts or from maps brought back by survivors of his expedition.

Shortly thereafter, the coast of Peru was followed from the Isthmus of Panama down to about 10° or 12° of South latitude,[30] and it then became customary to connect the southern limit of these discoveries with the west end of the Strait by a line nearly straight, thus making the southern part of America of pyramidal form. This conception of the shape of this part of the continent was in a general way confirmed as the coast was followed south from Peru to Chile. No actual discovery was made, however, of that between the Strait and the known part of Chile for some time although one of the Bishop of Plasencia's ships under the command of Alonso de Camargo actually made the voyage about 1541 from the Strait to Peru.[31] Whether on this occasion the southern coast of Chile was seen is not known but at any rate the passage of the ship was sufficient to demonstrate that no continental impediment intervened between the Strait and Peru.

In 1557 the coast of Chile south to the Strait was followed by Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, and his journal is extant.[32] Juan Lopez de Velasco took his account of the south Chilean coast from this, and depicted it on one of the maps made about 1574 which still exists, attached to his manuscript *Geografia y Descripcion* preserved in the Biblioteca Provincial de Toledo,[33] and from which Herrera copied his map of Chile published in 1601.[34] Long before Drake set sail then, the Spaniards had a very correct notion of the general geography of the southern part of America as well as of the Strait itself, but obviously Drake did not have the advantage of this knowledge, as it is not likely that any information regarding the

discoveries of Fernandez de Ladrillero had penetrated to the north of Europe before 1577, nor had anyone used Lopez de Velasco's map before Herrera, not even the maker of the Spanish atlas from which Joachim Lelewel said he had made up his map.[35]

As the map-makers in the north of Europe had no knowledge of the geography of the west coast of South America below ten or twelve degrees of South latitude, they began, as just stated, to manufacture maps from their imagination or a misunderstanding of written narratives. One of the examples of this imaginary geography was the elbow which projected west from the coast of Chile, just north of the Strait of Magellan. The earliest map to show this projection is the Johannes Schöner globe, 1523-1524, in the State Library at Stuttgart.[36] Several later maps and globes display this peculiarity, but it remained for Gerard Mercator, the great cartographer, to magnify the projection still more in his world map of 1569[37] until it extended over ten degrees of longitude. In the following year, Abraham Ortelius had Mercator's map reduced and put into convenient and portable form. Issued in his so-called atlas,[38] it became the standard cartographical authority and remained so for a number of years.

Although many world maps had been published, the only one Drake certainly had with him was that of Mercator or more likely Ortelius' copy of it, contained in this atlas. There is some reason to think that he also had the 1564 Ortelius map,[39] but this seems somewhat doubtful in view of Fletcher's remarks about those which Drake was using in the south Pacific. He said:

> Wee beeing come by Gods Providence now to the Southermost cape of the Maine land the West India where as I said wee went to sett up a monument for her Majesty which in my opinion had been fitting being in Just proportion of degrees from the OEquinoctiall to the Southward as England is to the Northward of the same that is 52 degrees either of them from the Line the Lord prevented us for Sodainly did arise such a wind that there was no stay to be made at all. by reason whereof wee were inforced to keep on our way & setting our course to steere coast along towards the Equinoctiall againe wee following the directions of the comon Mapps of the Spanyards were utterly deceaved for of a Malitious Purpose they had set forth the mapp false that they might deceave strangers if anny gave the attempt to travaile that way that they might perish by Running ofe to the Sea rather then Touch with anny part of the land of America. for where the land trendeth & lyeth to the north east or rather to the eastward they in their Mapps at the least 12 degrees have layed it out to the Norwest by reason whereof wee lost the wind which would have caried us right in our way & held the right course to the unfortunate Ilands wherewith Magilanus so unhappily fell in the first voyage about the world which way wee had helden if the wind had served.[40]

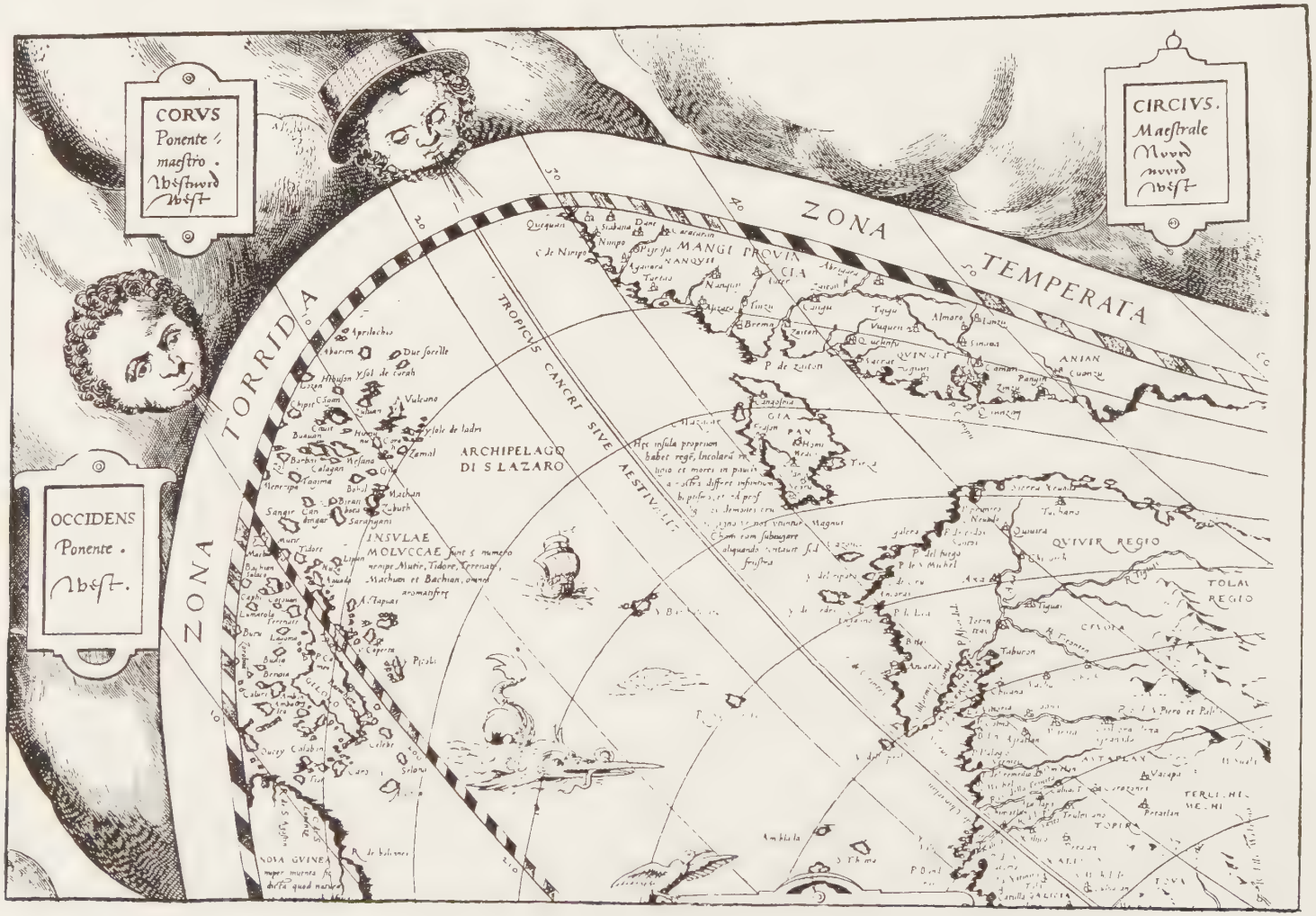
A Real Spanish Map of *c.* 1580
(From Dr. F. C. Wieder's Monumenta Cartographica, Plate 5)

From this it appears that he referred to the peculiar elbow on the Mercator and Ortelius maps, but his assumption that the Spaniards had falsified maps of that part of the coast was a purely gratuitous one, showing little knowledge of the methods they employed in making them. He probably thought that the Ortelius map was Spanish because it had been published in Antwerp, at that time a possession of the Crown of Spain.

When these maps just described are examined, and in fact, any maps of the north Pacific which had been published before Drake left England, another remarkable characteristic will be found common in greater or less degree to all. Japan is shown on some in the latitude of 30° to 36° or thereabouts, only four or five hundred miles distant from the coast of America, and on none more than fifteen hundred or two thousand miles. Cathay is just a little farther west or northwest. This enormous distortion was brought about through two errors of the geographers: one, in extending Asia too far east, and the other, America too far west.[41] All of them at this period, and indeed until very much later, assigned too great an extent of longitude between Acapulco and the Northwest coast at the fortieth parallel. There is no map of the epoch in which the error is less than five degrees, while in the famous Mercator map of 1569 and Ortelius' copy of it, the error is almost fifty degrees. In the 1564 map of Ortelius the difference in longitude between those points is about thirty-eight degrees, only some fourteen degrees too great. In addition, Acapulco and Cape San Lucas were themselves located five or ten degrees too far west. The reader will find reproduced herewith a section of Ortelius' map of 1564 showing most of the north Pacific Ocean, which can be compared with his map of 1570, as, in a general way, these display the extremes current at that time in the distortion of the Northwest coast. In both, however, it will be noted that Japan is only a short distance from America, some seven or eight degrees on the 1564 map and about twenty degrees on that of 1570.

When Drake reached the Northwest coast, no mention of this peculiarity is to be found, but on the contrary it is stated in the *World Encompassed* that "the land in that part of America, bearing farther out into the West then we before imagined, we were neerer on it than wee were aware."[42] Evidently Drake had secured another map since entering the Pacific. In March, he took from Alonso Sanchez Colchero his charts of the Acapulco-Manila route, which naturally showed an entirely different state of affairs, as they must have been made up for the north Pacific from a combination of the eastward voyages from the Philippines and the explorations of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. Such a map probably showed a too great extension of America to the west on the fortieth parallel of at least six degrees, a vast improvement on Drake's own maps, but still with too great an error to account for the statement in the *World Encompassed*.[43]

Ortelius Map of 1570 (first issue)



Section of Ortelius' Nova Totius Terrarum of 1564

According to Silva, Drake had a map of the world which had been made in Portugal,[44] but by whom he did not know, and Anton said that Drake told him that the map which was two *varas* long had been made for him in Lisbon at a cost of eight hundred *cruzados*.[45] When Anton's deposition reached Spain this statement was noticed, and with the usual official disregard for accuracy, a memorandum was made, stating that it was understood that before leaving England, Drake had spent several days in Lisbon endeavoring to ascertain the navigation route of the Portuguese from East India to Spain, and it was suggested that an endeavor be made to secure a copy of the map.[46] All this was pure assumption, as Drake did not say, according to either Silva or Anton, that he had been in Lisbon, nor is there the slightest possibility that he ever went there for any such purpose, yet it has become a part of the Drake myth like the story that Drake had been a page in Madrid when a boy.[47] It was not necessary to go to Lisbon to get a map, and to have done so in person would probably have defeated Drake's object, as after his expedition of 1572, he had a reputation as a corsair and was a marked man. No doubt some English merchant in Lisbon obtained it for him, and as the laws in Portugal at that time prohibited the sale of maps to unauthorized persons, it had to be obtained secretly, which accounts for the high price paid, if indeed Drake was not exaggerating the cost.

More helpful, however, than a knowledge of the method of obtaining the map would be the identification of it if this were possible. Few Portuguese maps of that period are extant, in fact, none of the whole world except those attributed to Fernan Vaz Dourado, of which three known examples exist.[48] That collection of charts, however, was based on those of Juan Freire, which had probably been made about 1546 and were therefore not up-to-date.[49] These Vaz Dourado charts evidently had some vogue at the time and it is not unlikely that one of them may have been copied for Drake. The Portuguese had no first hand knowledge of the west coast of America although some of their maps may have been made, in part at least, from accounts given by Portuguese pilots, of whom there were many in the service of Spain. Drake probably wanted the chart, as the Spanish authorities surmised, for the information to be found on it regarding the East Indian Archipelago and the route home by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Whether it was of much use to him may well be doubted, as Portuguese charts of that date of the Indian Archipelago are not noted for their accuracy.[50]

Silva also said that Drake showed him a map with a strait at the north in 66°.[51] It seems most likely that Silva referred to the eastern entrance of the strait which appears on the Ortelius map of 1564 between 62° and 66° as it also does on Gilbert's map which was copied from it. Drake no doubt had one of Gilbert's pamphlets, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia,* and as previously stated there are also indications that he had the Ortelius map of 1564.

Silva also said that Drake had three books on navigation: one in French, one in English, and Magellan's discovery in a language that he did not know.[52] It is quite likely that the one in French was *L'Art de Naviguer* of which editions had been published in Lyons in 1554, 1569 and 1576 and in Rouen in 1573. This was a translation by Nicolas de Nicolai of Pedro de Medina's *Arte de Navigar,* one of the standard books on navigation in the sixteenth century, first published in Valladolid in 1545. The one in English may have been the *Arte of Navigation,* published in London in 1561. This, a translation made by Richard Eden, was also from a Spanish work, the *Breve compendio de la sphera y de la arte de navigar,* by Martin Cortes, which had been published in Seville in 1551. There were also two strictly English works, either of which Drake might have had: William Bourne's *Regiment for the Sea,* published about 1574, and William Cunningham's *Cosmographical Glasse,* published in 1559, but in view of the great reputation of Cortes' book, this most probably was the one in English to which Silva referred. What edition of Magellan's voyage Drake had is still more uncertain. As Silva apparently knew French when he saw it, it seems likely that it was one of the editions of the letter of Maximilianus published in Latin in 1523 or 1524.

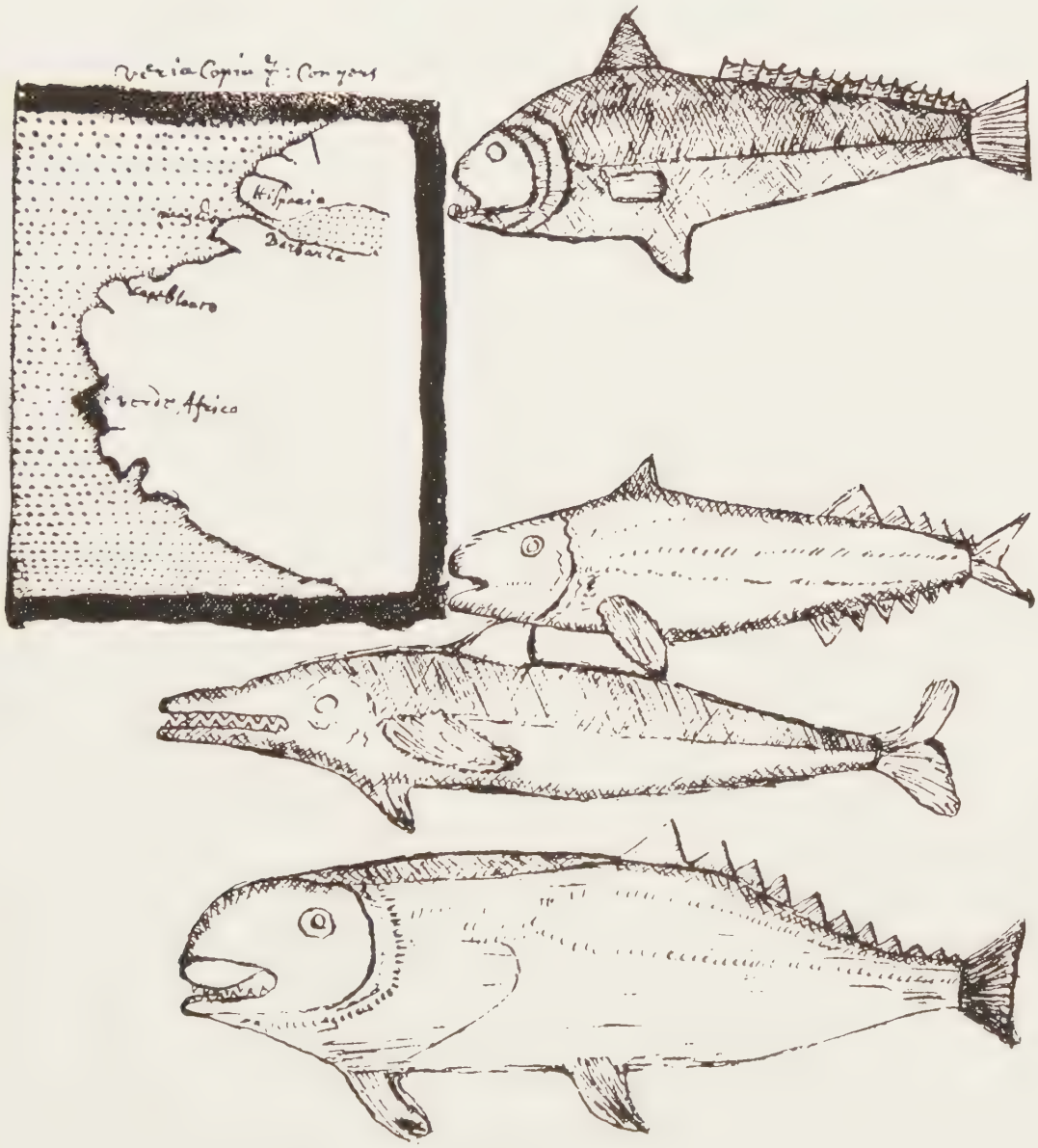
Besides the above books, of which there is some mention in the accounts of the voyage, Drake perhaps had Richard Eden's *Decades of the newe worlde,* first published in 1555 and of which a second edition had been issued in 1577, very possibly before Drake sailed from Plymouth.

CHAPTER III

IN THE ATLANTIC

EVERYTHING being arranged, the *Elizabeth* and the *Benedict* left London September 19, 1577, and went over to Plymouth where the three other vessels were waiting, and together the fleet set sail November 15. No sooner had they left port than the wind turned contrary and they had to put in to Falmouth, where they encountered a terrible storm. The *Marigold* was driven ashore, having had her mast cut overboard, and Drake also had to cut off the mast of the *Pelican* in order to save her. He therefore put back to Plymouth[1] to repair his ships. This having been done, the expedition again set forth December 13, and on the 25th sighted Cape Cantin[2] on the coast of Morocco without having suffered any mishap except losing a boy overboard in the Bay of Portugal.

Eighteen leagues beyond this they came to the little uninhabited Island of Mogador, about a mile off the coast, and here the ships anchored December 27 between the island and the mainland. Nearby was quite a good sized Moorish town of the same name, and some of the inhabitants came down to the beach. White flags having been displayed in token of friendship, Drake sent a boat ashore with a man named John Fry who understood a little of their language. After parleying a bit, a man was left on shore as a hostage and two of the Moors came on board the ship who indicated by signs that next day they would bring some sheep, capons and hens. Drake made them a few presents of linen, shoes and a javelin, sent them ashore again much pleased, and brought back his man. The next day the Moors came with some camels as if they had something to trade, and a boat was sent to find out what they had brought, but with strict orders that none should go ashore. When the boat was near land, however, one of the men—the same John Fry—rashly leaped on shore and offering in a friendly manner to embrace them was immediately seized by the Moors, who placed a dagger at his throat and carried him away on horseback. The island, about a league in circumference, was overgrown with brush breast high, full of doves and Barbary hawks. Here a pinnace was set up, one of the four which had been brought out on board the ships ready framed.



Fletcher's Fish at Cape Blanco

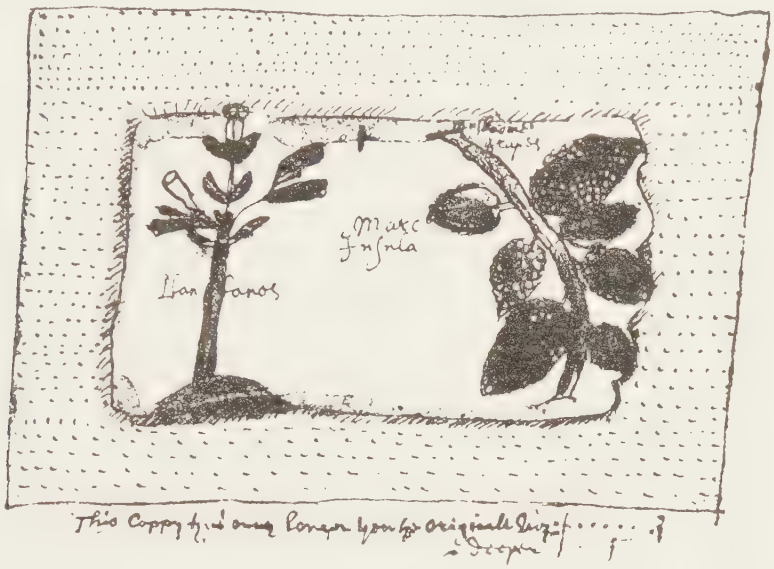
Leaving this island on the last day of December they encountered a contrary wind, and beat off and on until January 4, when the wind turning northeast, they set out on a course south-southwest, and on the 7th sighted Cape de Guer in 30°. There the pinnace captured three Spanish fishing boats called canters.[3] Carrying these along, they ran southwest and south-southwest until the 10th, when they found themselves ten leagues west-southwest of Cape Bojador. Then they ran south and by west until the 13th, when they took a Portuguese caravel off the Rio del Oro. Off Cape de las Barbas[4] the *Marigold* captured another on the 15th. January 17, they arrived at Cape Blanco,[5] which they estimated to be in 20° 30′, and where they began to see the constellation of the Southern Cross, so conspicuous in southern skies.

Riding at anchor was a ship with only two men on board, which, along with the others previously captured, they took into the harbor five leagues inside the cape. This locality was a noted fishing resort frequented by the Portuguese who had established very friendly relations with the natives. There was no water to be found in the port, the Portuguese being accustomed to bring it from the islands and exchange it for gold, ambergris, musk and slaves. According to Fletcher, the customs of the natives were bestial in the extreme. While the ships were being washed and trimmed, Thomas Doughty took the soldiers on shore and put them through a course of training. A plentiful supply of very excellent fish was also obtained.

Leaving the *Benedict* with the fishermen in exchange for one of their canters, which Drake named the *Christopher* and which was of about forty tons burden, they departed January 22 towards the southwest taking with them a caravel which had been bound for the Cape Verde Islands for salt.

On the 26th, they were in 15° 15′, with the wind northeast or east-northeast, and here they came abreast, about two leagues off shore, of Bonavista Island, one of the Cape Verde group belonging to Portugal. They hauled off again northwest for an hour, and then ran southwest until daylight of the morning of the 27th. At three o'clock in the afternoon they came close to Mayo, and anchored on the west side on the 28th. An attempt was made to get some fresh victuals, as the Portuguese pilot of the caravel whom they had brought with them from Cape Blanco told Drake that plenty of dried goat meat was to be found there, but the inhabitants refused to traffic. Drake then sent ashore seventy men under the command

of Winter and Doughty to see if they could obtain any food. The party left the ships before daybreak, and having marched three miles came to the church of St. James, which was found to be in a ruined condition, serving only as a shelter for goats and a roost for hens.



Fletcher's Island of Mayo

The island was a great resort for pirates, who had robbed the church of the ornaments and compelled the people to take to the hills, and was then inhabited only by shepherds and herdsmen who looked after the animals for the owners who lived on the Island of Santiago. When dawn appeared no one was to be seen. In the garden of a house ripe grapes, melons and gourds were found, greatly to their surprise, as it was winter. Coconut, fig and banana trees bearing both blossoms and ripe fruit were also seen. There were plenty of wild goats about, but only a few kids could be captured. One of the principal products of the island was salt, which by some peculiar action of the water was deposited between the sand banks and the high water mark. Fresh wells near the seashore having been salted by the Portuguese, and no dried goat meat having been found, they thereupon set sail for Santiago Island ten leagues distant, and on the 30th arrived off the town.[6]

Here two ships under sail were seen, one of which the pinnace

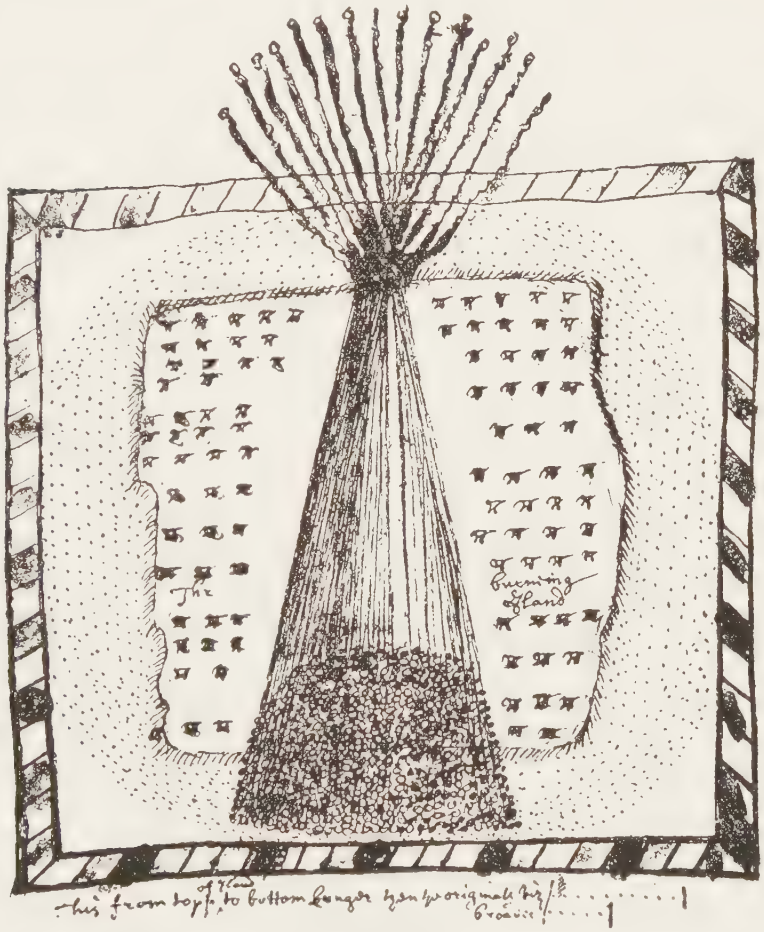
succeeded in capturing, although the fort on shore fired four shots at her. This Portuguese vessel, which was laden with a cargo of wine and merchandise, was commanded by Nuño da Silva, a pilot who had been engaged in the Portugal-Brazil trade for some time and was just then on his way to Brazil. This man, to whom we owe the most valuable and one of the most interesting accounts of the expedition while he was with it, was at this time a little short of sixty years of age, of dark complexion, slightly gray and with a long beard. He went about usually dressed in a long black coat, and appears to have dined at Drake's table. He spoke some English, at least by the time he reached Guatulco, and also seems to have spoken Spanish. He disclaimed any knowledge of the west coast of South America, but charges were afterwards made by some of Drake's prisoners that he had formerly been a pilot on that coast.

Santiago is the principal island of the group and served the Portuguese as a supply station, where ships trading between Brazil and Portugal took on provisions and water. Fletcher noticed that on every small headland a cross was set up, on most of which was engraved an evil-faced picture of Christ. Here the caravel, which

Fletcher's Island of Santiago

had been brought from Cape Blanco, was left, Silva's ship being taken instead.

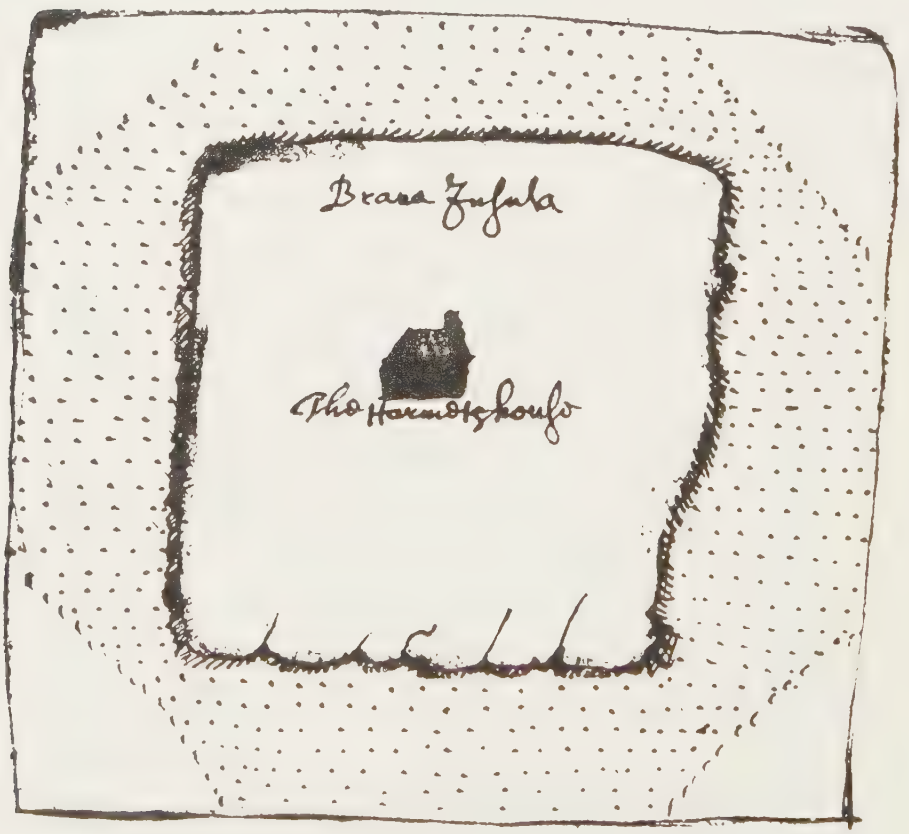
Running along south-southwest, Fogo Island was passed. A volcano, of which Fletcher gives an amusing description and a still more amusing picture, constitutes nearly the whole island. In the north part, he says,



Fletcher's Volcano

ariseth a great hill the topp by Estimacon reaching into the ayre about some 6 English miles or more & as in forme like a steeples spire being hollow within out of the concavity whereof the root being buried in the depth of the Sea ariseth as out of a chimney first a most gross & thick smoake which filleing the Ayre at

noone dayes when the sonn is in his greatest strength & power it might seem within the compase of it which is great to be so Eclipsed that not one point Remained & that no palpable darknes in the Night is to be compared to it. the smoake being gon such aboundance of flames imediatly flash out with that force & Violence that it seemeth to peirce the heavens & the light therof is so great that in extreamest darkness of the night it seemeth as noone day in the greatest Power & light of the sonn Thirdly the flame being dispearsted there followeth in the Tale of it such infinite Numbers of Pumix stones scatterd abroad in the Ayre & that farr off that falling downe they cover the water & are there to be taken upp as sponges swimbeing upon the face of the seas. Last of all is cast out aboundance of heavye black & hard substance congealed as smiths cynders which no sooner tooch the ayre but they fall downe the syde of the spire with a great Noyes to the Lower part where resting they encreast continually the outside of the Hill.[7]



Fletcher's Brava Island

Coming next to Brava, where they wished to take water, as there are a number of springs on the island, they found the sea so deep that they could not anchor, but in spite of this they probably succeeded in obtaining some. Fletcher tells us that it was the greenest of all the group and was full of nut trees, although inhabited only by a single hermit.

Putting some food on board the pinnace which they had built at Mogador, they placed in her all the Portuguese prisoners they had taken, with the exception of Silva, and sent them away. Drake made Thomas Doughty commander of the captured vessel, which he named the *Mary,* and still carrying along the *Christopher,* set out from here February 2.

It would be very interesting and extremely helpful if it were known when the destination and route of the expedition were divulged, and what those were said to have been. Inasmuch as it is generally stated, and probably correctly so, that on leaving England few people on board knew where they were really going, it can hardly be believed that the final course was left unreservedly to Drake to determine.[8] It is assumed that the course of the expedition as ultimately followed was the one contemplated before the departure, but if nobody on board except Drake and two or three others knew about it, this plan had to be made known sooner or later to the rest of them. It seems likely that some sort of sealed paper must have been provided which was to have been opened at a certain time or at a certain place. There is nothing to prove that it was the intention of the adventurers in the voyage that Drake should pass through the Strait of Magellan on his way to the Moluccas.[9] The fact that Fenton, who commanded the following expedition in 1582, had strict instructions to go by the Cape of Good Hope and not through the Strait affords ground for the suspicion that Drake may have had similar ones. The former route was well known, and was in fact the easiest way to get there. The troubles which arose on Fenton's ships due to a desire on the part of many of the officers to go through the Strait of Magellan in spite of his instructions give added weight to the suspicion that some of those on Drake's vessels may have been due to the same cause.

Up to the time of leaving Brava everything had apparently proceeded harmoniously, but now dissensions broke out between Drake and some of the other principal men of the expedition, chiefly

Thomas Doughty and Winter, and continued until Doughty was executed and Winter deserted him. By both Cooke and Fletcher it is stated that the trouble with Doughty arose while he was on board the *Mary* as captain. Their stories do not agree except that he was charged by John Brewer, Edward Bright, and some others with having taken for his own use some articles of value found on the ship which should have been put into the general account, but it seems that, as a matter of fact, these were small articles of no commercial value, which Doughty said had been given to him by one of the Portuguese prisoners.

When, however, the confession of John Winter regarding Silva's Portuguese ship captured at Santiago, made after his return to England, is examined carefully, the true explanation of the trouble which ensued is probably revealed.[10] Winter protested that the capture of the ship had been contrary to his wishes, alleging that if he had attempted to withstand Drake in the matter he would have been put to death like the gentleman whom Drake executed later, that is, Doughty. To speak in plain language, the seizure of this Portuguese vessel, which Drake carried along with him and afterwards destroyed after taking out most of the cargo, was an act of plain, ordinary piracy, for which no reasonable excuse can be offered. There can be but little doubt that thus early Drake manifested his intention of turning the expedition into a piratical one and that Doughty and Winter as well as others had no stomach for that kind of enterprise. The excuse is sometimes offered that the goods on board the vessel proved necessary for the continuance of the voyage, but if such were the case, this would only indicate that the expedition had left port insufficiently outfitted and provisioned and could in nowise excuse an act of piracy. The ship contained no stock of provisions of any moment, and it was probably a hankering for the wine on board which led to her capture and retention. Some canvas was found in her which turned out to be of use, and some cloth which afterwards was made up into clothes. Part of the goods, however, was ultimately brought back to England in the *Elizabeth* by Winter, who appears to have been charged with piracy, no doubt at the instigation of the Portuguese ambassador. Winter's confession is nothing but what in legal terms is known as a plea of confession and avoidance.[11]

That a difference of opinion existed about the capture of this ship is also manifest from Silva's statement in his log that they were going

to Espiritu Santo, which is on the coast of Brazil just south of Victoria, in order to put him on land and give him his ship, and that a council was held on board about it.[12] Silva could hardly have invented the council nor the subject discussed in it, although it may not have been held on the coast of Brazil as he intimates.

Whatever the cause, however, of the break which occurred between Drake and Doughty, and which resulted in Doughty's execution, it is plain that thereafter quarrels between the leaders of the expedition were the order of the day. Cooke, who gives a long account of Doughty's troubles, seems to imply that from this time on, Drake lost no opportunity of piling up charges against him with the intention of getting rid of him. As an outcome of the trouble on the *Mary*, in which Drake's brother Thomas seems to have been in some way involved, Drake removed Doughty to the *Pelican* and went himself on board the *Mary*.[13] Doughty, although not a sailor, seemed to think that he had authority from Drake to act as captain, a position to which he was no doubt entitled. One of Drake's underlings, John Brewer, a henchman of Sir Christopher Hatton, went from the *Mary* to the *Pelican*, apparently with no other purpose than to get up a quarrel with Doughty, which he succeeded in doing, and Doughty is reported to have used some language very appropriate to the occasion, no doubt, but distasteful to Drake, who, on hearing Brewer's story, ordered Doughty to come alongside the *Mary* in a boat, and without listening to him, ordered him aboard the *Swan*, the fly-boat. These indignities, heaped upon a gentleman of high temper such as Doughty seems to have been, were quite sufficient to provoke some outbursts, of which Drake subsequently took advantage.

Taking a south-southeast course, the Equator was crossed about February 20, and then, as the southeast trades were encountered, the course was changed to south-southwest. During the passage, the usual weather was encountered—calms and great heat broken only by daily thunderstorms, from which the supply of drinking water was replenished. Fletcher says that after leaving England the men were greatly troubled with winter lice, which died during the great heat. He gives a long account of the fish and birds found, and was much interested in the flying fish, many of which, in their flight, struck against the sails or masts and fell to the deck. Baiting their hooks with these, they caught great numbers of dolphins and

bonitos[14] off the stern. Numbers of birds also landed on the decks, which were easily taken by snares or struck by cudgels; so with fish and fowl and fresh water from heaven, they had everything necessary for the maintenance of life, "as if they had been in the storehouse of God's blessings." The pelicans especially attracted Fletcher's

Fletcher's Fish and Fowl

curiosity as they attacked the shoals of flying fish. Silva told him a good story about them, saying they never touched the water with their feet and that they went to sleep high in the air with their wings extended. Gradually descending till they came near the surface of the sea, their nature, which abhorred the water, awakened them, and they went flying upward again to finish the rest of their sleep as before.

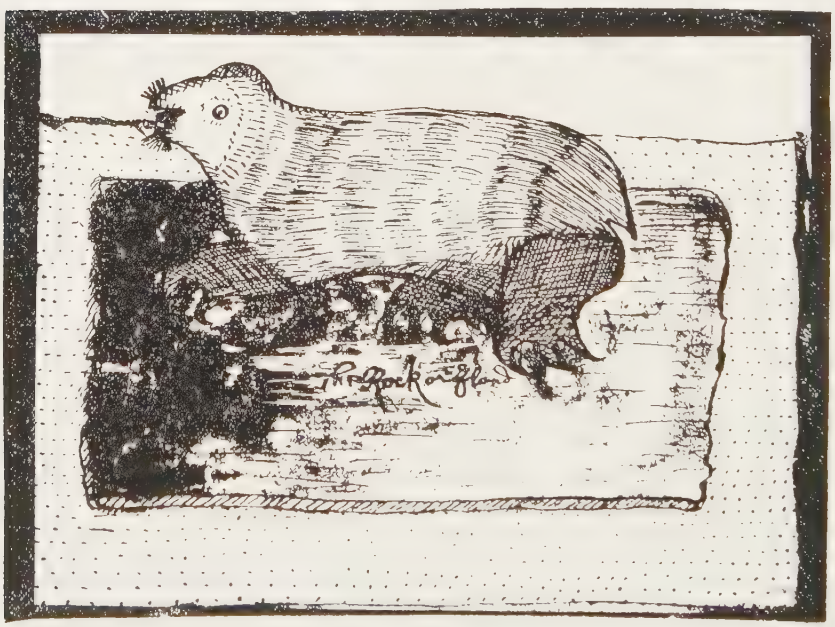
At the end of February the fleet reached the neighborhood of the Island of Fernando da Noronha,[15] 125 miles east of Brazil in 3° 50′ 10″ S. lat., but whether it was sighted or not is uncertain. March 10 they found themselves in lat. 13° S., in the Bay of Todos os Santos where Drake wished to land for water, but was afraid to do so as no doubt Silva informed him that Portuguese galleys were usually stationed in the port of Bahia at the head of the bay.[16] Perhaps land was not even sighted, as Drake could have determined his position by means of observations and the soundings marked down on the chart he had taken away from Silva. He then turned to the south following the coast by means of this chart, apparently keeping out of sight of land, verifying the chart as he went along by frequent soundings. March 28 the *Mary* with the wine on board was lost, much to the grief of the sailors, but fortunately turned up again next day. At about lat. 22° S., the coast of Brazil turns abruptly almost due west, and here the course must have been changed to southwest which brought them in sight of land at three o'clock in the afternoon of April 5.

Here in 31° 30′ a pleasant and fair bay with sandy ground was found, fitted for the purpose of trimming the ships, which were very foul, but no sooner had they run in than the sight of land was taken away by a deadly fog. As they were on a lee shore and the water kept shoaling rapidly, if the Portuguese pilot, Fletcher said, had not been appointed of God to do them good, they would have been lost. As it was, one of the ships touched but the pilot finally got them out in safety. Curious to find out the cause of this extraordinary fog, really a *Pampero* as known in the Argentine, Silva was asked about it, and he related the following remarkable tale. The Portuguese, he said, had so harassed the natives that they were driven to give themselves into the hands of the devils, whom they took for patrons and protectors. When these saw any ships on the coast they took up the sand from the beach and threw it into the air, creating such a haziness and so thick a fog that the land could not be seen

from the ships, and filling the sea with shoals as it fell. This they followed with such terrible winds and storms as had just been experienced.[17] As a further proof of this, Fletcher inserted on his map at this point, "Terra Demonum."

During the *Pampero* or the storm which followed it, the *Christopher* disappeared. The *Mary,* of which Thomas Drake had now been made captain, also seems to have disappeared but must have shortly found the rest of the ships, which continued following the low coast until April 14, when Lobos Island was reached, just southeast of the entrance to the Rio de la Plata. Apparently land, very likely Cape Santa Maria, had been sighted on the 12th, some twenty miles or so to the north. The real entrance to the estuary of the river is at Cape Maldonado, and it is possible that Drake mistook this for Cape Santa Maria, since the latter is the only one mentioned in the accounts.[18] The other cape, found seven or eight leagues from Lobos Island after starting up the estuary, may have been Point Ballena. Here Drake anchored and as the *Christopher* now rejoined the rest of the fleet, he named it Cape Joy.

Taking in some fresh water here, the reunited fleet continued

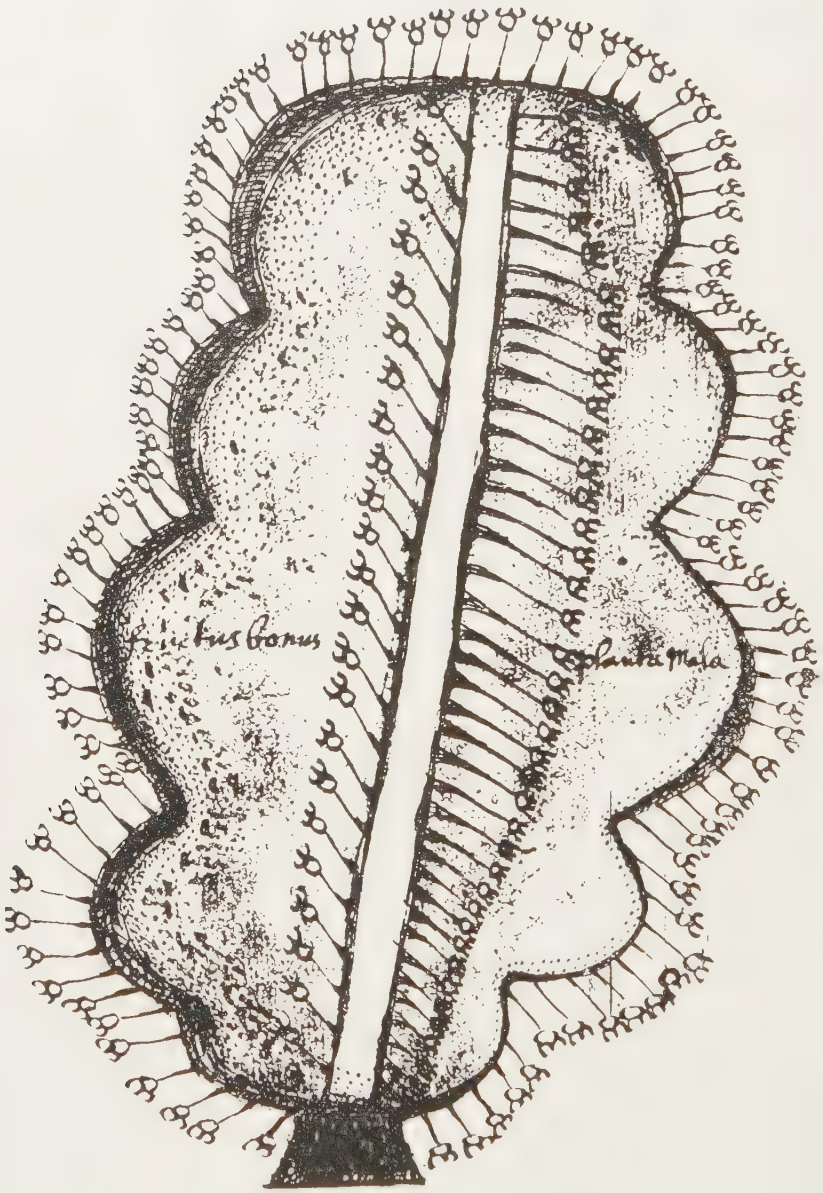


Fletcher's Seal

sailing up the estuary until April 19, and having gone about fifteen leagues, came to the Bay of Montevideo in which a great rock or a little island was found. On this rock the men killed large numbers of seals,[19] or as Fletcher calls them, "Vitulus Marinus, the Sea Calfe." These were found to be good eating, especially the young ones. The oil from them, he says, was good for outward inflammations, and the thick and spongy skins would have served for many purposes in the hands of skillful men. When chased, they cast stones and gravel at their pursuers with their hind feet and hurled themselves into the sea with great violence, often taking their young on their backs with them. The only way to kill them was to strike them on the nose with a club, he said.

On land, above this rock, the Englishmen found a plant strange to them, which from the description seems to have been some kind of *Opuntia.* The fruit grew on either side of the stem and around the edges of the leaf, of which there was but one, of a thick substance, about six inches wide and eighteen inches tall. On one side, the leaf was green and full of white specks and on the other side green but covered over with a whitish down full of pricks, which came off if touched. When this down came into contact with the skin it raised red and fiery pimples, with which many of the men were afflicted as, the fruit being pleasant to eat, many of them gathered it and brought it aboard the ship in their bosoms, their pockets or their hats. Fletcher adds: "They had sower sauce with their sweet meat."

From this bay they ran still farther up the river, which became shoaler and shoaler until, having gone about twenty leagues more, they came to where it was only about three or three and a half fathoms deep and was running fresh water. After taking in a supply of this they ran over to the south side of the estuary and passed out to sea April 27. No sooner was the ocean reached than another storm struck them, probably another *Pampero,* during which the fly-boat, in which Doughty and some of the other gentlemen were being disciplined,[20] disappeared. Running along the coast and taking continual soundings, although out of sight of land most of the time, they again came to land May 12, and anchored three leagues from shore at a point which Drake named Cape Hope, probably Cape Tres Puntas in 47° 6′. The next day he went ashore in a boat, but foul weather coming on with a thick mist and a strong southeast wind, he could not get back again. The *Marigold* ran in and rescued

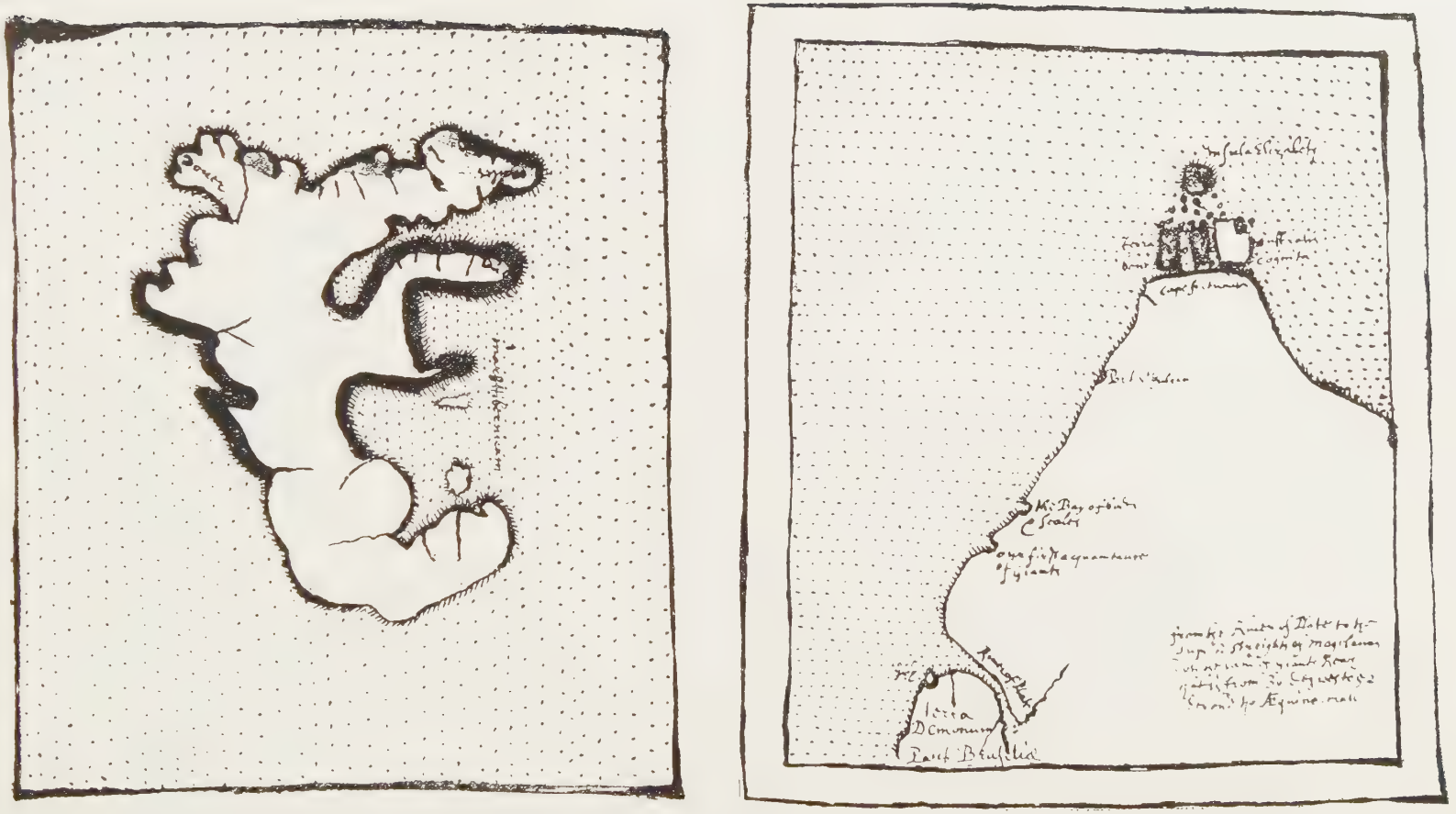


Fletcher's Prickly Pear

him, but was not able to return to the other ships. That night the *Mary,* on which Silva then was, ran out to sea and disappeared,[21] and the next morning, the 14th, the *Pelican* also ran out as she was not able to hold her ground on account of the wind. Meantime, the *Marigold* was anchored near shore, where some Indians were seen, with whom Drake attempted to make friends, but they would not come near. They left on the beach some dead birds which looked like sea fowl, some ostriches in a heap as if this had been done purposely, and a bag with some little stones of different colors, all of which Drake took on board. These natives were the first of Fletcher's so-called Patagonian giants who were encountered. He says they were harmless and kindly, and takes several pages of his manuscript to describe the manner in which they captured ostriches, no doubt derived from some other source.[22] He tells us that he is inserting a picture of the ostriches, but this unfortunately is not to be found in the manuscript. Instead, there is his map of the southern part of the continent on a reduced scale with the "Terra Demonum."

Drake went out to sea on the 15th where he soon found the rest of the ships except the *Mary* and the fly-boat. The following day they all ran into a bay south of Cape Hope and rode there all night, and the next morning the *Pelican* went north and the *Elizabeth* south looking for the lost ships. That same day Drake found the fly-boat and brought her into the bay. The next morning, the 18th, the other ships which had remained there sent word that a safe harbor had been found, to which they all repaired. On the 20th, the *Elizabeth* went out to sea, again to look for the *Mary,* but not finding her, came back the following day. This harbor was probably that now known as Port Desire in 47° 45′. Here they remained some two weeks, providing themselves with food from the numerous seals and penguins found on the islands in the harbor.

One day when the men were on shore, some thirty Indians came down to the seaside, to whom some rings and other trifles were given. They afterwards came quite near and were so friendly that, as Cliffe says, they danced with Winter, being very much pleased with the sound of the trumpet and the viols. They all carried bows about forty-five inches long and arrows made of reeds with flint heads. A skin covered them down to the waist and on their heads they wore rolls, the ends of which hung down over their shoulders, and little horns which stood upright. They were very playful, sly and thievish; one of them even snatched a scarlet cap with a gold



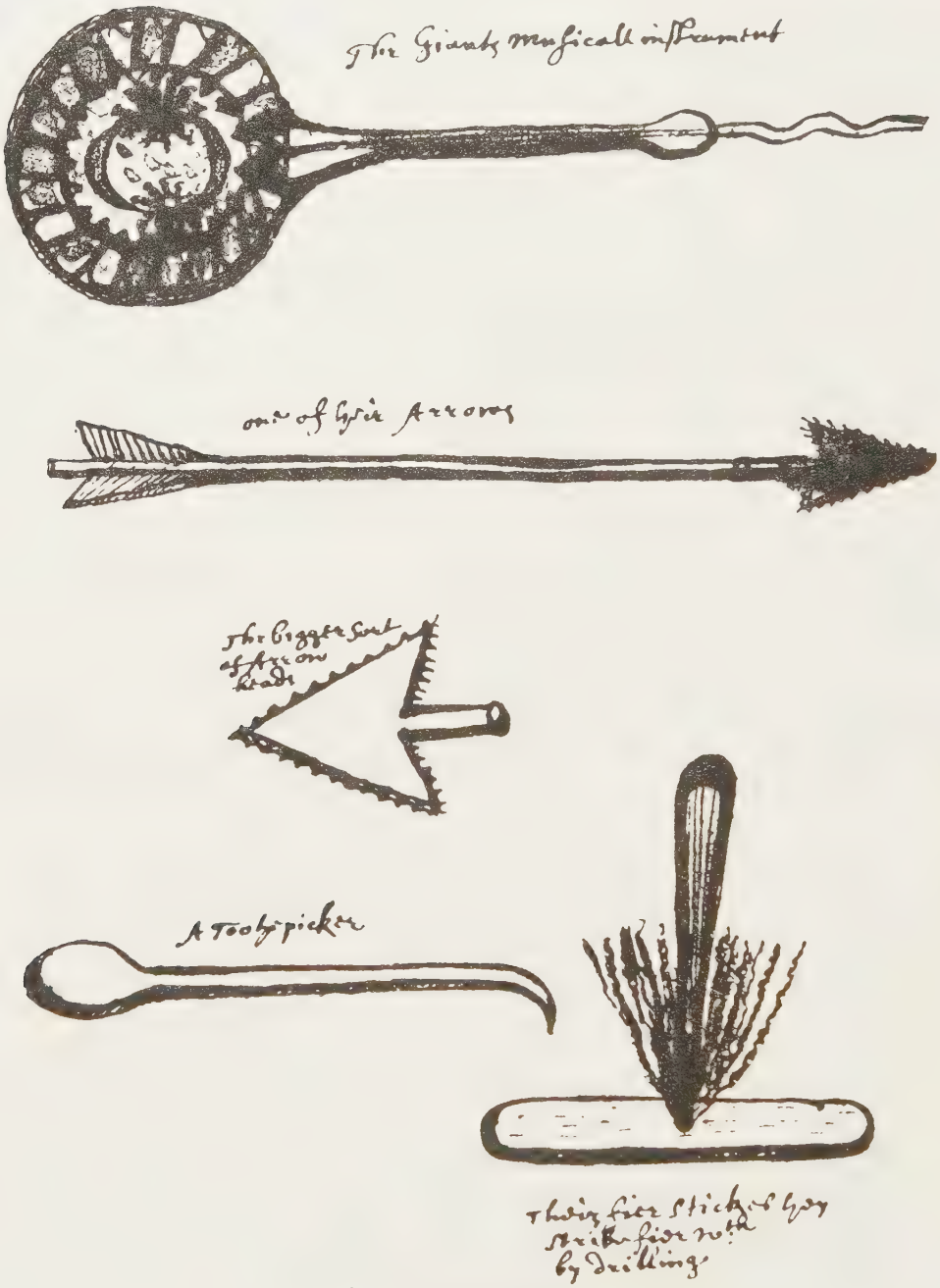
Fletcher's Map of the Southern End of South America (Right) drawn to the same scale as his Map of Great Britain (Left)

The Indian Snatching Drake's Cap (From Bry's Americae Pars VIII)

band from Drake's head as he was stooping down, but Drake took it good-naturedly and would not allow anyone to hurt them. They were of a tawny color and painted like most other Indians; some had red, black and white spots on their faces. Although small, they were well built.

In reading Fletcher's long and minute description of these natives,[23] one would gain the impression that they were giants. In fact, he calls them so in several places, and in speaking of the women says that

> their leggs are all calfes downe to the ankells whose feet are like shovells & their hands like shoulders of Mutton their eares most Large & eyes in compass to a great hand bawle or Bal or the inmost circle of a Reasonable sawcer their browes like the forhead of an Elke. & under their chinns a bagg reaching to their brests as if were stuffed with bombast so that a Camell should have much adoe to carry one of them anny long way.[24]



Fletcher's Giants' Implements

It is certain that the only very tall people encountered were the few found at Port San Julian some time later, and even they could not properly have been called "giants."

Whether the customs and habits which he ascribed to these "giants" at Port Desire were really those of the people there or whether he took the story bodily from some other source, is uncertain.[25] The whole account bears such a striking resemblance to that of the Indians on the Northwest coast in the *World Encompassed*[26] that one can hardly doubt that they were both written by the same person, and the demonstrably fictitious nature of Fletcher's account of these "giants" throws considerable suspicion on his account of the others. In his manuscript are inserted drawings of some of the curious things which were found among these Indians, which are reproduced herewith as they, at least, are probably authentic.

Some miles south of the port there is an island which Drake probably named Penguin Island on account of the vast number of penguins which were then to be found on it. It was certainly known under that name to Cavendish on his second voyage in 1592[27] and is still so called. Drake having sent a boat to the south looking for a bay in which the ships could be trimmed, this island was discovered and some of the men went ashore and found it, in Fletcher's quaint words, to be a "stoare house of victualls for the King's army." He tells the following amusing story about the innumerable birds on the island:

> Such was the infinite stoare of Eggs. & birdes that there was no footeing upon the ground but to tread upon the one or the other. or both at every stepp. yea the birds was so thick & would not remoove that they were enforced with cudgells & swords to kill them to make way to goe & the night draweing on the fowles increased more & more so that there was no place for them to rest in Nay ever third bird could not find anny roome in so much that they sought to settle themselves upon our heads shoulders armes & all parts of our body they could in most strange manner without anny feare. yea they were so speedy to place themselves upon us that one of us was glad to help another & when no beating with Poles. cudgells. swords. & daggers would keep them ofe from our bodyes wee were driven with our hands to pull them away one from another till with pulling and killing wee fainted. & could not prevaile but were more & more overcharged with feathered enemies. whose cryes were Terrible & there poder & shott poisoned us unto even death if the sooner wee had not retired & given them the feild for the tyme. wee therfore takeing with us sufficient victuall for the tyme present tooke fitter opertunity of tyme the next day. & at all other tymes to take revenge upon so barbarous adversaryes & to weaken their power.[28]

While at Port Desire, the fly-boat, *Swan,* turned up and as some of the sailors in the fleet were sick and Drake had too many ships to keep together easily, he broke her up for the firewood and the iron work in her, and put Doughty and his brother John into the *Christopher,* although Doughty strenuously objected. Having taken in a supply of fresh water and seal meat, they departed June 3 from "Seale Bay," as Drake called it because of the great number of seals found on an island in the harbor. While at sea the *Christopher* disappeared again for three or four days, but while the rest of the ships were near Cape Hope she came to them, and then Drake discharged her cargo and abandoned her, leaving her floating in the sea. While anchored here, he went ashore again and traded with the Indians for some trifles which seem to have been made of fish bones cut in round spangles and worked in on a woman's hair with much art. They then ran south near the coast to 50°, where, having encountered a south wind, they were obliged to turn north again and on the 19th the *Mary* was discovered five or six leagues from Port San Julian.

On the 20th of June, the little fleet entered the fateful port of San Julian. A gallows was found on a hill, and some bones thought to be those of the men executed by Magellan. From this circumstance it is probable that Drake identified the place as Magellan's port, San Julian, and so it is called in the various accounts of the expedition.[29] From the continuous use of the name on maps from that day to this it is probable that the port was the one now so called. They wintered on a low sandy island in the harbor two leagues distant from the entrance to the bay,[30] possibly the one now known as Shag Island. Magellan had entered this port March 31, 1520. Mutiny immediately broke out, the result apparently of differences which had arisen during the voyage between him and his chief officers. During the trouble that ensued, one of these was killed, one was executed, and when Magellan departed from the port, another and a priest were left on shore. Drake knew about this occurrence, and it is not impossible that it may have had some effect on his subsequent proceedings, as here culminated differences between him and some of the other leaders which had arisen on his voyage.

It is not likely that there will ever be any agreement, either as to the causes of these dissensions or to the degree of culpability of Drake in the tragedy that ensued. As previously stated, the trouble was probably brought about by a change in the route or by the

capture of the Portuguese ship at the Cape Verde Islands, which Doughty, John Winter and probably John Thomas opposed. Very likely they now also objected to Drake's intention to proceed to the coast of Peru, which was divulged apparently at this time. John Cooke asserts that Thomas Doughty, John Winter and Francis Drake were "eqwall companyons and frindly gentlemen,"[31] and while this can probably not be taken literally as implying that Winter and Doughty had authority equal to that of Drake, yet it is likely that there was some truth in the assertion. Doughty was in command of the soldiers, and possibly Winter had some similar command; without doubt both were part of the council charged with the general affairs of the expedition and therefore occupied positions of some authority.

If Cooke gave a correct statement of the affair, as very probably he did in the main, there was much discontent and serious dissensions, whatever the reasons may have been for them. Doughty may have been the principal malcontent, but it is plain from Cooke's statement of what happened on the fly-boat before reaching Port Desire that there were others in positions of authority who were also being disciplined, the master apparently acting as a kind of jailor. At that time, there were on board her, according to the various memoranda in Appendix I of the *World Encompassed:* John Chester, who was in charge; Francis Fletcher; Emanuel Wattkyns; John Saracold, and Gregory Cary, some of whom must have been included in the number of twelve gentlemen who accompanied Drake. That some of these shared Doughty's opinions is clear. As Saracold and Chester were evidently not in sympathy with Doughty, we may take it that Wattkyns, Cary, and perhaps Fletcher were the ones referred to by Cooke, who said, "How symply thes gentlemen dyd fare, there is some come home (that except they will deny theyr owne words) can make relation there of."[32]

It thus appears that others than Doughty opposed Drake, and it is a reasonable inference from all the facts that Drake's intentions either now publicly avowed or only inferred in a general way from his capture of Silva's ship constituted the real cause of the troubles. Everything in the evidence points to his determination to put Doughty out of the way. Silva gave as a reason for the execution of Doughty that he was attempting to run off with the ships,[33] and John Drake in his second deposition stated that Doughty was inciting the men to mutiny.[34] Drake himself, in a conversation with

Francisco de Zárate, gave much the same reason, although he assigned to Doughty a desire to return to the North Sea where there would be a certainty of capturing prizes.[35] Not much importance can be attached to Zárate's statements, as he was laboring under great excitement and fear while on board Drake's vessel. Nevertheless, Drake may have said this or something like it, but it does not follow that it was true, as he evinced a desire to excuse what must have appeared, even to him, an unjustifiable proceeding.

Even if Drake's statement be accepted, it is difficult to see how such an opinion, even if expressed by Doughty in most vigorous language, could have warranted his execution, so there must have been something more, and this very probably was an attempt on the part of Doughty to induce some of the other gentlemen and leaders, and perhaps the men as well, to abandon the expedition. When the little evidence regarding the trial which exists in the accounts of the voyage is examined, no trace will be found of this particular charge. In none can anything be discovered which would warrant Drake in proceeding so far as to execute Doughty. That he had questioned Drake's authority and made some violent statements, brought on by what must have seemed to him persecution, is probable, and indeed there is some evidence for it.

It must be admitted that among the various accounts and memoranda concerning the affair, considerable justification can be found for the opinion that Drake thought he had good reasons for this course. As failure of his own plan became imminent, he may well have thought it his simple duty to her to remove Doughty, the immediate obstacle in his way, if he really believed he was simply carrying out a secret commission from his Queen to attack the Spaniards in the Pacific. He certainly could not recoin men, so his principal object, therefore, must have been to overawe the party and keep them all with him, and this he succeeded in doing for a time. Later, however, John Winter deserted him with the *Elizabeth*, which might have easily proved disastrous to his plans, and it is not at all impossible that John Thomas in the *Marigold* also deserted, in spite of Fletcher's account of the foundering of the vessel, which, although circumstantial, is hardly credible and not borne out by others.

Drake's secret commission from the Queen probably existed only in his own mind, no other evidence of it than his own statements having yet been produced. He did not pretend that Doughty knew

of it and in consequence Doughty, who may not have taken Drake's word for it, was within his rights in protesting against any piratical acts, and his desire to return to England on the ground that the expedition was being diverted from its proper object could hardly be considered mutiny. Although John Doughty brought an action against Drake after the return for the murder of his brother, Thomas, the matter was hushed up, and John got himself into trouble by talking too much and finally found himself in prison.[36] Not only are we at a loss to make out from the surviving documents what was Doughty's chief offense and Drake's real reason for executing him, but so were Drake's contemporaries. There was a suspicion that Drake had removed him to please Leicester, whom Doughty was said to have charged with poisoning the Earl of Essex, but probably this story arose simply through inability on the part of the public to fathom the real reason.[37] Drake was neither bloodthirsty nor cruel, and would hardly have taken any man's life to please Leicester, but he was ruthless when anyone stood in his own way.

In order to give a show of legality to the affair, a trial was held on shore June 30,[38] and a jury of twelve was impaneled,[39] of which John Winter, who it later seems must have held the same opinions as Doughty, was made foreman. John Thomas, who probably also shared Doughty's opinions, was made prosecutor and some charges were read and some witnesses called.[40] One of these by the name of Edward Bright testified that Doughty had told him that the Lord Treasurer, that is, Burghley, had a "plot" of the voyage. Drake interjected that he had not, whereupon Doughty interposed that he himself had given it to him. As far as can be made out it was on this account that the jury decided him to be guilty, although Cooke says that they only brought in the verdict because Drake assured Leonard Vicary, one of the jurymen, that the question of death was not involved. It was at this time, probably, that Doughty objected to the proceedings and challenged Drake to show the authority which he had, whereupon Drake produced a package of papers and proceeded to read some of them, among others some letters from Lord Essex and Hatton, and lastly a bill of the Queen's venture of one thousand crowns in the expedition. He did not produce any commission from the Queen, although he claimed to have one which he had left in the cabin. No doubt he had one of the stereotyped

form, which did not grant him authority to put to death any of the officers. As these proceedings were naturally not very convincing, Drake made a speech to those assembled, which was the typical speech of a pirate chief. It affords internal evidence, however, that the real crime for which Doughty was punished was an alleged mutiny, namely, that he had been trying to discredit Drake and his motives, and persuade the members of the expedition to return to England. Cooke no doubt rendered this speech correctly, in substance at least. He wrote:

> So when he had all done he sayde more, my mastars qd he you may se whether this fellowe hathe sowght my discredite or no and what shuld hereby be ment but the very ovarthrowe of the vyadge, as first by takynge away of my good name, and altogethar discreditinge me, and then my lyfe, which I beinge bereved of what then will yo do, yo wilbe fayne one to drinke an othars blod, and so to returne agayne vnto yowr contrye, yo will nevar be able to find the way thethar, and now my mastars consyder what a great voyadge we are lyke to make, the lyke was nevar made out of england, for by the same the worst in this flete shall become a gentleman, and yf this voyadge go not forward, whiche I can not se howe posseble it shulde yf this man lyve, what a reproche it wilbe, not only vnto owr contrye but especially vnto vs, the very symplest here may considre of, Therefore my mastars they that thinke this man worthy to dye let them with me hold vpp theyr hands, and they that thinke hym not worthye to dye hold downe theyr hands,[41] . . . .

No English crew that sailed the seas in those days could withstand such an appeal, so they held up their hands, including probably the gentlemen and those who did not believe him guilty, as their own lives were hardly safe.

If Cooke's account can be accepted, there now began an exhibition of hypocrisy hardly to be equaled in the annals of literature. Drake was willing to save his life if somebody could devise a method, whereupon Doughty suggested that Drake carry him to Peru and put him on shore, but Drake said that he could not answer for this to the Queen if he did. He then offered to turn him over to any man who would undertake to keep him safe. Winter volunteered to perform this function, to which Drake responded that in such case he would have to nail him under the hatches and return home, and called upon the crew to say if this suited them. It is needless to say what the answer was, so Doughty was ordered to prepare for death. On the 2nd of July,[42] after having received the sacrament with Drake and then engaged in a banquet, and having talked alone with Drake for a few minutes, his head was cut off. As soon as this was

done Drake picked it up, showed it to the company and said, "Loo, this is the end of traytors."[43]

On the Sunday following, Drake ordered the whole company to receive communion and said that from that time on all old quarrels should be forgiven, but he did not himself keep this resolution very long. On the 11th of August he commanded the company to go on shore, as he said that he had a matter of importance to communicate to them. On being assembled, he said that he was going to preach the sermon in place of Fletcher. The different ships' companies were ordered to stand together, and with Winter on one side of him and John Thomas on the other, he spoke as follows:

> I ame a very badd orator for my brynginge vp hath not bene in learnynge but what so I shall here speke, let anye man take good notice of what I shall say and let hym write it downe, for I will speke nothinge but I wyll answere it in england, yea and before hir maiestie and I have it here alredy set downe, ...

but Cooke adds, "whethar it were in his boke as he made mention of I knowe not, but this was the effecte of and very neare the words." Continuing, Drake said:

> Thus it is my mastars: that we are very far from owr contry and frinds we are compassed in on every syde with owr enemyes, wherefore we are not to make small reconynge of a man, for we can not have a man yf we would gyve for hym ten thowsand pounds wherefore we muste have these mutines and discords that are growne amongest vs redrest, for by the lyfe of god it dothe even take my wytes from me to thinke on it, here is suche controversye betwene the saylars and the gentlemen, and suche stomakynge betwene the gentlemen and saylars that it dothe even make me madd to here it, but my mastars I must have it lefte, for I must have the gentleman to hayle and draw withe the mariner, and the maryner with the gentleman, what let us show owr selvs all to be of a company and let vs not gyve occasyon to the enemye to reioyce at owr decaye and ovarthrowe, I would know hym that would refuse to set his hand to a roape, but I know there is not any suche heare and as gentlemen are verye necesarye for governements sake in the voyadge[44] so have I shipte them for that, and to some farthar intent and yet thwghe I knowe saylars to be the most envyous people of the worlde, and so vnruly without governement, yet may not I be without them, Also yf there be any here willinge to returne home let me vndarstand of them and heare is the marigolde a shipe that I can very well spare I will furnishe her to suche as will returne with the moaste credite I can gyve them eythar to my lettars or any way els, but let them take hede that they goo homeward, for yf I fynd them in my way I will surely synke them, therefore you shall have tyme to consyder here of vntill to morow, for by my trothe I must nedes be playne with yow I have taken that in hand that I knowe not in the worlde how to go thrwghe with all, it passethe my capacitie, it hathe even bereaved me of my wytts to think on it.

At this no one said he would return but all said they would share as he did. Drake then asked them whether they had come of their own accord, and at whose hands they expected to receive their wages; to which they answered that they had come of their own free will and expected to get their wages from him.[45] Whereupon he again asked, "Will yow take wages or stand to my curtesye." "At yowr curtesye," the company answered, "for," said some, "we knowe not what wages to aske."[46]

Drake then removed from their commands Winter and John Thomas, captains of the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold,* William Markham and Nicolas Anthony, the masters of the same, and Thomas Hood, the master of the *Pelican,* but after finishing his discourse, he restored them again to their former offices, although John Drake said that he made Edward Bright captain of the *Marigold.* Continuing with his discourse, he charged John Audley and a man named Worrall with bad dealing, and then proceeded to enter into an explanation about the origin of the voyage, which briefly was to the effect that Lord Essex had commended him to Walsingham as a fit man to serve against the Spaniards, whereupon Walsingham had come to confer with him and declared that the Queen had received certain injuries from the King of Spain for which she desired to take revenge, and showed him a map asking him to put down on it where he thought the King might be most annoyed. Drake said that he refused to put down anything in his handwriting because, the Queen being mortal, some prince might succeed her who would come to be in league with the King of Spain, and then his own hand would be a witness against him. Shortly after, Walsingham sent to him to see the Queen, who said to him in these or similar words, that she would be revenged on the King of Spain for various injuries received, and that he was the only man who could do this, and asked his advice about it. He said that he told her that little good could be done in Spain and that the only way to annoy him was in the Indies. Drake then produced what he said was a bill of the Queen's adventure of one thousand crowns which she had given him towards his charges, also a bill of Hatton's adventure and certain letters of credit written in his behalf, but he never let anybody see them. He added that the Queen had sworn by her crown that if anybody gave the King of Spain information about this, as she suspected he might, he should lose his head. Then, referring no doubt to what Doughty had admitted that he had

told Burghley, he said that they had now set by the ears the Queen and the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and if the voyage should not turn out to be successful, they would be a scorn and reproach to their enemies and a blot on their country, so that Spain and Portugal would triumph and a similar exploit would never again be attempted. He added that he had as much invested in the enterprise as any three others and that even if he did not get home himself, the Queen would pay every man his wages as it was her that they served and she was the mover of the enterprise. He also said that if necessary he would sell everything he had, even to his shirt, to fulfill his promises.

A few days before sailing, Drake went aboard the *Elizabeth* and swore that he would hang thirty in the fleet who deserved it, and again attacked Worrall and Winter. From this it seems that most of the dissatisfied ones were on that vessel with Winter and did not participate in Drake's exploits after the great storm; perhaps Drake anticipated Winter's desertion and purposely put them on that ship. The mention of Worrall is interesting; he was not an officer of rank but was certainly important enough to receive some special attention from Drake. Perhaps he was also a merchant like Saracold and Audley, who also returned with Winter.

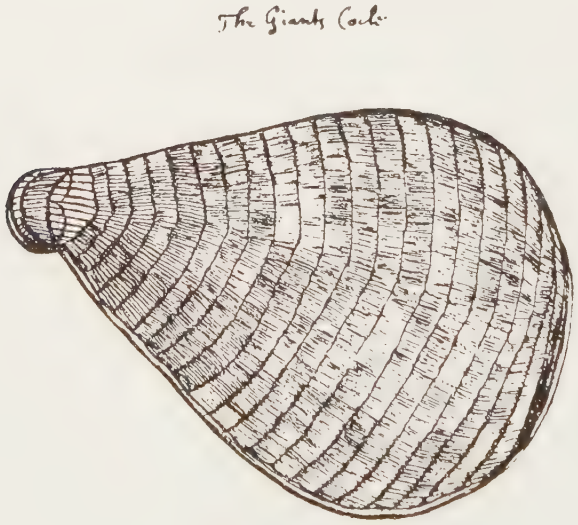
The trial was a farce, the final verdict being given by the men after an impassioned speech by Drake. His invitation to those who desired to go home to show themselves, offering to give them the *Marigold* for that purpose, was probably simply a ruse to discover who the discontented ones were, and no doubt it was so regarded. According to his own statement he knew of a number of such, and if he had been sincere in his offer, he could have put them on board that ship and sent them back to England with Doughty as a prisoner.

While in this port, Magellan's famous Patagonian giants appeared on the scene. As a matter of fact, they were only about the height of a good sized Englishman, but were well built, strong, and also very bold, as Drake soon discovered. June 22, he went ashore in the morning with John Thomas, Robert Winterhey, Oliver the master gunner, John Brewer, Thomas Hood,[47] and Thomas Drake, and as they stepped on land two or three of the Indians appeared and made signs to them not to go any farther. Winterhey, who had a bow and some arrows, attempted to fire an arrow to show them how well the English could shoot, but the string broke, and the Indians, thinking that he had intended to shoot at them, began to shoot at the English-

men. The gunner who had a caliver ready, leveled it, but it would not fire, and one of the Indians shot him through the breast, killing him instantly,[48] the arrow coming out at his back. Winterhey was also shot through the chest. After the Indians had exhausted their supply of arrows against the shields of the Englishmen, Drake took Oliver's caliver and shot one Indian in the abdomen. The party then escaped to their boat leaving the dead man on shore until night. When they went after him it was found that the Indians had taken all his clothes and put them under his head, sticking an arrow in his left eye. He was buried on the island together with Winterhey, who died two days later.

Fletcher tells us that the reason these savages were so different from the loving and harmless ones in other parts of the country was because when Magellan was there he forcibly took away two of them with him after a fight. This bred such dislike in them that they vowed revenge if opportunity should ever put any strangers in their way.[49]

It snowed most of the time, and the weather was so cold that the *Mary* was broken up for firewood. Many of the men died from sickness and exposure. The food began to run short, and mussels and seaweed were dainty dishes. Plenty of nests of birds were found, but no birds. Many shells were found on the shore, so large that



Fletcher's Giants' Shell

Fletcher says a pair of them would weigh four pounds, but no meat was ever found in any of them. Fletcher also relates a strange story about the cooper making tankards out of the wood of Magellan's gallows for such of the company as would drink out of them, but he says that for his part he had no great liking for it.[50] At the foot of the mountain, fires could be seen morning and evening, but evidently the Indians never appeared again.

Having tarred the remaining vessels from top to bottom, taken in a supply of fresh water, and put Silva on Drake's ship, they sailed August 17, out of what Fletcher calls the "Bloody island & Port Julian,"[51] the expedition now being reduced to three ships, the *Pelican,* the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold.*

An English Map of the Strait, probably made about 1587 by a member of Cavendish's Expedition
(From Dr. F. C. Wieder's reproduction of a Spanish map)

CHAPTER IV

TIERRA DEL FUEGO

SAILING close to the shore, the small fleet came to Cape Virgins[1] August 20, and finding the wind contrary for entering the Strait, anchored in fifteen fathoms of water about a league and a half outside the entrance. It was here, no doubt, that Drake changed the name of his ship, the *Pelican*, to the *Golden Hind*, out of compliment to Christopher Hatton, who had a golden hind as a crest. Before he had left, Hatton had become the new favorite of the Queen, and Drake, reflecting on his proceedings at Port San Julian, where he threw aside all pretence and publicly dedicated himself and his men to a desperate enterprise, may have thought the compliment would prove an anchor to windward. Leicester and Walsingham were no doubt the principal adventurers in the trading enterprise, but if any of the Council were cognizant of Drake's own plan it must have been Hatton. The move was a shrewd one and while it would have proved a boomerang if he had been unsuccessful, no such thought as failure ever entered his head.

The Strait had been discovered by Magellan in October, 1520, while on his voyage to the East. Although he was killed on one of the Philippine Islands, one of his vessels, the *Victoria*, returned to Spain in 1522, bringing back twenty-five tons of spices and sandalwood. A new expedition to the Moluccas was fitted out under the Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa, which sailed from Coruña July 24, 1524, and reached the Strait January 25, 1525, but did not succeed in getting through until May. In September, 1534, Simon de Alcazaba left Spain in command of another expedition for the purpose of settling the south coast of Chile, and January 18, 1535, entered the Strait with two ships. He stopped at the island of the ducks [penguins] and killed three hundred with sticks, but went no farther, turning back again in February with the object of taking possession of the country adjacent to the north, and never again went to the Strait.

In August, 1539, Alonso de Camargo set out from Spain with three vessels, also bound for Chile for the same purpose as Alcazaba. Camargo lost his ship at the first narrows January 22, 1540, two days after entering the Strait, but with one of the other ships he

eventually passed through and reached Peru early in 1541, but no account of that part of his voyage is known. The other ship returned to the Atlantic in a few days and sailing south discovered the strait afterwards discovered again by Schouten and Le Maire, and called by them Le Maire's Strait. From the diary kept by some one on board this ship or a map made on board, it is quite evident that Cabot laid down on his map of 1544 this strait and the east coast of "Tera de los Humos" as he calls it, as the map corresponds exactly to the description in the diary.[2] Sir Clements R. Markham even thought that this ship wintered in Beagle Channel.[3] In 1557 Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero undertook to explore the south Chilean coast and the Strait and sailed from Valdivia in Chile in November. Terrible storms were encountered but he finally reached the Strait and wintered there.[4] No account of any of these expeditions had appeared in print before 1577 except those of Magellan and Loaysa, those of Alcazaba and Camargo having been barely mentioned.[5] Although, therefore, the Spaniards had quite a good knowledge of the Strait, Drake did not have the benefit of it and had to rely on the meager description by Magellan of the first passage.

After waiting several days the wind changed to the east-northeast, and the current being favorable, Drake entered the Strait, and on St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th, having passed both narrows, arrived at three islands, noticing Indian fires on the north side as they sailed along. Here, at the one farthest south, Drake anchored in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water. These islands were named by him, Elizabeth, St. Bartholomew, and St. George, respectively,[6] and were those now known as Elizabeth Island, Santa Marta and Santa Magdalena—names applied by the Spaniards, except the first, which has been probably anglicized from the Spanish name for it, "Isabella,"[7] under which it was known for a long time. St. George, near which Drake anchored, is the one afterwards generally known as "Penguin Island," and now as "Santa Magdalena."

From the name Elizabeth given to the largest one, it seems possible that Drake took possession of it for the Queen. Purchas states that in September, 1618, Captain Winter told him at Bath that solemn possession was actually taken of the Strait for the use of her Majesty and her successors.[8] As Winter was not with Drake when they were on the outer coast where Fletcher says possession was taken, it seems that he must have been referring to something which happened while he was with the expedition, very likely to the act

which, from the name, seems to have been performed at this island. Thomas Fuller, in his notes taken during the first Cavendish expedition, gives a description of the Strait, from which it would appear that he estimated the islands which he calls Elizabeth, Bartholomew, and Penguin, to be thirty-five leagues distant from the entrance.[9] Sir Richard Hawkins, who went through the Strait in February, 1593, called them the Penguin Islands, and stated that Elizabeth Island was fourteen leagues west and by south from Cape Froward.[10] From this description, his Elizabeth Island was one of those now known as the Charles Islands. As Hawkins had undoubtedly received some information from Drake regarding the Strait, it is not impossible that it may have been at this island that possession was taken, as it seems to correspond very well to the location of the place where Silva says Drake cut down a tree and put the trunk on board, saying that he was going to carry it home to show to the Queen as a sign that he had passed throught the Strait.[11] Drake seemed to have a habit of naming islands after the Queen, if Fletcher, who says he also gave her name to the island at the south end of the continent, may be believed, and perhaps he also called the one referred to by Hawkins "Elizabeth Island" if he actually took possession there and not at the first one previously referred to.

In these Islands, (Fletcher says), we found great reliefe and plenty of good victualls, for infinite were the number of fowle, which the Welsh men named Penguin, and Magilanus tearmed them geese. This fowle cannot flye, haveing but stubb wings, without feathers, covered over with a certaine downe, as it were young goslings of two monthes old, as are allso all their body besides; in their heads, eyes, and feet, they be like a duck, but allmost as a goose. They breed and lodge at land, and in the day tyme goe downe to the sea to feed, being so fatt that they can but goe, and their skins cannot be taken from their bodyes without tearing off the flesh, because of their exceeding fatnes. They digg earth in the ground as the conyes doe, wherein they lay their eggs and lodge themselves and breed their young ones. It is not possible to find a bird of their bignes to have greater strength than they; for our men putting cudgells into their earths to force them out, they would take hold of them with their bills and would not let goe their hold fast, and yet tryeing all their strength, could not in long tyme draw them out of their holds, being large and wide within. Som of them have upon their heads, standing upright, a little tuft of feathers like a peacock, and have redd circles about their eyes, which becom them well. The fatt which came from their bodyes is most piercing, and of the nature and quallity of the oyle of the sea-calves or seales, whereof we have spoken.[12]

Two thousand of these penguins were killed without making any appreciable difference in their number. The smallest weighed ten or

Fletcher's Duck (The Penguin)

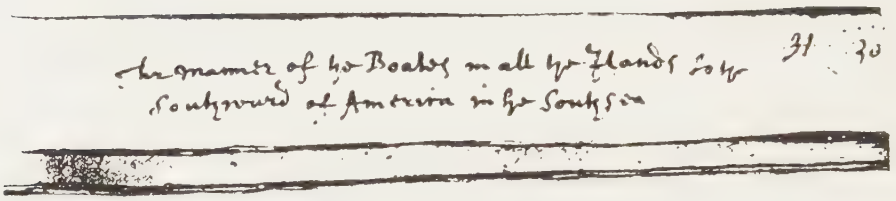
The Dutch Hunting Penguins
(From Barent Jansz' Wijdtloopigh Verhael of 1600)

twelve pounds and they were of good flavor without having any fishy taste.

Leaving these islands on the 26th, the variable winds so frequently encountered in the Strait soon began to be felt, so that they were obliged to anchor on the 27th just north of Cape Froward on the east side, where water was taken. Continuing southward and passing Cape Froward, contrary winds were again encountered, and after tacking about they were obliged to cast anchor again on the 29th just north of Cape Froward on the west side. From there they crossed over to the south side of the Strait, and September 1, came to anchor in a large bay between some islands and the south shore, possibly in Miller Cove, but went on the next day, and on the 4th again cast anchor in a cove on the south shore, probably opposite the south end of an island.[13] It is difficult to identify this island; most likely it was one of the Charles Islands as Hawkins' Elizabeth Island seems to have been one of these. The time between September 1 and September 4 would, however, indicate that they had sailed somewhat farther and that it was the island now called Carlos III, farther to the northwest.

Four Indians were found here, either on the island or in a canoe. They were dressed in skins down to their elbows and their knees, and wore their hair long, but had no beards. The men were all painted and had red circles around their eyes and red stripes on their foreheads. The women wore chains of white shells, some about their necks, and others on their arms; they were large, "but nothing in comparison with the giant women," said Fletcher.[14] These Indians lived on the mainland to the north but were accustomed to come down to the island to fish, and as temporary habitations, erected little huts of poles and branches of trees. Fletcher gives an interesting account of the contents of one of these huts, which consisted of one water pail, two drinking cups, two boxes of paint, two wooden spits and one pair of racks, two hatchets and one knife, and an earthen floor for a bed to lie on without any clothes. The pails, cup and boxes were made of the bark of trees and sewed together, evidently with sinews of some animal. The hatchets and knives were made out of mussel shells a foot in length which were ground to a fine edge and were very sharp.

Touching their boates, they being made of large barke instead of other timber, they are most artificiall and are of most fine proportion, with a starne and foreship standeing semicircular wise, and well becometh the vessell: with these boates,

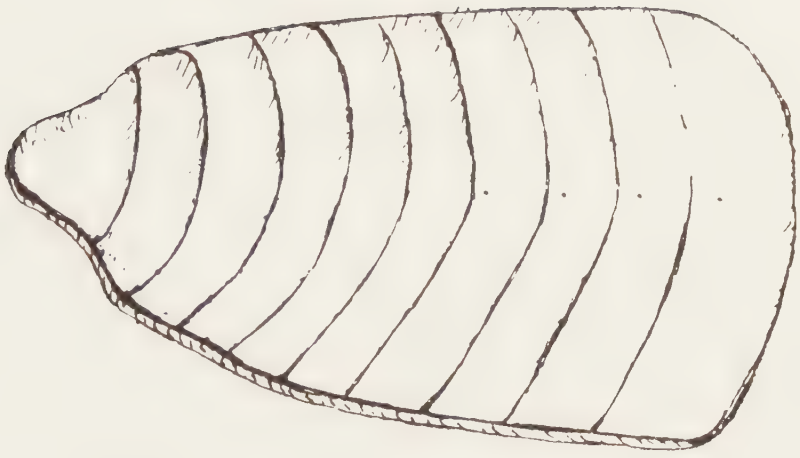


Fletcher's Indian Boat

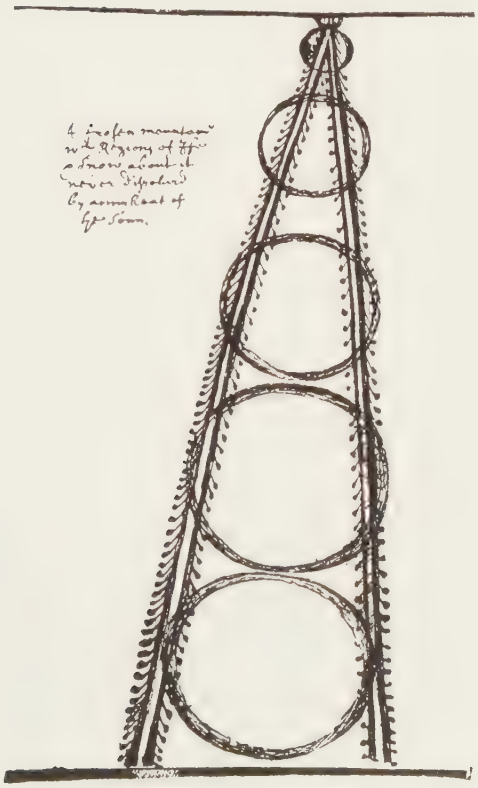
they travel from place to place among the Ilands, carying every man his family. In all our travells in anny nation, we found not the like boates at anny tyme for forme and fine proportion, ...[15]

After passing the bend in the Strait, the mountains on both sides were found to be very high, many of them being covered with snow. Fletcher gives a very queer description of these mountains:

Neither may I omitt the Grisly sight of the cold and frozen mountains, reaching their heads yea the greatest part of their bodyes into the cold & frozen region, where the power of the reflection of the sonn never toucheth to dissolve the Ise & snow: so that the Ise, & Snow hang about the Spire of the Mountains circularwise as it were regions by degrees one above another & one exceeding another in breadth in a wonderfull order as may apeare by the figure in the next table;[16]



Fletcher's Mussel Shell



Fletcher's Frozen Mountain

An evergreen tree was found on the shores of the Strait with an aromatic bark. When John Winter returned to England, he carried with him some of this bark, which was named in his honor, *Winteranus Cortex*.[17] It smelled and tasted very much like cinnamon and was sometimes referred to as *canela,* a name by which cinnamon was usually known at that time.

After they came to anchor on the 4th, Drake was much perturbed because the outlet of the Strait could not be seen, and attempted to find a way out by means of the boats. He himself went south, either in Barbara Channel or what is called Whale Sound, probably the latter, as he came back at noon saying that he had found no passage. He then sent a boat to the north, and this party was fortunate enough to discover one, so the same afternoon they set sail, and passed through Crooked Reach and Long Reach, where the narrowest part of the Strait was found, only half a league wide.[18] On the 6th,[19] they sailed out into the South Sea. Fletcher tells a story to the effect that Drake had a monument engraved and ready to set up with the intention of placing it at the south cape of America at the entrance into the South Sea, which was in much the same degree of South latitude as London of North latitude, as a monument to the Queen and a witness of their passing that way, but that a wind arose so suddenly that they could not stop.[20]

Drake was fortunate in making the passage with so little trouble and in so short a time, as it was not the best season of the year. West of Cape Froward, bad weather was encountered; it never snowed, and when it hailed the squalls were of short duration. From the accounts, it appears that after passing Cape Froward, the south shore was followed, contrary to the usual custom later, and therefore Drake passed through David Sound between Carlos III Island and the Ulloa Peninsula.

THE GREAT STORM

Leaving the Strait, a northwest course was taken, relying evidently on a map published by Ortelius in 1570,[21] which shows the coast of Chile turning in that direction for some twenty degrees from a point just north of the entrance to the Strait.[22] Having continued in this direction with the wind astern or from the northeast for several days, and having traveled perhaps about seventy leagues,[23] a northwest storm was encountered, so severe that further progress in that direction was impossible.[24] After ten or twelve days

the storm became so much worse that no sail could be carried and they drove forward under bare poles.

It will probably never be known just how far south the fleet was driven on this occasion as it is not likely that an observation could have been made before October 1, and possibly not even then. The statement of Cliffe that they were driven as far south as 57° can hardly be accepted, although ordinarily he is very reliable.[25] The other accounts vary even as to the direction. Silva, in his log, said they went southeast,[26] but in his deposition of May 20, west-southwest.[27] Somewhere between these probably represents the true direction. It must not be forgotten that according to the maps which Drake could have had, the Antarctic continent extended in a direction generally southwest from the western entrance of the Strait. Consequently, every effort would have been made to avoid being driven either in a south or southeast direction. During this time Drake must have passed some very anxious moments, fearful every day of finding himself on a lee shore. An eclipse of the moon was seen September 15,[28] just after sundown, so there must have been intervals of clear weather in spite of Fletcher's story of perpetual darkness. While making this enforced voyage to the south or southwest, Drake saw no land for the simple reason that there is none in that locality, but long after Elizabeth Islands had disappeared from the maps, land was shown on them to the southwest of the Strait with the name "Sir Francis Drake" attached as the name either of a port or of an island.[29]

On the 28th of September the *Marigold* disappeared and was never afterwards heard from. Notwithstanding Fletcher's circumstantial account,[30] there is no certainty that she foundered at that time; Thomas may have deserted as Winter did afterwards. When Cavendish passed through the Strait in January, 1587, he saw on the shore, just after passing the narrows at the east end, the hull of a small bark which he referred to as the *John Thomas*[31]—that is, no doubt, the *Marigold*—but he may have been mistaken, as it might have been a relic of Sarmiento's expedition. The statement, however, is some indication that Drake had no positive knowledge that the ship had been lost in the Pacific. The loss of this ship and especially of the captain, John Thomas, must have been a serious one to Drake as he had been in China and besides spoke Spanish well.[32]

It is a peculiarity of these storms that the wind gradually shifts around from the northwest to the southwest and the weather im-

proves materially.[33] Evidently, this is what occurred about the end of September, as Silva's log records the fact that on October 1, a northeast course was taken which brought them to land. According to his log, the course on the 3rd was changed to the north, which is some proof that the ships had been driven towards the west but very little. October 7 they found themselves north of the Strait in a latitude usually stated to be 51°.[34] Drake anchored for an hour with the evident intention of going on shore for water, but immediately a fresh storm came on from the northwest, which made landing impossible and drove the vessel south. The next morning the *Elizabeth,* which had not anchored, was not to be seen. It seems that she ran into the Strait again for shelter, and after waiting two days and seeing no signs of Drake, Winter the Captain decided to return to England.[35] No doubt he took this opportunity to escape from a voyage which had already been distasteful to him and promised to be even more so in the future. The loss of the *Elizabeth* was another severe blow to Drake as she constituted nearly half of his effective fighting force.

The history of Winter's voyage to the Strait and the return to England was written by Edward Cliffe, whose account is one of the most reliable of those which have survived.[36] Anchoring somewhere in the Strait a stay of three weeks was made to enable the men to recover their health and strength. Resuming his voyage November 1, and stopping at St. George's Island November 11 for a supply of birds, Winter passed out of the Strait by Cape Virgins and at the end of the month reached an island off the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, where a pinnace was set up. Near St. Vincent in Brazil a stop was made and some food secured. June 2, 1579, the *Elizabeth* reached Ilfracombe in Devonshire. June 10, Mendoza wrote the King of Spain of the arrival of the vessel and said the captain reported that many of the sailors had mutinied at the entrance of the Strait and Drake, finding that an English gentleman on board was the principal ringleader, had executed him with his own hands. Winter soon went up to London, as Mendoza wrote again on the 20th saying he had been received with extraordinary favor by the Queen although he had not finished the voyage nor brought back anything. The death of the gentleman, he wrote, was not to be spoken of until Drake returned.[37] No further mention of Winter occurs in Mendoza's correspondence. The documents existing in the English archives indicate that some kind of action, probably at the instance

of the Portuguese ambassador, was brought against him for taking the Portuguese vessel at the Cape Verde Islands.[38] John Drake said that Winter was imprisoned for deserting Drake and would have been hung if Drake had not interceded for him.[39] In view of Mendoza's statements this seems very unlikely, and it is much more probable that if Winter was actually imprisoned or sentenced to be hung, it must have been as a result of the process against him initiated by the Portuguese.

From subsequent statements it seems that Drake during the storm had given instructions to the masters of the other two vessels to rendezvous in case of separation on the coast of Chile at about 30° South latitude.[40] He did not give up hopes of finding one or both of the lost ships for a long time, even suspecting that they had gone to the Moluccas in the East Indies after he failed to find them on the coast of Chile.[41]

The *Golden Hind* was probably able to keep a south course during this second storm, and being in great need of water came back to the coast again, which she succeeded in making on October 13. Next day Drake came to anchor in 54½° in fifty fathoms of water, three leagues from land.[42]

Although none of the narratives mentions the loss of any launches or pinnaces during this storm, Juan the Greek in his declaration said that Drake had lost three.[43] It must have been at about this time and at about this place that Drake put into a small boat eight men, namely, Peter Carder, Richard Burnish, John Cottle, Arthur, a Dutch trumpeter, Richard Joiner, Pasche Gidie, William Pitcher, and another unnamed man. They were ordered to wait on the ship but were neither provided with food nor even a compass or a chart, the idea being that the boat would remain near the ship. During the night bad weather coming on, the pinnace lost sight of the ship. Two days afterwards she reached the shore, and the crew, not seeing anything of the ship within a fortnight, returned to the Strait. Here the men landed in two different places where they found some oysters, mussels and crabs, and filled their kegs with fresh water. At Penguin Island they salted and dried many of the penguins. Thence they went to Port San Julian, and after staying a day or two and catching some fish, they went coasting along the land. North of the Rio de la Plata they went ashore at a small river, and here encountered the Indians, four of the men being captured. The rest then went farther on to an island where they lost the boat. Two of

the men died from wounds, and only Peter Carder and William Pitcher were left. Finally William Pitcher died and Carder was captured by the Indians. After staying with them for some time he finally obtained permission to leave them and went to the town of Bahia, where he gave himself up to the Portuguese. After remaining here for several years and making a few voyages along the coast, he left for England in a trading hulk. Within sight of the Azores the hulk was captured by an English expedition, and Carder finally reached home at the end of November, 1586.[44]

On the 14th, Drake ran in among some islands, where he landed and obtained a little water. The storm continuing, he was again obliged to set sail, and on the 19th anchored again among some other islands farther south. Here some Indians were found and a stay of four days was made, during which wood and water were taken.[45] This was probably the island which Fletcher states was in 55° and some minutes, where he went ashore, and having seen that it was three parts of a degree farther south than any other land to be seen, set up a stone, having engraved on it the Queen's name, her kingdom, the day of the year and the day of the month.[46] The island seems to have been Henderson Island, which lies in about 55° 36′. South from this there is no land to be seen unless the day is very clear, when the Diego Ramirez Islands about fifty miles distant are visible from the top of the mountain at the north end of the island. The nearest land to the east is thirty-six miles away, although a little north of east there is a small island only some five or six miles distant. Henderson Island, together with Morton Island and this one called Sanderson Island, form an outlying group in this part of the archipelago. The mountains on the north side of Henderson Island would have provided very good shelter from the northwest wind for a vessel on the east side, where the *Golden Hind* must have been anchored. At any other of the islands to the west and northwest of this, land extending farther south can always be seen by looking to the southeast, and there seems little room for doubt that while Drake and his men were anchored at this so-called "southernmost island" they saw none in that direction. It is, of course, impossible to reconcile the account just given with that of Silva, who, in his log, records that on the 23rd the cable parted, obliging them to set sail, and on the 24th they reached an island in 57° where they remained at anchor three days, taking in wood and water. This was certainly Fletcher's island which he placed in 55° and some minutes,

Cape Horn to Trefusis Bay

and the difference in the latitude is too great to be explained by any difference in observations. No attention can be paid to the statements in the *World Encompassed* that the island stands nearly in 56°, as the whole of this part of the book bears every evidence of having been written after Cape Horn had been discovered by Schouten and Le Maire in 1616 and after the expedition of the Nodals, who located it in 55° 50′ in February, 1619.[47]

A long string of islands extends in this part of the archipelago in a general southeast direction, with only narrow passages between, as far as Henderson Island. From there, there is open water as far as False Cape Horn thirty-six miles almost due east. As Drake was being driven by a northwest storm when he reached Henderson Island, his proper course would have been to have turned north to get some shelter from the island, and this, no doubt, is just exactly what he did. It might be argued that his southernmost island was one of the Ildefonso group in 55° 50′, but from them, it seems almost certain that the Diego Ramirez Islands to the south could have been seen. Besides, they are some distance from the islands farther north, too far, in fact, to be seen from them on account of their low height above the sea, and there is nothing in any of the narratives to indicate that Drake's southernmost island was an isolated one or one of an isolated group.

The wind having changed to the south, sail was made on the 28th on a course following the coast. On the 30th a small island was reached, "a stragler from the rest,"[48] where numbers of birds and seals were killed. From the description this must have been Noir Island in latitude 54° 30′. November 1, the course was changed to northwest, and this was followed until the 5th, when, land having been lost sight of, it was changed to northeast. Having reached the coast again on the 7th, the *Golden Hind* headed out to sea once more, and on the following day took a northwest course, which was followed until the 14th. At that time, land not having been found, the course must have been changed to northeast, as otherwise the coast of Chile would never have been found. On the 15th, an observation was made which showed the *Golden Hind* to be in 45½°.[49] There is some evidence, although not very convincing, that Drake reached the coast somewhere near the Valdivia River, which he then ascended a short distance, but the current proving too strong, he came out. Following the coast, he shortly saw the Island of Mocha and anchored there November 25.[50]

Besides the written accounts which are not in accord, the records of the movements of the ships shown in graphic form on various maps differ as much as the narratives. On the Molyneux globe the line issues from the Strait in a westerly direction, then curves to the southwest and finally to the south, approaching but not touching the Antarctic continent which is a feature of this globe, the coast of which at this point runs northeast and southwest. The line appears to terminate in the open sea. Thomas Blundeville[51] in describing Drake's route on this part of the globe, says that, sailing about twenty leagues somewhat westerly after entering the Pacific, and then making a turn about some islands called Las Anegadas, Drake took his course northward along the west coast.[52] The Blagrave map shows a very similar route, here, as elsewhere,[53] being probably a copy of the Molyneux globe, and also displays the same Antarctic continent. This route appears to have been taken from the account in "The Famous Voyage."

The French Drake and Dutch Drake maps both show the lines in much the same way.[54] No strait at all is shown, but only some eight or ten islands. The line passes between these islands and then after curving slightly south of west turns slightly north of west for ten or more degrees of longitude. There it ends, but presumably the vessels were supposed to sail back on the same course to a point near the Strait, where a line then runs southeast to two islands in about 55° of latitude on the Dutch map, and perhaps in about 54° on the French map, where the inscription "S. Elisabethi" appears opposite the easternmost one of the two. No return line is shown, but from the junction of this line with the one emerging from the Strait, another runs northwest and then northeast in a half-circle around the elbow of southern Chile which is a feature of these maps.

The line on the Hondius broadside is still different.[55] Issuing from the Strait, it extends perhaps five degrees west, and here meets a straight line of dots extending from an island which is in about 57°, labeled "Elisabetha" on the eastern side, northwest to about 47° where it turns northeast to the Island of Mocha. The elbow of southern Chile also appears on the broadside, but not in so pronounced a form as on the Ortelius map.

The line on the Silver map[56] is similar to that shown on the Hondius broadside except that, there being no elbow on this map, the line from the Strait runs almost due north to the Island of Mocha.

DID DRAKE DISCOVER CAPE HORN?

John Drake testified in his second deposition that when the little expedition was in the Strait of Magellan, there were differences of opinion as to whether the land on the south side of the Strait was an island or the mainland.[57] Especially must this have been the case at the time they were anchored near the southern part of the Strait and when Drake went south through one of the channels looking for a way out. If he went by the Barbara Channel, he would have had only a short distance to go to reach the main Pacific, as it cannot be much more than twenty miles to Gonzalez Channel, which connects with Stokes Bay open to the ocean. Doubtless, Drake did not go so far, and all he saw was more and more islands, if, indeed, it was not in Whale Sound, a closed sheet of water, where he attempted to find a way out.

The south shore of the Strait is marked by numberless inlets extending, in a few cases, to actual connection with the ocean. It even occurred to Magellan that the land to the south of the Strait might be only an island, and the same thought occurred to other English navigators who passed through after Drake. The mere fact, however, of the existence of islands on that side of the Strait did not afford even presumptive evidence that there might not be a mainland farther away than could be seen from the channels. Probably nothing more would have been heard about this but for the fact that Drake was driven out of his way by a storm in the Pacific Ocean and reached some of the many islands of the Fuegian Archipelago, which extends as far south as Cape Horn.

When Drake left England, and until very much later, almost every map of the world showed a continental land, separated from South America by the Strait of Magellan. Even maps made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries continued to show it, although after Cape Horn began to appear upon them it was removed to the south and separated from the Fuegian Archipelago by open sea. This Antarctic continent, usually called "Terra Australis," was only a piece of the imaginary geography of the times; so far as known no one ever claimed to have seen it, or at least no more than the south shores of the Strait of Magellan and a little stretch of coast to the south on each side. The fable died hard; long after the discovery of Le Maire's Strait and Cape Horn some cartographers continued to display the land east of that Strait as continental, extending beyond

the Cape of Good Hope.[58] The existence, however, of this continent was not noted on all the early maps; that of Domingos Teixeira of 1573 and the Cabot map are exceptions.[59]

There is abundant evidence that John Drake told the truth. At the time the Fenton expedition was being organized, it seems that there was considerable discussion among the mariners in England, and the organizers of the expedition, as to the possibility of proceeding around the land to the south and thus avoiding the Strait. In the letter of Mendoza to the King, of April 20, 1582,[60] there are some very interesting references to this matter, although somewhat ambiguous. He wrote that he had received information from someone, very likely Sir James Crofts, his principal spy, that he had seen Drake's chart and discussed it with him, and that Drake had told him that Tierra del Fuego was not a part of the continent but only a very large island, and had intimated that the expedition could go around it, instead of going through the Strait where Sarmiento's ships would be waiting. It seems that Winter had made the same assertion when he came back, but nobody believed him, and Drake since his return had explained the secret only to some of the Councillors and the chiefs of the Fenton expedition. Mendoza repeats, from a letter which he says that he had written to the King after Winter's return, what follows:

> He with the other three ships had entered the Straits, but after he had proceeded eighty leagues therein, he was separated from the other ships by a storm on the 6th of September, which storm he says was the greatest that he ever had experienced. He then steered south with a northwest wind towards Tierra del Fuego, which is in the Strait itself, and was seeking a port until the 28th of October, without being able to find one. At the end of this time, in order to find out where he was, he took observations and found that he was in the same latitude as the mouth of the Straits. He therefore concluded that what Magellan described as straits and the continent were really channels and islands, all the way from Puerto Grande to Cape Deseado and from Cape Bonaseñal to that of Maestre, as they are marked on the maps, since he had run for fifty-four days without finding a port.[61] Drake who had a fair wind and fine weather ran back to reconnoitre in the same direction as that in which he had been driven by the storm and then sailing north outside the islands which look like a strait, and entering the South Sea, proceeded to Panama from whence, after he had committed the robberies, he sailed to the Moluccas and returned by the Cape of Good Hope.

Mendoza was certainly much mixed; all of the above may have been what his spy had heard from Drake instead of part from Drake and part from Winter. He seemed to be of the opinion that Winter had been driven back by the storm to Port San Julian, and thus had

caused the cosmographers to think that he had not entered the Strait at all on his return voyage. This, of course, was entirely contrary to the fact, as there is nothing in any of the narratives to indicate that any of the ships ever passed back again into the Atlantic by way of Cape Horn.

In July, 1594, Sir Richard Hawkins was captured by the Spaniards off the north coast of Peru and taken to Lima, and subsequently to Spain where he remained a captive for some time. In 1601 Antonio de Herrera, who either had obtained some statement from Hawkins himself in Spain or had seen a copy of a declaration which he may have made in Lima, published what Hawkins had to say about the Strait.

> Don Ricardo Hawkins above referred to says that he traveled many days through the straits, and affirms that all the land on the southern part is not mainland but many islands, which extend to 56° of latitude, which fact he knew because he had run down to 56° in the midst of those islands, and seeing that nothing was found except sea, he returned to follow the route by the Strait. He says that this cannot fail to be the case, on account of the difference in the tides, which are caused by the great number of passages which there are between the islands. The people that live on these are people who come from the north side of the Strait to these islands to fish, and at the proper time return to their country. He understood this for many reasons, but especially because he had not seen any fixed settlement but only some huts which the Indians had hastily erected. Francis Drake said the same thing, because it happened that in the year 1579 when he passed through the Strait, after going out into the South Sea, he, with bad weather, returned running along this archipelago to the mouth of the North Sea, and returning by the same route, insured his navigation to the South Sea.[62]

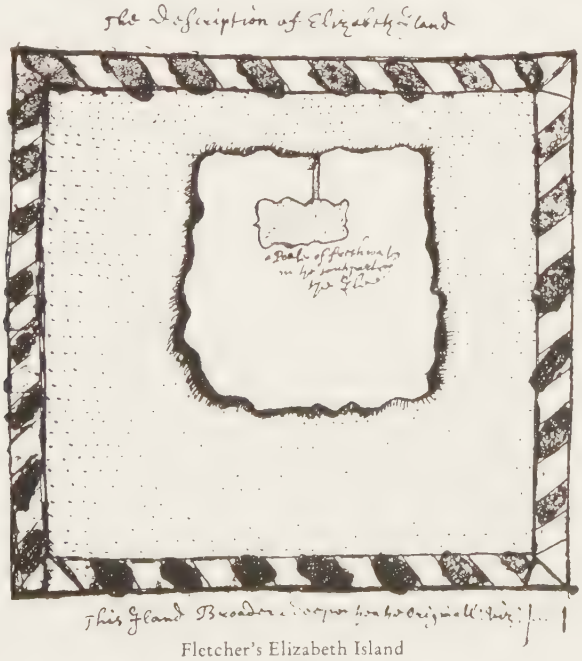
This statement attributed to Hawkins by Herrera does not agree in the slightest with Hawkins' declaration, made July 10, 1594,[63] immediately after his capture, in which he merely said that after sailing out into the South Sea he had been driven back by storms into the Strait three or four times. Herrera must have misunderstood him even as Hawkins himself must have misunderstood Drake, as will subsequently appear. In 1622 Hawkins published an account of this expedition in 1593-1594.[64] It seems that he had with him some kind of diary or log of the Drake expedition, as he identified many of the points which Drake had visited. He tells the following very interesting story:

> If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, hee may keepe the Mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straits to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straits is but Ilands, many times having the Sea open, I remember, that Sir

Francis Drake told mee, that having shot the Straits, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and proofe, that he was beaten round about the Straits, for the least height of the Straits is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stand the two entrances or mouthes. And moreover, hee said, that standing about, when the winde changed, hee was not well able to double the Southermost Iland, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashoare, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe upon the uttermost point groveling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people, that he had beene upon the Southermost knowne Land in the World, and more further to the Southwards upon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne.

Drake's statement as quoted is not very intelligible, and it seems that either Drake himself or Hawkins had omitted some of the connecting links as it is not stated how Drake had reached the southernmost island from 50°. Fletcher tells much the same story as Drake only he attributes the incident to himself and embellishes his narrative somewhat. He says:

Myselfe being landed, did, with my bag, travill to the southermost point of the Iland, to the sea on that syde where I found that Iland to be more Southerly

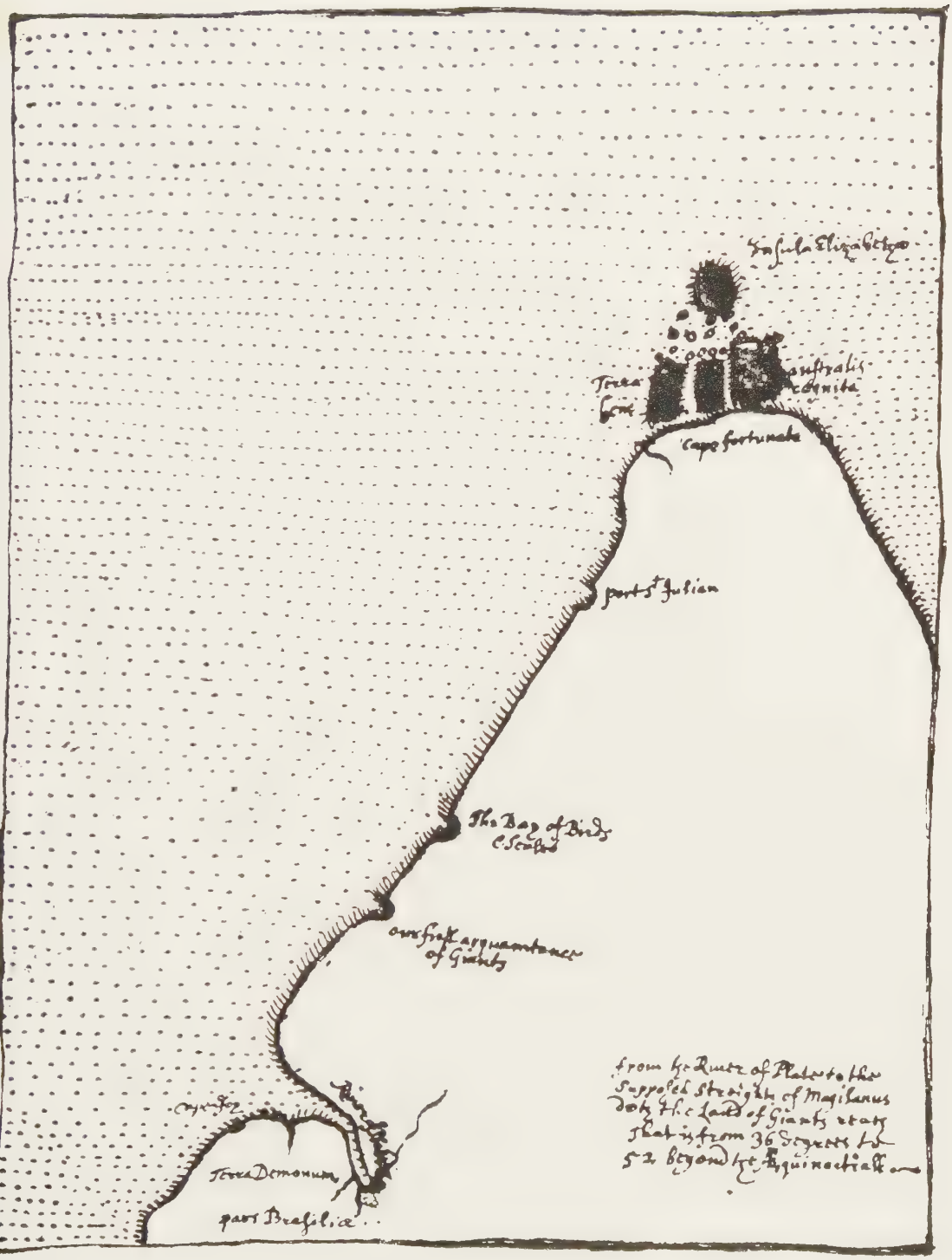


Fletcher's Elizabeth Island

three parts of a degree than anny of the rest of the Ilands. Where, haveing sett up on end a stone of som biggnes, and with such tooles as I hadd of purpose ever about mee when I went on shoare, had engraven Her Majestyes name, her kingdom, the yeare of Christ, and the day of the moneth, I returned againe in som reasonable tyme to our company. Wee departing hence and takeing our farewell from the southernment part of the world knowne, or as wee think to be knowne here, wee altered the name of those Southernly Ilands from *Terra Incognita* (for so it was before our comeing thither, and so should have remained still with our good wills) to *Terra Nunc Bene Cognita,* that is, Broken Ilands; which in coasting it againe on that syde in returneing to the Northward, wee prooved to be true, and were thoroughly confirmed in the same.[65]

There also exists cartographical evidence that some such statement as just quoted was current in 1587. In that year Hakluyt published an edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* in Paris, and inserted in it a map dated 1587,[66] at the bottom of which will be found some islands south of the Strait of Magellan labelled *Ins. reginae Elisabetae 1579 ab Anglis.* This probably refers to a particular island, the one farthest west. A notable feature of the map is that it does not show any continental land called "Tierra del Fuego" or "Terra Australis." It may be remarked that there is an error in the date given to the discovery of the island, and further examination will show that the islands bear no resemblance whatever to those on Fletcher's map. There is also an error ascribing the discovery of Nova Albion to 1580 instead of 1579. All this points clearly to the fact that when the map was made in 1587 the cartographer who drew it had no knowledge either of Fletcher's manuscript nor, apparently, of any other account of the expedition, although Hakluyt himself was responsible for its production.[67]

No map dated between 1587 and 1601 has been found which does not show the Antarctic continent except that of Molyneux of 1600.[68] On this a collection of islands is shown and no southern continent, but the configuration is entirely different from that of the Hakluyt 1587 map just described. At the very southernmost part is an island which is called "Queen's Island," obviously a paraphrase of the Latin name. Fletcher, whose account of taking possession of the southernmost island has just been quoted, does not say that he named the island "Elizabeth," but later in the course of his narrative he uses that name as evidently referring to this island. Furthermore, a map, herewith reproduced, will be found in his narrative on which the name "Elizabethae" is applied to the southernmost island. Other maps described in the section of maps follow-



Fletcher's Map of Southern South America

Section of Cabot's Planisphere of 1544

ing are also in existence which show islands at the south end of the continent arranged in different ways but so close to a "Terra Australis" that a doubt arises whether the cartographers who made them considered that a ship could pass south of them from one ocean to the other.

Drake's statement after his return that he had been at the part of America farthest south does not prove that such had been the case, but merely that he thought so, and the same can be said of his assertion that he came to a point where the two seas were one. His wanderings during the great storm made it plain that on the west side, at least, there was no Antarctic continent in the latitudes depicted on the maps, and it did not require any great stretch of the imagination to conclude that a similar state of affairs would be found to exist on the east side. He undoubtedly went far enough south among the islands in the Pacific to form an idea that by continuing towards the east he could reach the Atlantic Ocean. Because no land could be seen from his southernmost island, and Cape Horn answers that description, it has been assumed by nearly everyone that Drake's Island was actually Horn Island, but the reasoning is defective, as an examination of the map will show that the same description fits the southernmost point of Henderson Island, which almost certainly was as far south as he reached. As Drake must have been acquainted with the Cabot map, which, as heretofore explained, shows land as extending to the west only from the south end of what is Le Maire's Strait, with no land to the south of it, it may be reasonably inferred that from it he largely drew his conclusions. If his discovery from the west is plotted on that map the result will be to show that the Atlantic and Pacific actually join in that neighborhood, or to speak more accurately, that the two oceans are the same. Drake's idea on this point, therefore, was nothing but a logical deduction, and affords proof, not that he actually discovered the land farthest south, but merely that his reasoning was sound in assuming that there was a free passage between the two oceans around the southern end of the continent.

Just where Drake's and Fletcher's southernmost island actually was will probably never be definitely known. When the "Famous Voyage" was reprinted in 1600 the location of it was changed from "55 and a terce" as previously printed to "57 and a terce." In his log and in all his depositions in Mexico, Silva also stated that coasting southwards along the land, they reached 57°. He certainly was

consistent, but his version can not be accepted, as there is no island in that part of the world in that latitude. The Diego Ramirez Islands are situated in about 56° 31′ nearly fifty miles from any other land. There is nothing in any of the accounts to warrant a belief that Drake ever saw them nor is there anything to indicate that Drake ever landed on the Cape Horn Islands. The Cape itself, in lat. 55° 58′ 40″, is a mountain nearly fourteen hundred feet high, and the others of the group are also, generally speaking, nothing but sharp-pointed mountains. Their shores are very steep and the land is covered with evergreens and a heavy growth of brush, and in no way do they correspond to the descriptions given by Fletcher or Drake.

In Fletcher's manuscript there is a short passage which will be conclusive in the matter if accepted as a true statement:

"Wee landing in this Iland found it as the Rest of the Southerly Ilands whereof wee have heard, the like people boates herbes & trees but more flourishing because their summer was nearer now by 2 monthes then it was at our being with them."[69] Nothing could be plainer than that Fletcher meant to say that the Indians on his southernmost island were the same and had the same boats as those they had encountered in the Strait. The Cape Horn Islands are inhabited by a tribe of Indians known as the Yahgans, distinct from the Alaculoofs of the Strait and nearby territory, and it can hardly be doubted that the same tribe also inhabited these islands and adjacent ones in Drake's day. They are so unlike those Drake encountered in the Strait that Fletcher certainly would not have failed to refer to the fact that their boats at least were constructed entirely differently, besides lacking the semi-circular standards at each end so peculiar to those of the Alaculoofs. When these regions were visited by exploring parties in the early part of the nineteenth century, the Alaculoofs were still using the same kind of boats as in Drake's day, and they were then found not only in the Strait but on the islands in the main Pacific for some distance south of it.[70]

Although Drake asserted that an open passage between the seas existed south of the continent,[71] someone had to sail around before this could be demonstrated, and the fact that none of the English navigators on their voyages to the Pacific in the next twenty years —and there were a number—ever attempted to do so, but all endeavored to go through the Strait, is very strong evidence indeed that Drake's statements were not taken seriously. Even the Fenton

expedition, which Drake is quoted as stating could avoid the Strait by going around, had no such plan in contemplation. The efforts which they made on the coast of Brazil to obtain information about the Spaniards in the Strait are very strong evidence that the intention was to go that way. Neither did the cartographers generally believe it. Almost all continued to show a vast Antarctic continent immediately south of the Strait, until it was demonstrated by passing around Cape Horn, that at least if there were an Antarctic continent, it lay farther to the south.

In January, 1616, Schouten and Le Maire discovered the strait which they called Le Maire and at the end of the month sailed by a cape they named Van Horn, in 57° 58′.[72] After passing on to the East, Schouten returned to Holland in July, 1617, and reported his discovery. As soon as the news reached Spain, the King, realizing its importance, ordered an expedition to be sent out to verify it. Bartolomé Garcia de Nodal and his brother Gonzalo were appointed to the command, and with two ships set sail from Lisbon September 27, 1618. February 5, 1619, Cape Horn, which they called San Ildefonso, was observed and its latitude calculated as 55° 50′. Continuing northwest through the Pacific to the Strait of Magellan they passed through this and returned to Spain in July. In 1621 an account of the voyage was published in Madrid,[73] and thereafter the observations of the Nodals, which were remarkably accurate considering the faulty instruments in use at the time, were generally accepted and those of Schouten and Le Maire discarded.

Thus by actually sailing from the Atlantic to the Pacific around Cape Horn, Drake's theory that the seas were one was finally demonstrated to be correct. He had now been dead twenty years and more, and his assertions were nearly forgotten, even his "Elizabeth Island" at the south had nearly or quite disappeared from the maps, but the news of the rounding of the cape by two parties within three years of each other sufficed to bring his claims to life again. The English and the Dutch were extremely jealous of each other, and the discovery alleged by the latter to have been made by their fellow-countrymen aroused the ire of Purchas, Hakluyt's literary heir, who vented his spleen on them in the following quite characteristic passage:[74]

> I adde their New Straights Southwards from those of Magelane were discovered before by Drake, as in the Map of Sir Francis Drakes Voyage presented to Queene Elizabeth, still hanging in His Majesties Gallerie at White Hall, neere the

Privie Chamber, and by that Map (wherein is Cabotas Picture, the first and great Columbus for the Northerne World) may be seene.[75] In which Map, the South of the Magelane Straits is not a Continent, but many Ilands, and the very same which they have stiled in their Straits, Barnevels Ilands had long before beene named by the most auspicate of Earthly Names, and let themselves be Judges, with which the other is as little worthie to be mentioned, as a kind Mother, and an unkind Traitor. The Name Elizabeth is expressed in golden Letters, with a golden Crowne, Garter, and Armes affixed: The words ascribed thereunto are these, Cum omnes ferè hanc partem Australem Continentem esse putent, pro certo sciant Insulas esse Navigantibus pervias, earumque australissimam Elizabetham à D. Francisco Draco Inventore dictam esse.[76] The same height of 57. degrees, and Southeasterly situation from the Magelan Westerne Mouth give further evidence. And my learned friend Master Brigges told me, that he hath seene this plot of Drakes Voyage cut in Silver by a Dutchman (Michael Mercator, Nephew to Gerardus)[77] many yeeres before Scouten or Maire intended that Voyage.[78]

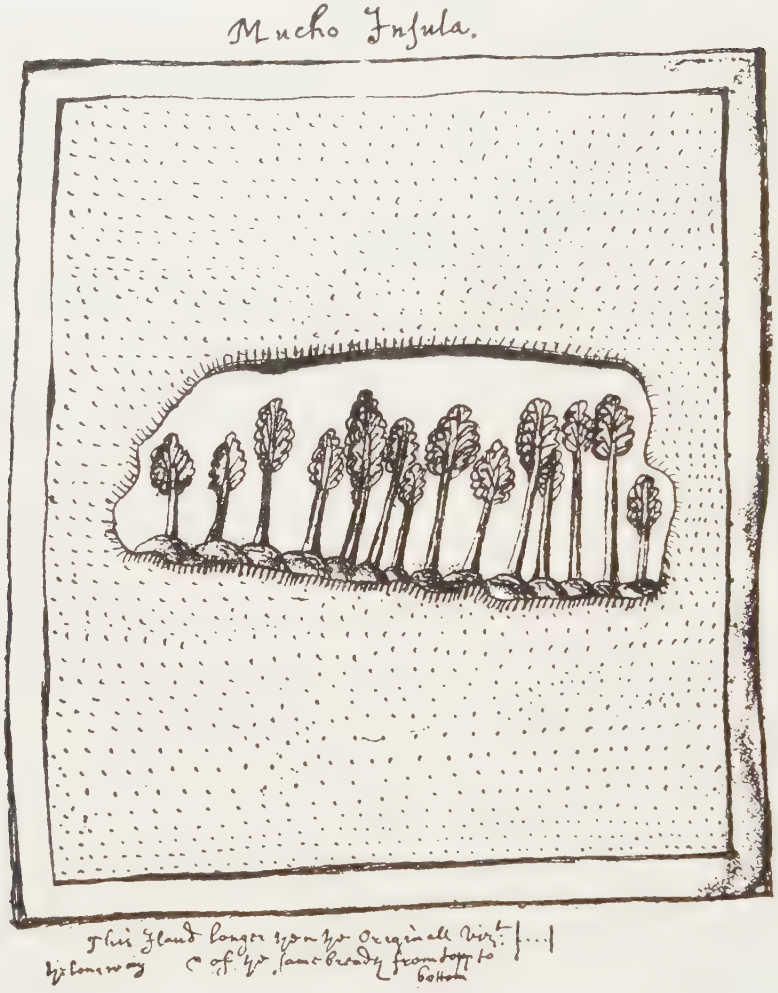
Of course Drake never discovered Le Maire Strait, nor is there the slightest reason to suppose that he ever saw Barnevelt Island, and although Purchas in a marginal note to the above asserted that Drake had discovered that strait, what he meant, no doubt, was that he had discovered Cape Horn. It is curious that he does not refer to any account of Drake's voyage, although, to be sure, the *World Encompassed* had not been published at that time, and the account in the "Famous Voyage" could hardly have been interpreted to mean that Drake had discovered the southern point of the continent. This claim appeared in *His Pilgrimes* in 1625, and three years later the *World Encompassed* was published, in which, although the cape was not mentioned by its new name "Horn" nor is anything said of a voyage around it, the internal evidence is strong that the compiler was well aware of the discovery. Its latitude for the first time appears as "neere in 56 deg.," plainly taken from the account of the Nodals' expedition. In this, Fletcher's fantastic tale about taking possession is not repeated nor is any mention made of a similar story about Drake, although the compiler was making use of the former's narrative whenever it suited his convenience. The amount of space devoted to the subject by Fletcher arouses a suspicion that this part of his narrative was not written until after 1617 when news of the discovery reached Europe, but at least he did not copy the Nodals' latitude for it, but said it was in 55° where the seas were one.[79] Incidentally it may be added that the only record of any statement by Drake himself as to the location of his southernmost island occurs in a conversation with Benito Diaz Bravo in which he said it was in 55°.[80]

CHAPTER V

CHILE AND PERU

MOCHA, a small island about seven miles long, lies about eighteen miles off the coast of Chile in lat. 38° 41′ S.[1] At this period, it was part of the *Tierra de Guerra*,[2] so called because the Spaniards had been fighting the Indians there since 1551. As they had succeeded in holding only some of the fortified towns, they had never taken possession of the island, but had undoubtedly been there and very likely had fought with the natives. When Drake arrived, therefore, it is probable that the Indians mistook him and his men for Spaniards, and laid plans to prevent them from landing.[3] When the ship anchored they appeared on the beach, and Drake, who was short of food and water, went ashore himself, traded with them for two sheep and some corn, and as they seemed friendly, the next morning went to land with water barrels and eleven or twelve men, among whom were John Brewer, John Martin, Thomas Flood, Thomas Brewer, John Gripe, John Mariner, Gregory Raymond, great Nele, a Dane, little Nele, a Fleming, and Diego, Drake's Negro. Thomas Brewer and Flood got out of the boat with the water casks to go to the watering place, when the Indians who had been concealed in the reeds near by, suddenly appeared and captured them. They assailed the others who were still in the boat with stones and arrows, and some even went into the water and succeeded in seizing four of the oars. All the men in the boat were very severely wounded, some dangerously; one arrow struck Drake himself in the face, under the right eye, and another in the head. It does not appear that any of them had any weapons but swords and shields, and having been taken by surprise, they were undoubtedly excited, and crowded together as they were in the boat, could offer no resistance. Fletcher said that if someone had not had sufficient presence of mind to cut the rope by which the boat was held fast to the shore by an Indian who had picked up the end, they would all have been killed.[4] As it was, Nele, the master gunner, died of his wounds.

In the afternoon they set sail, and ran in towards the mainland, which they followed, having a favorable wind from the south, until December 3[5] when they cast anchor in the Bay of Quintero about



Fletcher's Island of Mocha

fifteen miles north of Valparaiso. Here an Indian in a canoe was found. He was brought aboard and having been entertained and given some small trinkets and knives[6] and made to understand by signs that food was wanted, was sent ashore. Shortly another Indian came out who spoke Spanish. This man, called Felipe, said that there was a ship in the harbor of Valparaiso[7] about six leagues to the south, so Drake turned back,[8] taking the Indian along to guide him, and reached there at noon, Friday, December 5.[9] On board the ship,

which was nicknamed the *Capitana*[10] because she had served as such in Alvaro de Mendaña's expedition to the Solomon Islands ten years before, there were three negroes and eight Spaniards, who, naturally thinking the visitors to be Spaniards, welcomed them with a drum and set out a cask of wine with which to entertain them. When Drake's men went aboard, Tom Moone struck the Spanish pilot in the face with his fist, saying, "Go down dog." All the Spaniards, much frightened, went below except one who swam ashore and gave warning. After the rest had been stowed under the hatches, Drake took the ship's boat and his own, and manning them with his own men, went ashore, where he found eight or nine houses and a church, and everybody fled. The men sacked the houses and the church, and broke into a warehouse where a quantity of Chilean wine was found. The bell, the chalice and other silver ornaments, the vestments and a missal were taken out of the church, some being destroyed and the rest given to Fletcher, except no doubt the silver ornaments. In the ship there were 1,770 jars of wine, a lot of cedar boards and a quantity of gold from Valdivia, which, according to the vessel's register was valued at twenty-four thousand pesos. In all, four packages of it were found, and as one was discovered under the steerage in a chest of meal, it would appear that it had not been registered.[11] It seems from Anton's story that a fine gold crucifix set with emeralds was also taken from the ship, but more probably it came from the church, if actually obtained at Valparaiso.[12]

On the *Capitana* a Greek named Juan[13] was found, whom Drake took with him to act as pilot along the coast. Twenty-five men were placed on board to navigate her, and as much food as possible having been collected, both ships sailed out of the harbor on the following day, Saturday, the 6th. On Sunday a stop was again made at the Bay of Quintero to put on shore the Indian, Felipe,[14] whom they loaded with presents, and then they went on looking for water.

At that season of the year navigation along the coast of Chile and Peru is a very simple matter when sailing towards the north, as the winds and the currents are almost invariably from the south, and a storm is almost unknown. At the present time steamers follow the coast very closely, in many cases not more than five or six miles from land. There are no reefs, and only an occasional island has to be avoided. The first place Drake essayed was Tongoy,[15] apparently arriving there on the 12th. Tongoy is in about 30° 15′, and it was in this latitude that Drake had appointed a rendezvous in case the

vessels became separated, so he remained in the neighborhood for several days, evidently waiting to see if the lost vessels would appear.[16] Some of the men went ashore, and although there is water within a few hundred yards of the beach, none was taken, probably because Indians were seen.

Loitering along the coast from the 13th until the 18th, the ship on that day came to anchor in La Herradura, which lies to the south of Coquimbo, just across a narrow isthmus. Coquimbo is seven miles south of La Serena, at that time one of the principal towns of Chile, and still serves as the port of that city. Drake put some men on shore[17] the following morning to take water. They were lucky enough to seize two large pigs and some small ones. The Spaniards

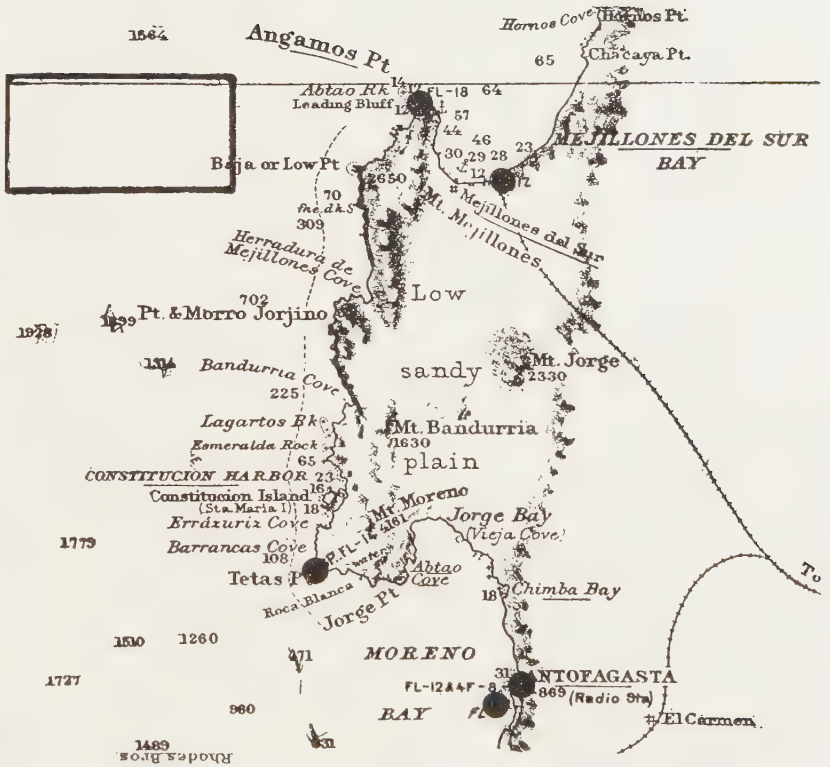
La Herradura

in La Serena,[18] having been apprised—by an Indian probably—that there was a strange vessel at La Herradura, came out in some force to see what was going on. There were a number of horsemen with some Indians on foot,[19] and when they arrived they found the Englishmen filling water barrels. As soon as the horsemen were seen from the ship, Drake, who was on board, signaled to the men on land to take refuge on a rock near the shore, to which they could wade. This they hastened to do, but one, John Minivy by name, being either careless or slow, was overtaken by the Spaniards and killed. Drake sent his boat to the men on the rock and rescued them, and when the Spaniards had departed carrying Minivy's head stuck on a spear, sent men ashore to bury his body.[20] In one of the accounts it is said that later the Spaniards sent a man with a flag of truce to the beach, but Drake would not trust them and sailed away on the 20th.

That night during the first watch the ship was nearly lost on a reef of some small islands, which must have been those now known as Pajaros Islands, just off the end of Coquimbo Peninsula, as there are no others within such a short distance of the port which Drake had just left.[21] The next day, the 21st, the Pajaros Islets,[22] just north of Coquimbo Bay, were reached, where a large number of birds were seen and some water found, but the ship did not remain to take a full supply as some horsemen were observed on the mainland who no doubt had followed the ship along the shore from La Serena.[23]

Setting sail, on the 22nd, they came to Salada Bay, still so called, thirty leagues farther north in about lat. 27° 35′, and anchored no doubt in what is known as Medio Cove.[24] Here Drake remained until January 19. An attempt was apparently made to careen the ship;[25] at any rate her sides, the deck and the bottom were greased, and some guns which were stowed under the ballast were brought up. Drake had captured so much wine that in order to make room for it he threw overboard six pipes of tar. A pinnace, which had been brought out ready framed, was set up on the deck of the *Capitana*[26] and having been launched and calked, Drake put in her bow a muzzle-loading bronze cannon, and with fifteen men, started south to look for his ships, and probably also for water, as there is no fresh water near Salada Bay, taking along Juan the Greek as pilot. In the meantime, some Spaniards who had come out from La Serena were watching the ship, and no doubt observed Drake's movements in the pinnace and perhaps followed him along the beach.

CONSTITUCION HARBOR
Obs. Spot a, Lat. 23°26'42"S., Long. 70°37'11"W.
H.W.F.&C.Xh.00m., Springs rise 4 feet.
Nautical Miles
Constitucion
(Sta. Maria I.)
Mt. Moreno
Errazuriz
Cove


Angamos Pt
Hornos Cove
Hornos Pt.
Chacaya Pt.
Abtao Rk
Leading Bluff
FL-18
MEJILLONES DEL SUR BAY
Baja or Low Pt
Mt. Mejillones del Sur
Herradura de Mejillones Cove
Low
Pt. & Morro Jorjino
Bandurria Cove
sandy
Mt. Jorge
Lagartos Bk
Esmeralda Rock
Mt. Bandurria
plain
CONSTITUCION HARBOR
Constitucion Island
(Sta. Maria I.)
Mt. Moreno
Jorge Bay
(Vieja Cove)
Errazuriz Cove
Barrancas Cove
Tetas Pt
Abtao Cove
Roca Blanca
Jorge Pt
Chimba Bay
MORENO
BAY
ANTOFAGASTA
FL-12&4F-8
(Radio Sta)
El Carmen
Rhoades Bros.

He was therefore afraid to land, and returned on the 12th, two days later, without having accomplished anything. During the long stay here, some of the men amused themselves catching fish which are extremely abundant on the Chilean coast, and during the holiday season some festivities were indulged in. On New Year's Day Drake gave a great feast.[27]

On Monday, the 19th, they set sail, still taking with them the *Capitana.* The pinnace went along close to shore, evidently looking for water. The port of Copiapo,[28] which at that time was at the mouth of the Copiapo River, was passed, apparently without being seen. About eleven leagues farther on they landed on a small island, probably Pan de Azucar,[29] where some Indians were found, who were taken aboard and presented with gifts so that they would show them a watering-place, but although some men landed the next day to look for it, no water could be obtained. Fresh water is extremely scarce along this part of the coast, as what few rivers there are are very small and the water usually sinks into the sand before reaching the sea. Between the Copiapo River and Arica there are only two or three places on the coast where fresh water can be found.

Two or three days later[30] they arrived at Constitucion Island, which is near the shore just under Mt. Moreno,[31] about five miles north of Tetas Point and about midway between Antofagasta and Mejillones. There is a good harbor between the island and the mainland, and four Indians who were found in two canoes said that there was fresh water about two leagues away.[32] They no doubt referred to the famous spring called "Moreno" which is about ten miles or so to the south of the island, and three-quarters of a mile inland. It is said that they went to get this water, and after traveling a long way inland found it, but in very small quantity, "scarcely so much, as they had drunk wine on their passage thither."[33] Drake stayed there a day, caught some fish, and according to Sarmiento, greased the boat and the launch, but this seems unlikely as this operation had been performed only the week previous.[34]

The *World Encompassed* has a story that in the latitude of 22° 30′ there was a great Spanish town called Mormorena, and that on January 26 they cast anchor there, where two Spanish officials were found, who allowed them to carry on traffic.[35] There certainly was no great town there nor any called Mormorena, but around the point named Angamos about twenty miles north of Constitucion Island, was Mejillones, a small settlement which obtained a supply

of water from the spring "Moreno," before referred to.[36] None of the other English accounts makes mention of this settlement or of any other on this part of the coast, but Silva said that the day after leaving Constitucion Island, they saw on shore some houses of Indian fishermen and that Drake took the pinnace and rowed to land, where he found a quantity of fish on shore packed ready to be loaded, and with this and the Indians came aboard again.[37] This very likely was the "great Spanish town" of the *World Encompassed*.[38]

Fifteen leagues beyond Morro Moreno at a place called Paquiza or Compisi,[39] Drake put off one of the Indians whom he had taken at Constitucion Island. While sailing along, a fishing boat was captured and tied on behind by a rope, but the Indians during the night unfastened it and made their escape. February 4, the ship anchored off the mouth of the Pisagua River where there was a small settlement named Tarapacá.[40] Here Drake went ashore in the pinnace, and in a house found two men, one of whom was asleep.[41] He had three thousand pesos of silver in bars, which he had brought down from Potosi on some llamas.[42] Drake took the man,[43] the silver, the llamas and a quantity of *charqui*[44] which was also found. The man is said to have been a Corsican, and if so, his name may have been Antonio, as Sarmiento mentioned a Corsican of that name who had been captured by Drake, but it is more likely that the man was put ashore at Arica and Sarmiento mixed him up with Felipe, another Corsican, whom Drake captured at the latter place and perhaps carried with him as far as Callao.

February 5, towards sunset, Drake cast anchor in the port of Arica where he found two ships, in one of which there were thirty-seven bars[45] of silver belonging to a Corsican named Felipe and a small chest containing about five hundred pesos in coin; in the other only some merchandise and about three hundred jars of wine. At that time, Arica was the principal shipping port of silver from Potosi, which was brought down on llamas from that place and taken from there to Lima by sea. Drake evidently suspected that there was more silver on shore, and as the town was small it was agreed to land the next day in the pinnace. During the night, the artillery was fired at the village and those on shore heard some music being played on board.[46] In the morning, the pinnace set out with some sixty harquebusiers and archers, but when near the shore some men on horseback were seen and so the attempt was abandoned.[47] Drake

then sailed away, taking with him the ship which contained the wine, the Corsican and his silver, and a Negro and a Fleming named Nicolas Jorje whom he had found on board one of the ships. This Fleming afterwards gave a very interesting deposition containing an account of his experiences from this time until he was turned loose by Drake on Anton's ship.[48] The other vessel in the harbor was set on fire and burned. The incident gave rise to a singular statement by John Drake that this had been done by a sailor without orders, and Silva corroborated this in his log.[49] The story is most improbable.

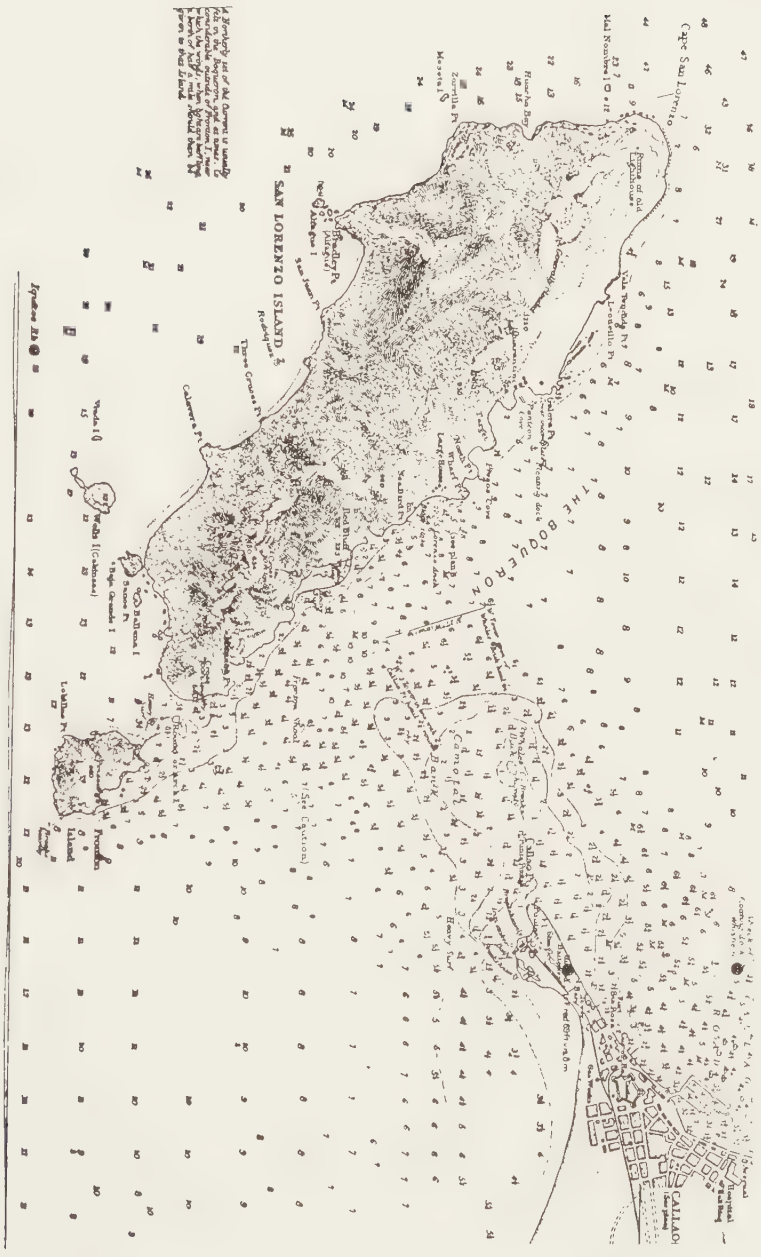
While in the bay or just after leaving, Drake captured a fishing boat and used it to put on shore a Spaniard and some Indians.[50] Sarmiento said that this happened the day after leaving Arica, that Drake put aboard her three Spaniards whom he had taken in Chile, and that these went on ahead in the boat to give warning to Chule, the port of Arequipa. The story is quite unlikely as Drake did not have three Spanish prisoners taken in Chile and the boat could not very well have gone on ahead without being seen from the pinnace or the ship. There was a road, however, or a trail, near the coast from Arica to Arequipa, and it seems likely that a messenger was sent by this, as was stated by Nicolas Jorje, because it is certain that news of Drake's visit to Arica had reached Chule before he did two days later. He had gone along the coast in the pinnace close to shore, looking for a ship which he had heard was there, and when he arrived he found her but she was empty.[51] Her sides were still wet above the water-line, betraying the fact that she had just been unloaded. From the Spanish accounts it seems that the ship, which belonged to one Bernal Bueno, had a cargo of some five hundred bars of silver, but a warning from Arica having been received, these had been hastily removed and carried away on some llamas. The work had only been finished two hours before Drake arrived, and the loaded llamas could still be seen on the hill above the town.[52] There were many people on shore looking on, who shouted out to the Englishmen that they had cheated them of the silver by two hours.[53] Nothing was found in the ship but a few pots of water, but the pinnace took her outside to where the *Golden Hind* was waiting.

It will be seen that up to this time it had been Drake's policy to take along with him or destroy every ship which he found on the coast, and it is not difficult to see that his object was to prevent them

from being used to send advice ahead of his presence on the coast. He now found, however, that messages could be sent by land, and fearing that some news of him would reach Lima before he could, he began to hurry. As the three captured ships were a hindrance to him and of no use except to carry the wine and other cargo which had been found on board, he decided to get rid of them. The next day, therefore, probably February 9,[54] he took out of the *Capitana* the wine and some of the cedar boards she carried, and what wine there was on the Arica ship, and then hoisted their sails and let them go adrift, without anyone on board. He thus saw himself reduced to nothing but his ship and the pinnace, and had rid himself of all his captives except a Negro whom he had found in one of the ships in Arica, Juan the Greek, Nicolas Jorje and possibly Felipe, the Corsican, although it is likely that he also had been put on shore in the fishing boat the day after leaving Arica. That same day, another ship was encountered, but there was nothing in her except two hundred jars of wine, and as Drake had more than enough wine he took nothing from her.[55]

Having passed the Island of San Gallan on the morning of the 13th, when about seven or eight leagues from Callao three small ships were sighted and the one farthest out to sea boarded, the others, which were close to shore, being unmolested so as not to attract any notice. The captain, named Gaspar Martin, was questioned by Drake about the vessels in the Port of Callao. He said that the ship of Miguel Angel, which was ready to sail for Panama, and that of Andres Muriel, carried much silver. It seems that 700 bars had been taken down from Lima to the port to be embarked, and Martin probably thought this had been done. Drake also learned from him that San Juan de Anton, who had left Lima a short time before, bound for Panama, had a large quantity of silver in his cargo and that he was to stop at several ports en route to take on flour. Drake took three men[56] out of Martin's ship for the purpose of piloting him into Callao, and that night, passing in between San Lorenzo Island and the mainland, reached the harbor about ten o'clock. On the way in the ship got into shoal water, and Drake, thinking the pilot was trying to run her aground, threatened to hang him, but fortunately for the pilot she got through without striking.[57]

The course of the expedition up to this point indicates that Drake was only trying to pick up what he could find on vessels on the coast, and that he had no deep-laid scheme to accomplish any really



Callao Harbor

important enterprise. In any ordinary circumstances, and except for almost criminal negligence on the part of the Spaniards,[58] his entrance into the Bay of Valparaiso, followed by the long stay in Salada Bay, would have frustrated any opportunity which he might have had to make any important capture farther north, precisely as happened to Sir Richard Hawkins fourteen or fifteen years later.[59] The fortunate capture of Martin and the information obtained from him about Anton's vessel loaded with silver brought a sudden change in plan. Although Drake had no doubt accumulated while on the Isthmus of Panama in 1572 much information about the Spanish shipping engaged in traffic between Panama and Callao and knew that none of the vessels were armed, the caution which he displayed from the time he first appeared in Valparaiso is very good proof that he felt himself much hampered by the loss of his two ships in the south Pacific. Whether previous to this loss he had a plan to attack Panama itself cannot be known, but it is not unlikely.[60] It was usual to store silver there in large quantities awaiting the favorable season to transport it across the isthmus to the *flota* in waiting at Nombre de Dios. His experience at the latter place in 1572 had demonstrated to him that a project to capture Panama was not such a hopeless one as might be imagined. The movement of silver from Lima to Panama usually took place in the spring, and as the quantity was very large and the ships were very small, a number had to be employed in the business. That Drake expected to capture one of these is possible, although, as just pointed out, his actions on the coast would not indicate it, but now he found an opportunity before him which he made all haste to embrace.

In the harbor Drake found a number of ships anchored, variously estimated at from nine to seventeen and even thirty.[61] He at once took the pinnace and with a number of men started to look for Miguel Angel's vessel, which Martin had told him had silver on board, but none was found either on that or any of the others, all of which were searched; in fact they were all empty, the silver, 200,000 pesos' worth, being still on land in Callao. Before returning to his ship, he cut all their cables and in some way disabled the two largest ones, no doubt to make certain that they could not be used to follow him.[62] John Drake said that he understood that the object of this was to seize the vessels after the wind had carried them out of the port and exchange them for John Oxenham whom they had heard was a prisoner in Lima.[63] Mrs. Nuttall enlarges on the theme and

calls the cutting of the cables "a gallant but ineffectual attempt to force the release of his captive friends." Nothing could be more absurd than this. If Drake ever had any such idea, he certainly showed no signs of it in his actions, because he made out of the port as soon as possible in pursuit of Anton's ship. He was looking for booty and no matter what sympathy he may have felt for the English prisoners in the Inquisition, if he knew any were there, which is highly doubtful, he certainly allowed no sentiment to stand in his way.[64]

While busy searching these ships, another belonging to Alonso Rodriguez Bautista,[65] laden with merchandise, came in from Panama and cast anchor. Having been seen from shore, a boat came out to inspect her, which after visiting her, passed on to Drake's ship. As the boat came alongside someone hailed the *Golden Hind* asking what ship she was, whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners by order of Drake answered that it was the ship of Miguel Angel from Chile. The man started to go on board but when he reached the deck he saw one of the guns and at once realized that something was wrong, as the merchant vessels on the coast at that time did not carry artillery. He therefore immediately stepped back into his boat, which at once started off, those on board of her setting up a cry of "Frenchmen."[66] Some archers on the *Golden Hind* fired at her, and it is said that from one of the arrows which landed in the boat the Spaniards discovered that the vessel was English.[67] Drake then sent his pinnace to Rodriguez Bautista's ship, and as he had become alarmed at the shouting, he cut his cables and started out to sea. As there was practically no wind the men in the pinnace soon reached her, and coming alongside ordered those on board to strike sail. Her crew, however, refused to do so and started shooting at Drake's men, killing one of them with a harquebus shot.[68] The pinnace therefore returned and Drake immediately set sail and started after the other ship, soon overtaking her. He ordered some shots fired into her, which wounded Rodriguez and some of his men, who then hoisted out their boat, got into it and rowed ashore. Drake put some men on board of her and sailed out of the harbor past San Lorenzo Island towards the northwest[69] with both ships, as fast as the very light wind would permit, having only been in the port about two hours.

By one o'clock in the morning, the Viceroy, Luis de Toledo, who was in Lima, was informed of what had happened. He immediately

ordered the bells rung, and having called the inhabitants together in the public square, assembled a force of two hundred armed men and started for Callao. As soon as these men reached there, two ships were prepared on which they embarked and sailed out after Drake, who by this time was four leagues away. About ten o'clock the next morning, Drake saw a small sailboat which he took to be a spy, and about eleven o'clock perceived the two ships coming out, which had hardly been able to make any headway on account of lack of wind. He soon saw they were taking the same course that he was and then realized that they were pursuing him. Thereupon he ordered the sailors he had captured, including Juan the Greek, to be put on Rodriguez Bautista's ship, keeping only Nicolas Jorje. As his own sailors were slow in obeying his orders to leave her, he went aboard in person to berate them, and hustling them off, released her. Spreading full sail on the *Golden Hind*, he took a northwest course, soon losing sight of the ships from Callao, which made for the vessel he had just turned loose.

As the two vessels the Viceroy had sent out, being without ballast, and in consequence very crank, navigated very slowly, they did not reach her till late in the day. It seems that they carried no food and very insufficient artillery, and besides, many of the gentlemen on board were seasick, so they were in no condition to stand, still less to fight. Juan the Greek also told them that the English vessel was large and strong and carried seventy-five or eighty men and much artillery. As a result of a council held during the night, it was therefore resolved to turn back for reenforcements, and this was done before dawn.

The Viceroy was very indignant when he heard they had returned, and censured the general and the chief officers. He would not permit anyone to land, and ordered some of the gentlemen to be arrested, but as usual, these violent proceedings ended in nothing. He immediately ordered two vessels to be properly fitted out, and appointed as General his son, young Don Luis, and as Sergeant-Major, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who wrote a most interesting account of the whole proceedings. This small fleet with 120 soldiers on board left Callao February 27, and after sailing around near the coast, finally went to Panama, which was reached about April 1, the commander not having judgment or courage enough to go over to Nicaragua where it was considered likely that Drake had gone. The Spaniards were so surprised to see an enemy on the coast that

they failed to take even ordinary precautions. There must have been time enough to have sent a messenger by land who could have reached Paita in time to warn Anton before he left there, but in the excitement the Viceroy probably forgot about it until too late.[70]

Off Malabrigo Road Drake met a ship bound for Lima loaded with merchandise and native products, but only inquired from the pilot[71] about Anton, evidently finding no gold or silver aboard. Continuing his northward course as fast as the wind would permit, he arrived at Paita some time between the 20th and 24th of February.[72] Here he found another ship loaded with merchandise, from which he took the pilot or a sailor, named Custodio Rodriguez,[73] some sixty jars of wine and some wax. He also heard here that the vessel he was looking for had left the port only two days before. That night after leaving Paita, the ship of Gonzalo Alvarez, also bound for Peru with a cargo of merchandise from Panama, was taken off the Punta de Parina, but was held only about three hours and then released, only a Negro being taken from her.[74]

February 28, in the vicinity of Los Quiximies between Cape San Francisco and Cape Pasado, Drake captured the vessel of Benito Diaz Bravo on which he found a number of passengers, among them two Dominican friars.[75] The ship, which had just left Guayaquil for Panama, was loaded with provisions, cables and tackle, mostly destined for the fitting out of the ships at Panama which were to take Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, the newly appointed governor of the Philippines, to Manila, he having decided to go that way instead of by the usual Acapulco route. Drake, who had boarded the ship in the pinnace, at once seized forty bars of silver and some gold he found in her of the value all told of about eighteen or twenty thousand pesos, and told the passengers that he would have them all hung if he afterwards found any silver, so they thought it best to give up what they had. He also took out of her all the food and as much of the tackle as he wanted, most of the rest of it being thrown into the sea. It also seems most likely that it was from some of the passengers that he obtained the remarkable emeralds, half a finger long, which he afterwards presented to the Queen, as it is stated that a gold crucifix was found on board and some emeralds as long as a man's finger.[76]

When the wind came up he ordered all the sails of Diaz Bravo's ship hoisted to see if she sailed faster than the *Golden Hind*, and having discovered that she did, sent all the passengers and sailors

ashore in the pinnace, allowing them to take with them what clothing and food they wanted, and then put two guns in her, telling Diaz Bravo that he was going to take her with him. When Diaz Bravo assured him that the ship belonged to him and was the only property he owned, Drake said that he would give her back to him in Panama, but if he should decide to take her to his own country he would pay him for her with some of the Valdivian gold. Diaz Bravo wrote, "I showed my gratitude for this although my heart was not assured." The following morning, however, Drake took the guns out of her and told Diaz Bravo that he did not want the vessel, the reason being, as the latter understood it, that Drake did not have crew enough to man her and both his ship and the pinnace.

Drake then went away, leaving Diaz Bravo alone in the ship, taking with him the Negroes and the clerk, Francisco Jacome. Shortly, however, they returned, came alongside and said, "Pilot, give us the rest of the silver which you have hidden, which you and the clerk know about, and if you do not, we are going to hang you with all your crew." Diaz Bravo said they then put a rope around his neck and raised him more than two *varas* from the deck, and they did the same to Jacome, who, however, passed through greater torture because they kept him strung up until he lost consciousness more than once. The inference from Diaz Bravo's story is that Jacome was also strung up on his ship, but Jacome gave a somewhat different version, stating that this happened to him on board Drake's ship, and that instead of letting him down on the deck they dropped him into the sea, from which they fished him and put him back with the launch on Diaz Bravo's vessel. According to Jacome's story[77] and that of John Drake, a Negro had said that there was more gold or silver hidden on the ship. Drake took this means to force him and Diaz Bravo to confess, but so far as known no information was obtained from them nor was anything more found on the ship although she was thoroughly searched. Drake's men then cut off the foresail and its yard, and wrapping the sail around the anchor, threw them overboard.

From some of the captured men Drake had heard that the King of Portugal and the King of Morocco had been killed in battle and that Don Juan of Austria, the King of France and the Pope of Rome were all dead.[78] He asked Diaz Bravo if this were true, and on the latter assuring him that it was, he called the men together and told them the good news. At this they were greatly pleased and began

to dance. That night Drake had a great banquet on board in honor of the occasion, but, as Diaz Bravo said, "My chickens and hams had to pay for it."

Drake's propensity to fable is well illustrated in his conversations with Diaz Bravo as recorded by the latter.[79] He said that in a country in 55° he found people with only one eye, one foot and one hand. He also showed him the bronze gun on which was either engraved or pasted the figure of the world, with both Poles, the Tropics and the Equator marked down on it. He intimated that he had done this himself and in consequence of his great knowledge could journey to any part of the world he wished. Apparently, however, he did not also say on this occasion that these were his arms which the Queen had given him, as he did when he showed the same gun to Silva,[80] nor did he say that the Queen had sent him to the South Sea but that God had done so.

CHAPTER VI

DRAKE CAPTURES THE CACAFUEGO

SUNDAY, March 1, having passed Cape San Francisco and when nearly off the Punta de la Galera, John Drake, from the crow's-nest spied towards noon a ship four leagues to leeward. It was at once concluded that this was Anton's ship for which they were looking, as she was sailing in the same direction as they were. Drake had offered a chain of gold to whomever should first discover her, and his young cousin turned out to be the fortunate one. The *Golden Hind* was not a very fast sailer and therefore, in order to capture the vessel, Drake resorted to a ruse. Having hoisted all sail and thus appearing to be proceeding on his voyage, he hung out behind the ship a lot of wine pots filled with water, which retarded her progress very materially.[1] San Juan de Anton, the master of the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion,* nicknamed the *Cacafuego,* seeing Drake's vessel, sailed up to her for some reason, probably out of curiosity. Anton said nothing about this in his deposition, but merely that he had been overtaken by Drake. At any rate, Drake came alongside the Spanish ship on the starboard side about nine o'clock at night, and at once ordered her to surrender, whereupon Anton, thinking the strange vessel was one from Chile and that probably those on board were trying to play some joke on him, answered, "What old tub is that which orders me to strike sail?[2] Come on board and strike sail yourselves." On hearing this answer, Drake fired a volley into the *Cacafuego* from a couple of the big guns, the shot from one carrying away the mizzenmast, which went overboard with the sail and the yard. A number of harquebus shots were also fired and many arrows, which struck the side of the ship, one of these wounding Anton or his pilot.[3] At this moment the pinnace, which Anton had not previously seen, appeared on the port side of his ship, and about forty archers climbed on board up the shrouds, and as the *Cacafuego* was unarmed he surrendered.

As Anton was on deck alone, he was seized and carried on board the *Golden Hind,* where he found Drake removing his helmet and coat of mail. Drake thereupon embraced him and said, "Have patience, for such is the manner of war," but immediately ordered him

From Bry's Americae Pars VIII

locked up in the poop cabin. The passengers and crew were placed under guard in the poop cabin of the *Cacafuego.* Next morning Drake went aboard the ship and remained until noon examining her cargo, and then set sail with a fair wind towards the northwest in the direction of Nicaragua, so as to get away from the coast and avoid any possibility of capture by the two ships which had left Callao in pursuit of him.

March 3, when out of sight of land, the search began and the silver was taken out and removed to the *Golden Hind.* Drake took out of this vessel, in addition to some water and tackle and some food, thirteen hundred bars of silver and fourteen chests filled with silver coin, besides some gold, precious stones, jewelry and plate. The plate he divided among the crew, no doubt in lieu of pillage. It has never been possible to ascertain from the records how much treasure was found as all the accounts differ. Anton himself in his deposition said that there were 362,000 pesos in value in bars, coin, silver and gold, of which 106,000 belonged to the King. In addition to this, there was, he said, some unregistered silver and gold on board, the amount of which he naturally did not know, but which he estimated to be about forty thousand pesos,[4] a figure probably far from the truth.[5] On the 6th of March, Drake released the ship with all her men, put aboard her the three captive pilots he had brought along, and then took his course towards Nicaragua. As the ships separated, someone on board the Spanish ship shouted out, much to the amusement of Drake and his men, "Our ship shall no more be called the *Cacafuego,* but the *Cacaplata.* Your ship shall be called the *Cacafuego.*"[6]

Drake was so elated with this marvelous piece of good luck that he gave away to the crew of the *Cacafuego* some of the goods on board his own vessel for which he now concluded he had no further use, such as pickaxes, tools, linen, etc., and to each of the men he presented some thirty or forty pesos in cash. To Anton himself he gave six hundredweight of iron, a barrel of iron and two casks of tar. He also gave him a gun which he said had been sent him from Germany, to a soldier named Victoria some side arms, and to the clerk a steel shield and a sword so that they might appear to be men-at-arms. To Anton he also gave a silver gilt bowl with the name "*Franciscus Draques*" inscribed in the center and a gilt corselet. He also wanted to give him ammunition, powder, and other things but the men would not permit it.[7]

On releasing Anton, he gave him a safe conduct addressed to Winter, written in English, the substance of which was, that if he should happen to meet with Anton, he should treat him well, and that he should give orders to the soldiers not to do him any harm. He also enjoined Winter to pay Anton double value in his own merchandise for any of that of Anton which he desired, and added that what they had determined between them about the return to England would be carried out, God willing.[8] The Spanish officials suspected that there was some ulterior motive in giving the letter to Anton, and sent a copy of it to Mexico City to the Viceroy, where the Inquisitors, on February 15, 1580, interrogated Silva regarding it. Silva said that not only this safe conduct but a similar one which Drake later gave to Don Francisco de Zárate, had been signed by Drake in his presence. The Spaniards missed the point of the letters completely and interrogated Silva regarding the captains of Drake's vessels and the gentlemen on board.

Besides Anton,[9] who not only made a deposition at the judicial inquiry at Panama but also had made a verbal statement previously to Sarmiento, Domingo de Lizarza, the clerk, made a deposition.[10] Nicolas Jorje[11] and Custodio Rodriguez, who were both on the *Golden Hind* at the time, had something to say about the capture of the *Cacafuego,* but none could add anything of value to Anton's statement. They were all in accord in declaring that Drake treated the prisoners very well, with the exception of Rodriguez, who said they had to eat meat on Friday and in Lent because the crew were all Lutherans and gave the prisoners to eat what they ate themselves. As meat was not very plentiful on board the *Golden Hind,* they were still dining no doubt on Diaz Bravo's chickens and hams.

Like all other prisoners of Drake who were afterwards questioned by the Spanish authorities about their experiences while on board, Anton had something to say about the voyage up to the time of his capture. Most of this information he had obtained from Nicolas Jorje, Custodio Rodriguez and Silva, and in consequence it contains nothing of value not found in their depositions. He repeated, however, the substance of some interesting conversations with Drake, who seems to have been particularly talkative. Drake told him that he had a *Carta de Marca* or a *Carta de Merced* from the Queen to commit robberies for her and that all that he should take over and above seven thousand ducats, which he claimed to have lost with John Hawkins in Vera Cruz in 1568, would be for her who had

compelled him to leave home although he had not wished to do so. It may be noted that Anton no more read this *carta* than any of the others whom Drake told about it, nor is it clear what he meant by a *Carta de Merced*, if he actually used that expression, but the paper probably was the same as the one Silva called *papeles* and Zárate *provisiones*, most likely Drake's commission.[12] Unless the general assumptions about Drake's intentions in setting forth his voyage are mistaken ones, the last part of his statement was untrue.[13]

It will be noted that Silva testified that after Drake seized the *Cacafuego*, he told all the prisoners he took that he was in the service of the Queen, and that he had come for another purpose than that of capturing ships. Aside from the mere pleasure he undoubtedly received from telling wonderful stories to his prisoners, Drake usually had some object to gain when he made statements to them about his affairs. As he knew that all these men would be questioned later by the Spanish authorities, he must have intended such information to reach their ears. In this case his probable intentions have been fully examined in Chapter I.

Drake told Anton that when the Viceroy questioned him about what had happened he should tell him that he must not kill the four Englishmen who were still prisoners in Lima, as he had killed enough already, and that if he did he himself would hang more than two thousand Spaniards in the presence of the Viceroy.[14] He said that he had discovered a good route to Peru from Spain and that the merchants would not have to go to Nombre de Dios any more under such great difficulties and at such great expense.[15] He also said that if the King of Spain would not give the English license to trade in that country on payment of the proper dues, they would come and carry away his silver. All of this seems to indicate that Drake's head had been turned by the capture of so much good money. He was also very boastful and showed Anton about the ship, who reported having seen some implements, possibly for building fortifications, and some goods intended for use in trade,[16] some of which, as stated above, he gave to Anton and the passengers.

There was a Negro on board the *Golden Hind* whom Drake had taken away from Arica, and he begged him to let him go back to his aged master, so Drake turned him over to Anton, saying that he could go with God's blessing as he did not wish to take anyone against his will.

It was now a long time since Drake had obtained any water and

his supply was about exhausted, so his first care was to obtain some. The vessel was also badly in need of calking and cleaning, as the hull was covered with barnacles. He therefore headed for the Island of Caño on the coast of Nicaragua, at which he arrived probably on the 16th.[17] Opposite the island on the mainland there is a small bay in which Drake anchored. There is no record of what happened during the following few days, but he probably spent the time in looking for a place where he could beach the *Golden Hind,* as he afterwards anxiously inquired from the Spaniards whom he captured on Tello's bark where one could be found.[18]

On the 20th, a small vessel was seen sailing down the coast, and Drake sent out the pinnace with twenty-five or thirty men, who, after firing some harquebus shots into her, captured her and brought her in. It turned out that she was a bark belonging to Rodrigo Tello which had left the Rio de Pamar at the town of Nicoya three days before, with a cargo of sarsaparilla, lard, honey and maize, consigned to Panama. Her capture was another piece of extraordinary luck, as Drake found on board two pilots, Alonso Sanchez Colchero and Martin de Aguirre, who were on their way to Panama to take the new Governor, Gonzalo Ronquillo, to the Philippines, and carried navigation charts and sailing directions as well as the correspondence of the Viceroy addressed to Ronquillo and the officials at the islands. Without the navigation chart, and especially the information which he undoubtedly obtained from Colchero, it may well be doubted whether Drake would ever have succeeded in getting home again with his cargo. He endeavored to get Colchero to go with him to act as pilot, offering him a thousand ducats to make the voyage, and even sending fifty pesos to Colchero's wife, but Colchero was obstinate and refused to go, telling Drake that he was no pilot, although he did admit that he knew something about the coast of China. At first, Drake thought he would take him anyway, even against his will, so Colchero made a written declaration that he was being taken by force, and dictated letters to Jusepe de Parraces,[19] one of the passengers on the ship, directed to the Viceroy, to Diego Garcia de Palacios, and to his wife and children.

Having taken out of the captured ship the sarsaparilla and put it on shore, Drake took out of his own ship the silver bars, which he also landed, and, in order to lighten her as much as possible, transferred his heavy artillery to Tello's ship. He then calked the *Golden Hind* down to the water-line by turning her first on one side and

A Spanish Map of *c.* 1580. (From Dr. F. C. Wieder's Monumenta Cartographica, Plate 5)

then on the other, and having put back on board the silver and the guns and taken in a provision of wood and fresh water, sailed away on the 25th,[20] about nine o'clock at night, taking along the captured vessel. On the following day Drake took the pinnace in tow and continued towing her until the 27th. On that day he took out of the pinnace all of the arms and everything else that was in her, and put in her all the men who had been captured, except Colchero, giving them a keg and a half of water and some food, and telling them to go to land nearby.

He then continued along the coast with Tello's bark, and on the 30th was in 12° of latitude, and on April 2 in 13° 20′. He passed close to the port of Realejo where Garcia de Palacios was building a vessel for the Philippine trade, a fact which Drake no doubt had learned from one of the prisoners. He tried to induce Colchero to pilot him into the port so that he could burn the vessel and seize Palacios and hang him, but Colchero refused to do so, saying that he had never been in the port and would not undertake to pilot him in. Drake then by both threats and bribes tried to induce him to do as he wished, and seeing him still obstinate proceeded to hang him as he had done Jacome and Diaz Bravo, but instead of dropping him into the water as he had Jacome he left him hanging until he was exhausted, and then letting him down, abandoned the attempt.[21]

April 3, a small vessel was sighted out at sea, and early the next morning was seen near at hand. About half an hour before dawn, her steersman saw the *Golden Hind* very close by and called out to get out of the way and not to come alongside. Not receiving any response, he shouted louder, asking what vessel it was. The answer came that she belonged to Miguel Angel and was from Peru. As Drake's vessel was crossing her poop, an order was shouted out to strike sail, and some harquebus shots were fired at her. As there were only six men awake on her, she soon surrendered. Drake's men went aboard, and having found out who the passengers were, ordered one of them, Don Francisco de Zárate, whom Silva called a cousin of the Duke of Medina,[22] to get into the boat. He was probably an official, therefore, and not a merchant and so did not own the goods on board the ship.

When Zárate reached the *Golden Hind* he found Drake promenading the deck, and kissed his hands. Drake received him with a good show of civility, took him down to the cabin, and after asking him to be seated, said to him, "How much silver and gold does your

ship carry?" To this Zárate replied that he had none, but only some small cups and some plates which he had for his own personal use. Drake then said to him, "Do you know the Viceroy?" and when Zárate replied that he did he asked him, "Is there any relative of his on board, or anything which belongs to him?" Zárate having replied that there was not, Drake then said that it would give him more pleasure to fall in with the Viceroy than with all the gold and silver of the Indies, as Zárate would then see how the word of a gentleman would be kept. Drake then took him to a cabin in the poop, which was used for the brig, where Colchero was found. He asked Zárate if he knew the man, and on receiving the answer that he did not, said, "This is a pilot named Colchero whom the Viceroy is sending to Panama to convey Don Gonzalo to China." He then had the pilot released and they all went on deck.

About nine o'clock the following morning, Drake went on board the captured ship, which had left Acapulco for Callao March 23, to examine the cargo. He found it to consist of Chinese goods, mostly linen, silk and porcelain, of which he took what he wanted.[23] From Zárate, he took a gold falcon with an emerald in the breast and gave him in exchange some trifles, apologizing for taking the things, stating that they were for his wife.[24] On Sunday, Drake had the *Golden Hind* dressed and decked out with flags and banners. On Monday, the 6th, he gave back to some of the passengers their boxes, and after dinner went on board the captured vessel, taking Zárate along. He gave the sailors a handful of reals each, and said he wanted one of them to go with him to point out where water could be obtained, but as they all said they did not know where any could be found, he took Juan Pascual, a Portuguese sailor, out of the ship for that purpose. He also took away from Zárate a Negress, and having put Colchero on board he let the vessel go. Zárate's chief lament was not over his personal loss nor that of the *Cacafuego,* but over the training so many of Drake's men had received in the navigation of those seas.[25]

Pascual, who later was examined by an official of the Inquisition, related that while the discussion about the water was going on, a fire was seen on land, and Drake said to him that there must be water there, to which he answered that he did not know, but that there was a heavy surf. As he was so obstinate Drake three times threatened to hang and behead him. Zárate, who was present, then said, "For the love of God, let us go on our road," and Drake answered

that he would see about it. Pascual said that he understood this because Drake spoke some Spanish.[26] This is the only reference in any of the accounts given by Drake's captives to the language which he employed in speaking to them. There were several men on board the ship who spoke Spanish very well, and on occasions Drake made use of them as interpreters. No doubt, as Pascual said, Drake spoke some Spanish, which he must have learned from the Cimarrones with whom he associated for so long a time while on the Isthmus of Panama during his expedition of 1572, but there is no evidence whatever that he spoke good or fluent Spanish.[27]

It had undoubtedly been Drake's intention to proceed to Acapulco, probably for the purpose of burning the ships there to prevent news of his movements from being sent to the Philippines, but it is quite likely that he heard from Zárate that there was too great a force there for him to undertake the project with any hope of success or at least without incurring considerable risk,[28] so when he came opposite the port of Guatulco on the 13th and saw a vessel anchored there he went in about noon with his two ships. He immediately sent a boat ashore with twenty or twenty-five men armed with harquebuses, swords and shields.

The place was an insignificant one which boasted only a few houses and a church. Its only importance lay in the fact that it was the port of Guatulco, an Indian town some three leagues in the interior, and was the shipping point for some of the native products of southern Mexico to the provinces farther south. There were only some half dozen Spaniards there when Drake arrived: the curate, and a relative of his on a visit to celebrate Holy Week; Gaspar de Vargas,[29] the Chief Alcalde of the town of Guatulco; Bernardino Lopez, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Antequera; Francisco Gomez Rengifo, an *encomendero*[30] and one or two soldiers. Lopez was owner or part owner of the cargo on board the ship in the harbor, and Gomez Rengifo, who seems to have been a kind of shipping or forwarding agent, had in his house a quantity of goods awaiting shipment.

When the vessels were seen entering the harbor, Vargas, who happened to be in the port, went down to the beach with a few Spaniards, and some Indians who were decorating the church for Holy Thursday. At first the ships were supposed to be those taking Ronquillo to the Philippines, but a Genoese sailor who saw the boat coming ashore told Vargas that it looked to him as if the vessels were

English. The Spaniards then armed themselves as well as they could, but the Englishmen soon landed and some of the artillery was fired from the ship. Thereupon everyone fled towards the woods back of the port, but Simon de Miranda the curate, Gomez Rengifo and the curate's relative, Gutierrez Diaz, were captured and taken on board the *Golden Hind*. No doubt Gomez Rengifo was the Spaniard who was seized by Tom Moone as he was trying to escape, and from whom he took a gold chain,[31] but he himself said that he was in his house when the boatswain came in and took him and about seven thousand pesos in money and goods,[32] telling him to come along as the Captain was a good man. Much to Gomez Rengifo's sorrow, the boatswain took by the feet a crucifix belonging to him, and striking its head against the table broke it to pieces, saying as he did so, perceiving that Gomez Rengifo was grieved, that he ought to be so, "as you are not Christians but idolaters who worship sticks and stones."[33] The men plundered the town and cleaned out the church, stealing everything worth carrying away, breaking the images and the crucifixes, slashing the pictures with knives, and even breaking the altar stone. Some of them carried away the altar cloths on their shoulders, using them to wipe the perspiration from their faces, and one of them was seen wearing the chasuble. Lopez saw a tall hunchbacked Englishman taking down the church bell.[34] The town was small, so it did not take long to finish the work, and the men soon went back on board the ship, carrying their captives with them.[35] Drake also put some men on board the ship in the harbor.

As soon as the captives reached the ship Drake put a guard over them, and shortly dinner was served to them. After this a religious service was held, a table being placed at the poop, around which nine Englishmen[36] with small books seated themselves. Drake, crossing his hands and kneeling on a cushion placed at the head of the table on the floor, lifted his eyes to heaven and remained in that attitude for about a quarter of an hour. The prisoners were then sent to the bow as they did not wish to recite the psalms according to his method, but they heard him reading these for about an hour. After this, four viols were brought out, and to their accompaniment they sang together some lamentations, no doubt psalms. After this was finished, a boy came out and danced. The book from which Drake had been reading has been identified as John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, usually known as the "Book of Martyrs,"[37] and Drake showed Gomez Rengifo some of the pictures in it, which he said

were Protestants being martyred in Castile. After the services were over, Drake said to him:

> You will say that this man who steals by day and prays by night in public is a devil, but what I do, is because, just as King Philip gives a written order to your Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez in which he tells him what to do and how to govern, so the Queen, my mistress, gives one to me to come to these parts. Therefore I am doing so, and if it is wrong she knows it and I am not to blame for anything, although it gives me pain to make his vassals pay, as I would not wish to take anything except what belongs to King Philip and Don Martin Enriquez. I am not going to stop until I collect two millions which my cousin, Juan de Aquines, lost at San Juan de Ulua as the record shows.[38]

The prisoners were then locked up under guard for the night.

The following morning, Drake made Pascual, the curate and Gomez Rengifo go with him to show him a watering place near the port from which he obtained a supply of water,[39] and as this seems to have been his chief reason for keeping the prisoners, as soon as this had been secured he liberated them. Gomez Rengifo asked Drake for a hundredweight of biscuit and a jar of wine out of what had been taken from his house, as he said the Indians had all fled to the woods and they could get nothing to eat in the town. At this Drake laughed and said he could not do that, but two days later he did give him two bags of flour, two jars of wine, one of oil and two loaves of sugar, sending it ashore by Silva. When Gomez Rengifo reached the town, he told Lopez that Drake had demanded that Juan Gomez, the captain of the ship in the harbor, and his sailors should bring him a supply of wood, threatening to burn the ship unless he did so, and suggested to Lopez that they should go aboard and see Drake and endeavor to dissuade him from burning the ship or from burning the churches and houses in the port. They agreed to do this but decided not to go until after dinner on Ash Wednesday so they would not have to dine with Drake as he ate meat.

The next day, therefore, after dinner they went aboard with two or three others. Drake took them below, showed them the silver, his artillery and ammunition and then invited them to dine with him. Thanking him for his courtesy they declined, saying they had already dined, so he ordered some refreshments brought and gave them some wine. They then presented their case and begged Drake not to burn the ship, as there was nothing in it but some native products belonging to poor men which had been shipped by Lopez. Drake told them that he wanted to see Juan Gomez the pilot of the

ship in the harbor, and intimated that if he did not come he would cut his throat or hang him. They then departed, promising to come on Thursday to dinner, but after they were safely on shore they decided that they did not want to see him again. Neither did Juan Gomez go on board to see Drake, so far as known, but very likely he furnished the wood that Drake demanded, as Vargas, the Alcalde, who was safe in the town of Guatulco, sent him an order to do so but not to go on board as Gomez had told him he was afraid to go because he thought that Drake might take him as a pilot.

Drake did not burn the ship but he took out of her a large quantity of native clothing and also, either from her or possibly from a house on shore, twenty-five water kegs and some earthen jugs, so that altogether, according to Silva, he had enough water when he left to last fifty days. In order to make room for all this material he threw overboard a lot of food. On Thursday he sent for Lopez and Gomez Rengifo, but Lopez had left town, and the latter no doubt found some good excuse for not going. Without doing any further damage Drake sailed out of the port with his two ships late at night on Holy Thursday, April 16.[40]

Before leaving, Drake put on the ship in the harbor Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese whom he had brought with him from the Cape Verde Islands. No good reason for this is apparent, and the Spaniards were very suspicious that it had been done with some ulterior motive. Drake must have known that Silva would get into trouble as he had been attending the Protestant religious services held on board the *Golden Hind* and several of Drake's prisoners had seen this. If there was no underlying deep-laid scheme to which Silva himself was a party, the act seems to have been one of base ingratitude, as all the evidence goes to show that Silva had been very useful to Drake. Silva, however, afterwards said that while in Guatulco Drake had produced a map, and explained by means of it how he was to go home by a strait in the north. Perhaps Drake, who was exceedingly astute, took this means to dispel from Silva's mind any idea he might have gained from what was common talk on board the *Golden Hind* that he was going to the Moluccas, and then put him ashore to disseminate the news, in order to prevent information of his movements being sent ahead to the Moluccas. Sometime after he landed he made a declaration to Vargas,[41] giving a short account of the voyage, in which he complained that Drake had put him ashore without giving him anything in payment for what had been

taken from him, and without previously having shown any intention of leaving him anywhere. Among the Inquisition documents in the process against him, published by Mrs. Nuttall, there is an inventory of his personal effects in the possession of Gomez Rengifo.[42] This formidable list rather gives the lie to the statement that Drake had not given him anything; probably what he meant was that he had been given nothing commensurate with his services. After remaining in Guatulco about a month he was sent to Mexico City, where May 20 he was examined by the Viceroy.[43] It is probable that in this declaration and in the one first made in Guatulco he told everything of any consequence which he knew, but he was turned over to the Inquisition, and May 23 he made a confession.[44] Sometime later, very probably after the depositions made by other prisoners began to arrive in Mexico and it was seen that some of them charged him with participating in the religious exercises, he was subjected to torture, but the examination made at that time is now lost.

Martin Enriquez, having been appointed Viceroy of Peru in 1580, desired to take Silva with him, and December 16, 1580, the Inquisitors agreed to this, but December 24, they changed their minds, stating in a letter written to the Council of the Inquisition on that day, that since the 16th fresh information had been received regarding Silva's guilt in matters relating to religion.[45] The Conde de Coruña, the new Viceroy, agreed with this decision, so Enriquez left without Silva, who was finally convicted of having taken part in the religious exercises on the ship and was sentenced to go out in the *auto-da-fe* of 1582 and to perpetual exile from the Indies. He was finally sent to Spain in the *flota* of 1582.[46] A few documents exist in the archives in Seville in which a glimpse of him is seen shortly after his return to Spain, but he soon disappears from view.[47] It has been surmised that after having gone to Portugal to visit his family, he may have reached England in some way or other and settled in Plymouth. This is not altogether unlikely although the reasons given for thinking so are not very convincing, no real evidence existing for the opinion. Some of the witnesses declared that he had formerly lived in Sonsonate and that his real name was Hernan Perez. He was said to have run away twenty years before with a large sum of money, leaving his wife there.[48] Possibly this was a case of mistaken identity, as in the examination made by the Inquisition no reference was made to this matter, so far as can

be seen from the documents which have thus far been found, although by May 23 these statements, mostly made in Panama, could not have reached Mexico.

While in Guatulco, a council is said to have been held on the *Golden Hind* to consider the question of the best way to return home.[49] Whatever object the expedition might have had in view before the capture of the *Cacafuego* was now of little importance. Previously Drake had talked to Silva, "boasted," the latter said, of going home by a strait in the north if he could, which, according to a map he displayed, was in 66°.[50] He now, however, sang a different tune; to get home quickly and safely was his first and last thought. No record of that council remains except a brief statement that the proposition to return by the Strait of Magellan was rejected, and it was resolved to go home by way of the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope. Two objections are mentioned to the return by the Strait—one, the stormy weather at the entrance, which they had already experienced, and the other, the possibility that the Spaniards might be there waiting for them. Nothing is said about returning by the open sea south of the continent, a route which Drake later claimed that he had discovered, nor anything about attempting the Northwest Passage. If the latter had existed it would obviously have been shorter than the former, but Drake's knowledge of one was just about equal to that of the other, and neither could by any possibility have been considered safe or certain. There was, however, another and still more important objection to taking the route back by the Strait or Cape Horn, due to the necessity of making a long detour to the west to avoid the prevailing south winds. This would have necessitated a long voyage, and no land was known in that quarter where water could be obtained nearer than the Solomon Islands, which were not much nearer than the Moluccas were supposed to be.[51]

There is abundant evidence that before Drake reached Guatulco his own intention to go to the Moluccas had been fixed; whether his decision was simply a compliance with his instructions to proceed to the Moluccas or whether he had received information from Colchero, which made this course seem the most advisable, cannot be known. Most of the prisoners whom Drake had taken at different times were examined afterward by the Spanish authorities principally to find out, if possible, where Drake was going, and all who

said anything at all about it, except Silva, stated that Drake was going either to China or to the Moluccas. This is clear evidence that such was the general opinion on the vessel. Lanberd declared that while on board he had talked in Flemish with a soldier who spoke that language, from whom he learned that Drake wished to give the prisoners the launch as he was obliged to take Tello's bark, since he would have to take to the open sea for more than seventy days, and that he intended to strengthen her and make her fit for the long voyage that she would have to make in order to reach the Moluccas.[52] It will be noted that Drake actually did take the bark with him when he left Guatulco. Juan Solano heard from one of the men captured on Tello's vessel that Drake had ordered his captains to meet him at Macao and Goa at a certain time.[53] Drake's own efforts to induce Colchero to go with him are convincing proof that at that time he intended to go direct to the Moluccas. Lanberd and Colchero both testified how anxious Drake was, as he even threatened to take Colchero by force.

The capture of Colchero and his charts was one of the most extraordinary pieces of good fortune which fell to Drake's lot on this voyage. Although he had a Portuguese map five and a half feet long, it is hardly likely that it conveyed any information more really useful than the way to go from Lisbon to the East Indies and back. His Ortelius map of 1564 showed him to be about sixty-five degrees of longitude distant from Ternate, and that of 1570, about eighty-five degrees, whereas the actual difference in longitude is about 138°. In higher latitudes than Drake then was, Asia was displayed on the early maps still nearer to America; Japan was even supposed to be only ten degrees removed from the American coast.

From Colchero's charts Drake must have obtained a more correct idea. A vain search has been made for some Spanish map constructed as a guide to the Manila-Acapulco navigation during its early existence. One was undoubtedly made at the time of the first return trip in 1565, which is said to have continued in use for a long time.[54] Two maps exist, however, which show some evidence that they were constructed, in part at least, from some such Spanish model, the Peter Martyr Hakluyt map of 1587[55] and the Molyneux globe of 1592,[56] reproduced hereafter. On the former, which corresponds in this respect very closely to the Ortelius map of 1570, the difference in longitude between Guatulco and Ternate is about eighty-seven and a half degrees, whereas on the latter it is about 114½°.

Just how much the Spaniards deceived themselves about the distance between the Philippines and Acapulco on account of their desire to bring the former inside the line of demarcation, is uncertain. After the voyage of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1564 and the return voyage in 1565, the Spanish cosmographers came to the conclusion that Cebu was about 111° west of Navidad,[57] about twenty-six degrees short of the actual distance. It certainly did not take very many voyages to determine that their calculation was in error, but on account of the political questions involved, very likely they continued to stick to the 111°.

What Colchero's charts did show, however, with some approach to accuracy, very much as delineated on the Hakluyt map and the Molyneux globe, was the trend of the Northwest coast of America as high as 43°, the farthest point north which Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was supposed to have reached.[58]

In spite of Drake's declared intention to proceed directly to the Moluccas, he next appeared on the Northwest coast of America. Something, then, must have occurred to cause a change in his plans, either at Guatulco before leaving or in the mid-Pacific. The immediate object which he had in view was to get away from the coast of Mexico to avoid the risk of capture. The *Golden Hind* had a dead cargo of twenty-five or thirty tons of metal besides probably ten or fifteen tons more of cannon and arms,[59] and all this tended to put a terrific strain on the vessel in a heavy sea. The result must have been to open her up and make any long voyage very hazardous.[60] John Drake testified that on the journey heavy storms were encountered,[61] and if so the *Golden Hind* must have been very badly strained. A very natural supposition would be that Drake started for the Moluccas, and finding his vessel getting into bad condition, had to abandon the attempt and make for the American coast at some point far enough away from Mexico to be safe from any possible attack. The route followed by the Manila galleons on leaving Acapulco was to sail somewhat south of west until a point in 10° or 12° of North latitude was reached, and then sail due west to Guam, in the Ladrones. The voyage to that point usually occupied about sixty days. Here the vessels stopped for water and then went on to Manila, which was usually reached in twenty or thirty days more. There is little in any of the narratives to indicate that Drake took this course, but on the contrary, all but one[62] state that he sailed either in a north or northwest direction, consequently his decision to go to the North-

west coast was reached before he left Guatulco or shortly thereafter. This change was probably brought about by information received from Colchero concerning the prevailing winds in the north Pacific and in the Philippines.

By 1579 fifteen years had elapsed since the navigation to the Philippines had been opened from Acapulco,[63] time sufficient also to gain a very accurate knowledge of the winds and the weather. The Manila ships left Acapulco usually between the 15th and the 27th of March, although it was well recognized that January and February were the best months to begin the voyage, it being considered nearly fatal to undertake it after the first of April, as vessels were then likely to reach the Philippines after the typhoon season had begun in July.[64] Among the records of sailings from Acapulco, down to about 1600, one only has been found of a vessel sailing as late as April 6.[65] Drake's subsequent actions in timing his voyage so as not to arrive there much before the middle of October indicate that he had somewhere received the information that the southwest monsoon prevailed in the archipelago from April to about the end of September, accompanied in the latter part of the summer by terrific typhoons. Whether Colchero told this to Drake or not, cannot be known, but it is very likely that he did, as Drake, in spite of his obstinacy in refusing to go with him, made him a present of fifty pesos.

The 16th of April, then, was too late to undertake the voyage to the Moluccas. That this state of affairs was well understood in Mexico may be gathered from a letter written by Don Luis de Velasco to the King from Mexico, September, 1579, in which he discussed the various ineffectual measures that had been taken to capture Drake. In the course of this letter he wrote:

> It seemed that some results could be obtained by following the coast at once in the other direction towards the port of Navidad, Colima, the coast of Chiametla, Culiacan and California, which it is known that the ships of Peru and Guatemala would not follow as they are so distant, and where it can be presumed that the Corsair would go, in search of the new strait of which they say he talked so much, saying that this was his route. If he should not find it he would fall in with ports where he could take shelter and place himself where there would be the great advantage of good weather, as the country is in a high latitude and he could avoid navigating in search of the Moluccas and other neighboring islands in the summer. From there he could continue his navigation by the Portuguese route, which some understand that he could do if he should miss finding the strait that he was looking for.[66]

Velasco then went on to say that he had advised the Viceroy to send a dispatch ship to Manila to order the Spaniards there to prevent the passage of Drake to the Moluccas if possible, but that the Viceroy had refused to do so.

The evidence, then, is fairly conclusive that when Drake left Guatulco, April 16, he was headed for the Northwest coast with the object of awaiting the proper time to approach the Moluccas, and with the further one, perhaps equally important, of utilizing the enforced delay to repair his ship.

CHAPTER VII

NOVA ALBION

WHEN Drake set out from Guatulco April 16, he had two ships, both slow sailers according to modern ideas, a supply of water sufficient to last probably fifty days, and no doubt food enough for a longer voyage at a pinch.

The "Famous Voyage" is authority that they first sailed in longitude six hundred leagues for a good wind until June 3, and that on June 5 they were in 42°.[1] There is evidently an error in this statement as the words "in longitude" imply that the direction was to the west, but if such were the case they could not sail from latitude 20°, or even 25°, to 42° in two days. It is probable that the account was taken from Fletcher's narrative, and it seems that the impossibility of any such course was noted, for when Hakluyt reprinted the account in 1600 he eliminated the words "in longitude," making it appear that the direction sailed must have been more or less northwest, thus conforming in a general way to the account in the "Anonymous Narrative," wherein it is said that Drake had sailed northward. He also changed the six hundred leagues to eight hundred.[2] The statement was still highly improbable and no doubt very wide of the truth; therefore, when the *World Encompassed* was published, the original one in the "Famous Voyage" was again changed to read: "We sailed 500 leagues in longitude to get a wind and between that and June 3, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 deg. of North latitude."[3] This sentence is still ambiguous. Are the 1400 leagues the distance sailed after changing the course or the entire distance sailed from Guatulco? Probably the compiler interpolated the figures to give some idea of the total distance.

None of the routes of the voyage marked down on the maps follows the course indicated in either the "Famous Voyage" or the *World Encompassed,* but they correspond roughly to that in the "Anonymous Narrative," namely, that he sailed northwards.[4] This course he could not have followed, as he would never have reached the Northwest coast at 42° in fifty days unless he actually had gone out a long distance into the west precisely as described in the "Famous Voyage." The northwest winds which prevail along the coast of California render this latter course necessary.

Professor George C. Davidson has examined this question with much care, and as he was extremely familiar with the ocean currents and the winds in the Pacific, his conclusions are entitled to great weight.[5] He thought that on leaving Guatulco, which is in lat. 15° 44′ N., Drake must have sailed west-southwest for about three hundred and eighty leagues to lat. 12½° and long. 101°, and thence northwest by west for 340 leagues. From that point, which he estimated was in lat. 30° and long. 135°, the general direction would have been northeast to lat. 40° and long. 129°. Here he estimated that the *Golden Hind* would have been about seventy leagues west of Cape Mendocino. On this course he calculated the total distance sailed to June 5 as 1160 leagues, or an average of seventy-one miles per day.[6]

Ordinarily, on similar voyages, the northeast trades are lost at about 30°, as allowed for by Professor Davidson in this estimate, but there is every probability that in May 1579 this was not the case and the *Golden Hind* continued on a northwest or west-northwest course to a higher latitude. As a rule, vessels coming from the Philippines encountered the northwest winds somewhere between 35° and 40° of latitude, and usually about ten degrees of longitude distant from the coast. No record has been found of a returning Manila ship being in this position during the months of May or June, as they almost invariably reached there in September or October.[7] There are indications, however, that on one of these voyages the northwest winds were not found until after reaching 41°. At just what point Drake encountered them is uncertain, but it might be inferred from the "Famous Voyage" that it was in 42°. John Drake, in his second deposition, stated that it was in 44°.[8] If such were the case, the ship must have been a long distance from the coast at that point—600 miles, at least.

After Drake reached the latitude of 42° or 44° where he must have encountered the northwest winds, he evidently turned east toward land. According to the "Anonymous Narrative," previously quoted, and John Drake, he reached this at 48°, and according to the "Famous Voyage," at 42° or 43°. There are intimations in both the latter and John Drake's account[9] that the northwest wind was very strong, as is frequently the case. Did he then succeed in actually reaching the coast in 48°, even supposing that he attempted to do so, or did he sail more or less due east and strike the coast at a much lower point? The contemporary accounts, which were written by

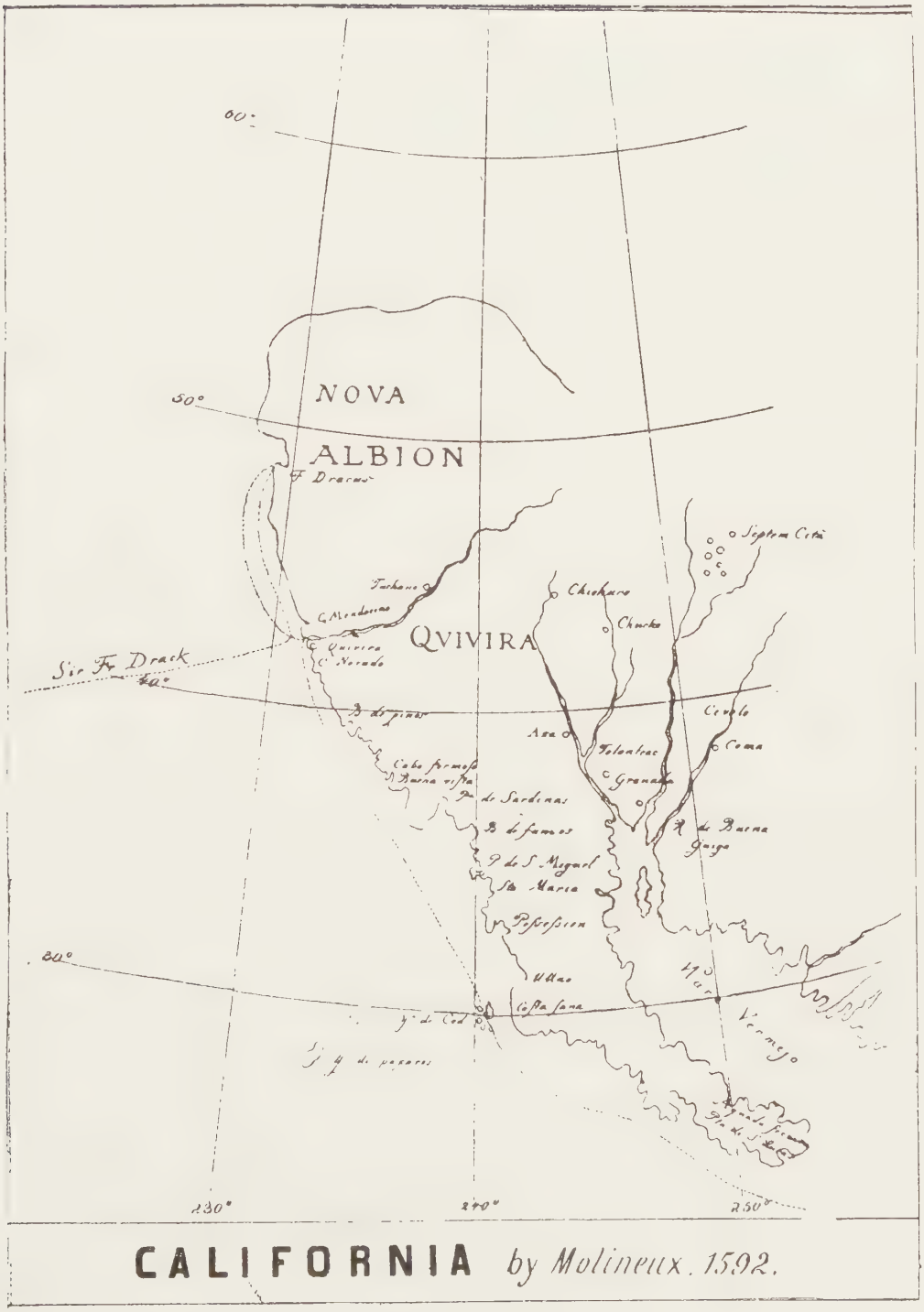
men who did not accompany the expedition, are in practical agreement. John Stow says that Drake went as high as 47°.[10] Blundeville puts the northernmost point reached at 46°,[11] but he was, according to his own statement, describing what he considered to be the route as laid down by the red line on the Molyneux globe, consequently his evidence is of doubtful value except as interpretive of that line. John Davis says he went to 48°.[12] Camden only quotes the "Famous Voyage."

At this point it is appropriate to examine the various maps which were issued beginning in 1592 on which Drake's route is marked down. With the exception of the earliest—the Molyneux globe—these all seem to have been prepared merely as vehicles on which to carry in map form the stories of the voyage, and therefore cartographical accuracy cannot be expected in them. On the Molyneux globe of 1592 and the Blagrave map of 1596, which was copied from it, the route to the north extends to about 47° or 48° and that to the Moluccas begins at or just below Cape Mendocino, which is placed in about 42½°. The Dutch Drake map and the French Drake map show the route in much the same way except that the point of departure to the southwest appears to be a little farther south, at about 40½° or 41°. The Silver Medal and the Hondius broadside depict the route as extending as far north as 48°, with the point of departure to the southwest at about 38°. The Bry map of 1599 is the same as that on the Hondius broadside, except that on it the line extends north only to 42°.[13]

It is plain then from this examination and that of the contemporary accounts just cited, that up to 1595, at least, an idea was prevalent that Drake had actually gone as far north as 46° or 48°, and only the Hakluyt version in the "Famous Voyage" can be placed in the other side of the balance. While the preponderance of evidence would therefore appear to favor the contention of those who maintain this opinion, yet it is quite possible that in reality there never was but a single original statement to that effect, namely, that in the "Anonymous Narrative," the rest simply having been copied from it. On the other hand, the evidence afforded by Hakluyt's version must be accorded consideration. He had from which to choose two narratives with different statements, and the fact that he rejected the higher point in the "Anonymous Narrative"[14] in favor of the lower one in what must have been Fletcher's narrative either evinces some positive knowledge of the correctness of the lat-

ter, or a conclusion, based upon the general probabilities of the case, that Drake could not have reached the coast at as high a latitude as 46°.

That some claim was made that Drake, after reaching the coast at about 42°, went north to 48° by a course at sea and then back again to about the point of departure by another nearer land, is apparent from the line on the Molyneux globe. Where the maker of that globe obtained the information about Drake's voyage which he depicted thereon, is not known. In some respects the route corresponds to that given in the "Anonymous Narrative," but neither that nor any written account of the expedition affords any support to this peculiarity. It can be dismissed as not only unlikely but even impossible from what has been pointed out by Professor Davidson concerning the prevailing winds at that season of the year.[15] Drake had no sooner returned than this claim that he had discovered the coast as high as 48° was set up. This is obvious from John Drake's statement, which although made in 1584,[16] dates back to 1582 when he left England, but that he actually did so is another matter, which has already been discussed in some detail with the conclusion that, although supported by two documents, it is highly improbable. John Drake even had the hardihood to say that Drake repaired his ship at a bay in 48°.[17] The claim most likely had at bottom some political motive induced by the fact that the English had found out that Rodriguez Cabrillo had already stated he had been on the Northwest coast as high as Drake himself, that is, to 43°, and that therefore Drake's discovery of territory farther south than 43° had no value.[18] So little can be made out from the English accounts about what happened after Drake returned, and so much of Mendoza's correspondence is missing that we are left to surmise that when he found out that Drake had been on the Northwest coast and had taken possession there, he complained that the Spaniards had already done so long before. The Queen's answer to him, recorded in Camden, is significant of something of that sort. It was then decided to move the discovery to 48°, as the appearance of the name Nova Albion in the neighborhood of 50° on almost all the early maps would indicate that this was where Drake was supposed to have taken possession. When Fletcher came to write his book after 1588 he put in it the real facts as he understood them. After Drake's death the claim seems to have been abandoned, if the Bry map of 1599 and Hakluyt's revised version in 1600 of the "Famous Voyage"



CALIFORNIA *by Molineux. 1592.*

Dr. J. G. Kohl's Sketch

in which Drake is said to have reached the coast in 43° can be considered as good evidence. It was later revived in the *World Encompassed*, in an interpolation as will hereafter appear. Everything points rather definitely to the fact that Drake actually reached the coast in a latitude which he thought to be about 43°, although very likely it was somewhat lower on the coast, as his observations of latitude were inaccurate, frequently being too high.

Although the notion that Drake had gone as far north as about 48° prevailed in the maps and books published shortly after he returned, no one seems to have entertained the view that he stopped there and repaired his ship, unless John Davis might be considered to have held it from his failure to mention that Drake had gone south from 48°. John Drake's positive statement that Drake repaired his ship there may only have been an agreed on story. The other authorities are in accord that Drake actually turned south again, and the only question to be considered is how far south did he go? In a general way it may be said that those accounts and maps which place the northernmost point reached in the neighborhood of 46° or 48° place the southernmost point between 42° and 44°, while those which give 42° or 43° as the most northern point, carry Drake back to 38° or 38½°. It thus appears that he was supposed to have followed the coast south over a distance of between four and six degrees.

The account of the *World Encompassed* remains to be considered. In this Drake is said to have gone as far north as 48° and then back again, following the coast to 38°, whence he apparently turned north again and found a convenient place to repair his ship in 38½°. Although this was first published in 1628, the story goes back as far as John Stow, who in 1592 said that Drake had gone as far north as 47° and then turned back to 38°.[19] It seems quite evident that Stow's statement, or some similar one then current, was the basis for Drake's route marked down on the Hondius broadside, usually stated to have been published about 1595.

The lines on the broadside then could be considered as lending some support to the statement in the *World Encompassed*, but when the text of this work is examined closely and carefully the 48° is found to be mentioned in a peculiar manner. The compiler says that on June 3 Drake came to 42°, and then after indulging in a long digression about cold weather in the north, that on June 5 they were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, where they

anchored. After some further remarks about fogs and cold weather and the statement that they could go no farther north on account of the cold and the contrary winds, these extraordinary words follow: "From the height of 48 deg., in which we now were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting alongst it, to bee but low and reasonable plaine; euery hill (whereof we saw many, but none verie high), though it were in June, and the sunne in his neerest approch vnto them, being couered with snow."[20] There is nothing to indicate that they had gone north of 42° at all, and the 48° simply comes out of a clear sky. Later, after a further long digression about cold weather in the north, including a remark that the north and northwest winds are constant there in June and July and the north wind only in August and September, the compiler goes on to say, "that though we searched the coast diligently, euen vnto the 48 deg. yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west as if it went directly to meet with Asia."[21] These are the only two passages in the book which can be produced as evidence that Drake ever went to 48°, and it will at once be noticed that neither statement occurs in the "Famous Voyage." It is perfectly manifest from the numerous identical passages in both that the account of the Northwest coast in the *World Encompassed* was taken either from the "Famous Voyage" and numerous additions made to it, or else from the original manuscript which served as the basis for the "Famous Voyage." By comparing those parts of the *World Encompassed* embodying the two passages just cited with the corresponding ones in the "Famous Voyage," it is at once clear that they are both interpolations. They certainly never could have occurred even in the original manuscript, as in neither case do they bear any relation whatever to the context. The second one quoted contains internal evidence that Drake never saw the land anywhere near 48°, because the coast does not trend continually towards the northwest as stated therein but on the contrary runs almost due north from Cape Mendocino to that latitude. Remembering that the red line on the Molyneux globe is evidence that some statement was current that Drake had sailed from 42° to 48°, it cannot be mere coincidence that a similar one is embodied in the last quoted passage, for such would be its natural interpretation. The *World Encompassed*, then, must be discarded as adding nothing to the evidence furnished by the "Famous Voyage." All that might be considered proved by the

interpolated passages is that the compiler thought them to be correct statements because he had found them in some other account which he considered more authoritative.[22]

As nothing can be derived from the written and published accounts of the voyage which tends to explain the discrepancies between them concerning the points reached by Drake on the Northwest coast, nor even to minimize the wide differences which exist between them, perhaps something can be extracted from an examination of the maps. Although as previously explained, except Molyneux's globe and Blagrave's map copied from it, none of those showing Drake's route makes any pretence to general cartographical accuracy, yet there is one thing which seems to be common to all of them, and that is the placing of Drake's port from which he departed to the southwest, south of a cape which is variously laid down at latitudes between 40° and 42½°. On all but one it is unnamed, as might be expected for the reasons above given. On Molyneux's globe, however, and the Blagrave map, where it is placed at about 42½°, it is named Cape Mendocino. There is nothing in any of the accounts to indicate that Drake ever saw any cape thereabouts, but it can be taken for granted that his log must have contained some reference to the configuration of whatever part of the coast he saw, and it is possible that Molyneux, or whoever drew the map on the globe, might have secured some information from this or some other equally reliable source that Drake's bay, from which he started for the Moluccas, was south of some prominent cape.[23]

That some information was abroad in London that Cape Mendocino was in 40° seems possible from Blundeville's statement to that effect,[24] although more likely he read Molyneux's globe incorrectly, and this or some other one was apparently the authority from which an unnamed cape was placed on the Hondius broadside at 40° from which the coast runs southeast in one direction and north-northeast in the other, moving this cape therefore two and a half degrees south of its location as shown on the Molyneux globe. At the same time Drake's point of departure was moved south two and a half degrees, placing it below 40°.

As we have just seen, there is nearly unanimity in the various accounts and the maps, that Drake sailed south along the coast four or five degrees, that is 300 or 350 miles. In this there is nothing inherently improbable, considering that Drake was now bound for the Moluccas and to follow the coast for such a short distance would

mean little loss of time. At best with the prevailing northwest wind he could only sail southwest and he may very well have utilized the opportunity to see if he could find Quivira or any entrance to Gilbert's Northwest Passage. The western entrance of this was located on his map in precisely this latitude, and although Gilbert put Quivira inside that passage, it was usually found on the maps on the coast of the Pacific at 40°. It is therefore possible that he went even as far as 38° or 38½° looking for the city or the entrance to the passage, but it does not therefore follow that the port in which he repaired his ship was in this latitude although there are positive statements to that effect. In the natural course of events Drake would never have gone so far before doing this, as she was almost certainly in a very leaky condition. After fifty days' sailing from Guatulco he must have used up nearly all his water and food, and to secure a supply of these was even more important than repairing his ship. That he would have sailed 300 miles or more and wasted the twelve days between June 5 and June 17 in following the coast looking for a suitable place to supply his necessities could only be conceded in case no other could be found in a shorter distance and lesser time. This, indeed, Professor Davidson attempted to demonstrate was a fact, but an examination of present day maps, a study of the *Coast Pilot* and a personal investigation of several other bays demonstrate that his argument was not sound.

Assuming that Drake struck the coast at or near Cape Blanco just below the forty-third parallel, he could have found, by very slight search, long before he arrived anywhere near Point Reyes, the following: Port Orford, Crescent City Bay, Chetko Cove, Trinidad Bay, Humboldt Bay, or Hunter Cove, not to mention several smaller ones which, no doubt, were quite large enough to harbor a ship the size of Drake's 120-ton *Golden Hind* and well enough sheltered from the northwest wind or a casual northeast gale. In the necessity in which he found himself he would certainly have stopped at the first one of these he found, to obtain water and food if possible, and would have repaired his ship there, or if a suitable beach could not be found, at the next one farther south. These objects having been accomplished he might then have pursued his way along the coast for those purposes to which allusion has heretofore been made. The evidence that Drake took precisely this course will be set out in a subsequent chapter entitled "Drake's Anchorage."

When Drake reached land June 5, a strong northwest gale was

blowing, from which he sought shelter in a bay, which is characterized as a "bad one." The bay was identified by Professor Davidson as Chetko Cove, in 42° 03′,[25] but without any other reason than that this particular one happens to be rather dangerous. The *Golden Hind* was probably not able to get out again very soon, as thick fogs arose whenever the wind died down. No statement is made that Drake landed or attempted to land, although it is obvious from the narrative that at times there was no wind blowing. He must have needed water and his ship was almost certainly leaking very badly. On some day not stated, Drake took up his voyage to the south, because it is said he did not find there the shelter from the wind which he sought, and continued along the coast in search of a better bay. The coast is described as being of low plain land, and in the first version of the "Famous Voyage," printed in 1589, it is said that numerous mountains covered with snow were seen. In the second version, published in 1600, Hakluyt eliminated this statement about snow, which was restored, however, in the *World Encompassed*. No mention is made of any further stop until June 17, when a fit harbor was discovered, said in the "Famous Voyage" to have been in 38°. When this was copied into the *World Encompassed* it was made to appear that Drake had followed the coast down to this latitude and then turned back north again some thirty miles to 38½° where the bay was said to be located.

The following day an Indian came out in a canoe, calling out to them as he rowed towards the ship. When within a reasonable distance he stopped, and after delivering some kind of speech, returned again. A second and third time he came, bringing on the last occasion a present of a bunch of feathers like those of the crow, drawn into a round bundle, a basket made of rushes and a bag filled with an herb the Indians called *Tobah* or *Tabáh*.[26] These he cast into the ship's boat and would receive nothing in exchange except a hat, which he picked up from the water. On the 21st, the ship, which had sprung a leak on the voyage, was taken near shore; the men landed, set up some tents and surrounded them with some kind of wall. The goods were then unloaded from the ship in order to lighten her, and apparently she was then drawn on the beach into some kind of temporary stocks. As soon as the natives perceived the strangers laying out a settlement they came down in much haste in great numbers with weapons in their hands, as if to dispute or prevent the proceedings. Drake, however, by signs endeavored to allay their

suspicions, and they finally laid down their bows and arrows and, approaching, were given shirts, linen cloth and other things, in exchange for which they presented Drake with feathers, network cauls, quivers made of fawn skins, and the skins which the women wore. They then departed to their homes, which were round excavations in the earth with a conical roof of split lumber covered with earth,[27] and a single door. This village was about three-quarters of a mile from Drake's camp, which was built at the bottom of a hill. No sooner had the Indians returned to their homes than they set up a doleful howling which Drake's men heard plainly.

Two days later a greater number appeared on top of the hill bringing the same kind of presents as before, and one Indian delivered a long oration in a loud voice, while the women took to tearing their cheeks with their fingernails and casting themselves on the ground. Three days later a still larger number appeared, this time with a great chief, called their *Hioh.*[28] Two messengers appeared first, who talked about half an hour and asked for a present. This having been given them, they went back, and shortly the chief himself came forward, preceded by a large man who had a staff of black wood about a yard and a half long on which were hung two feather headdresses[29] and three chains with links made of a thin bony substance, finely burnished.[30] The chief wore a feather knit-work caul[31] on his head, and skins of "conies" around his shoulders. The braves wore similar costumes, but some had their cauls covered with a kind of down which they obtained from a plant which resembled lettuce.[32] The common herd followed naked, with their long hair gathered up into a bunch behind,[33] in which they had stuck feather plumes. Through their hair in front single feathers like horns were inserted. They were all painted white, black and in colors, and each carried something as a present. At the end of the procession came the women and children, each woman with a basket or two containing *Tobah,* a root called *Petáh,*[34] broiled fish, seeds and the down above referred to. The baskets were shaped like deep bowls, made of rushes so well woven that most of them would hold water. About the brims pearl shells were hung and on some, two or three links of the bone chains.[35] Drake, uncertain of their attitude, arranged his men for defence and marched them within his fort. As the Indians came near they stopped and one delivered an oration; this over, they all came down the hill, and when near the foot the man with the black rod[36] began a song to which they all danced and sang except the

women, who kept silent. They then entered the fort, still dancing and singing, and then having made signs to Drake to sit down, the chief and others made several speeches. The chief then placed on Drake's head a headdress and put some chains around his neck, calling him *Hioh*.[37] Then began another song and dance, and with these the ceremonies ended. The Indians then dispersed among Drake's men, carefully examining them, offering presents to such as pleased their fancy, usually the youngest ones. The women and even the old men accompanied these actions with shrieks and moans, weeping and scratching their faces. The Englishmen took those so honored away to the tents, but the Indians still pursued them. Few were the days they did not come, sometimes forgetting to bring food,[38] so Drake had to feed them with mussels and seal meat. Finally they stopped bringing presents.[39] These Indians were kindly and free in their manners, exceedingly swift of foot, and strong enough to carry what two or three Englishmen could hardly bear. Their weapons were bows and arrows, which they used skillfully but with little strength, not being able to drive the arrows with any great force. They were quick enough to catch fish near shore if they could reach them without swimming.[40] The men usually went naked, but the women wore a loose garment of bullrushes hanging from their hips.

After the *Golden Hind* had been repaired Drake with the gentlemen and many of his men made an expedition into the interior, which was found to be a much better country than that near the coast.[41] Several native villages were seen, and many herds of large deer, no doubt Roosevelt elk, and a multitude of "conies" which are described as having smaller heads than rabbits, long rat-like tails, feet like those of moles, and bags under their chins in which they stored food superfluous for the moment.[42] The Indians ate these "conies," or ground squirrels as they must have been, and used their skins for the chief's coat.[43]

At this place Drake left the small vessel he had brought with him from Guatulco.[44] His own ship was probably now in good condition, and either by desertion or death his crew by this time having been somewhat reduced, he probably did not have enough men to navigate both ships. As the day of departure came near, the Indians were drowned in grief and poured out their woeful complaints and moans, wringing their hands and tormenting themselves. They made a fire and burned in it a chain and a bunch of feathers, but

seeing the English engage in prayers and the singing of psalms, they let the fire go out and fell to lifting their eyes and hands to heaven in imitation of them. July 23, Drake sailed out of the harbor after a woeful leave-taking, the natives running to the tops of the hills as they saw him depart, and building fires in which to burn some sacrifices, as the English thought.[45] The day following, Drake is said to have fallen in with an island, one of a group he called St. James, where he took on a provision of birds and seals.

The Indians were evidently the most interesting objects encountered by Drake here as elsewhere, judging from the large amount of space accorded them in the narrative to the exclusion of other information which would be very much more interesting in these days. A comparison of this description with that of those in Brazil and the Argentine in Francis Fletcher's manuscript furnishes good ground for concluding that they were both written by the same person.[46] Fletcher's childlike credulity and love of the marvelous and extraordinary no doubt induced him to read into some very simple actions of these Indians a meaning totally contrary to that intended by them. According to him Drake accepted the crown and the chains placed around his neck as a sign that the Indians were conferring the sovereignty of the country on him, and he assures us that Drake took these into his hand in the name and to the use of her most excellent Majesty. Nothing can be more certain of course, than that the Indians had no such idea, but with the lingering feudal notions characteristic of Englishmen of the day, Drake might have believed that the ceremony had such significance. The English embraced this idea the more eagerly as it accorded well with their fixed conception at this time that the Indians would gratefully accept their rule in contradistinction to that of the Spaniards, who were alleged to have employed forceful methods to bring the Indians under control.[47] This was one of the smug conceits the English hugged to their bosoms until their own experience later with the Indians on the east coast of America showed it to be unfounded. No great number seems to have frequented Drake's camp and most of these apparently came from villages some distance away, having been sent for by the bay Indians. Generally speaking it may be said that the ceremonials described might have been performed by any one of several of the Indian coast tribes, but more especially the Pomo. The lacerations referred to, however, are not so easy to explain. The first and natural supposition would be that the story is simply a gross

exaggeration or a total invention by Fletcher, but John Drake also referred to these performances.[48] The custom has never been noted among California Indians except in individual cases as a sign of grief after the death of a relative.[49]

There is a likelihood, hinted at previously, that some of Drake's men deserted at this place. In long voyages there were always one or more disgruntled sailors on board who usually took the first opportunity to run away on getting ashore. In none of the narratives is it said that any of Drake's crew deserted, but there are a number of men to account for, among whom it seems certain there must have been some deserters. Most of Drake's captives on the coast of Peru, Nicaragua and Mexico thought that there were eighty or so men on board, not including the boys, three in number, and the Negroes, also three in number. Nicolas Jorje, however, who had been taken prisoner at Arica and therefore had been on board the ship for some time, said there were seventy-one or seventy-two, as he surreptitiously counted them.[50] When the ship reached the Moluccas there is some evidence that there were only sixty, not counting the three Negroes.[51] It therefore seems certain that at least ten men or more had disappeared since the ship had left Guatulco.

There is a story that the Nicasio Indians, who lived about fifteen miles to the east of Drake's Bay, had a tradition that Drake had anchored in that bay and that some of the crew had deserted and hidden among the Indians.[52] Such a story can hardly be considered as evidence of any value, but there is another one which has more foundation. Father Jerónimo de Zárate Salmeron, writing about 1626,[53] tells us that Father Antonio de la Ascension had told him that he had heard that a Spanish pilot named N. de Morena or Morera (spelled both ways) had made a declaration to Rodrigo Rio de la Losa in Nueva Galicia that he had been put on shore by Drake in the Strait of Anian, so sick that it was thought he was going to die. After recovering he had wandered for some four years over five hundred leagues, and came to an arm of the sea which ran north and south and which seemed to him must run so far north as to connect with the harbor where the Englishman had put him on shore. From that point he thought he could go to Spain in forty days by the Strait of Anian. He said that he had steered Drake's ship from the North Sea through the Strait of Anian into the South Sea. No date is fixed for the arrival of Morena at the Spanish settlements, but it probably was before 1585.[54] The story, as it has come down, is

evidently third if not fourth hand. After allowing for some errors which crept in in the course of transmission from one to another, it seems obvious that what Morera or Morena said was that he had been a pilot for Drake and had come into the South Sea with him through the Strait of Magellan and that after having been put ashore in the north he had then made his way down along the coast until he reached the peninsula, and in some way, not related, managed to cross the Gulf of California to the Sonora shore. The story is interesting and not at all unlikely, as it may be recalled that Gaspar de Vargas stated in his letter from Guatulco, April 13, 1579,[55] that some of the sailors of the vessel anchored in the port thought the name of Drake's pilot was Morera, a name they hardly could have mistaken for Silva. The similarity or identity of the names, together with the fact that both are referred to as pilots, is certainly very singular.[56]

Whether there was any truth in the story or not, it at least helped create in the mind of Father Antonio de la Ascension a belief that California was an island, an opinion which he sedulously propagated both in his writings and his maps. It was no doubt one of the latter that fell into the hands of the Dutch and which served as the basis for Briggs' map in which California is so depicted. During the rest of the century an opinion seemed to exist in Mexico that in some way Drake was responsible for placing on the maps the extension of the Gulf of California to the Strait of Anian.[57]

It is said that Drake took formal possession of the country and named it Albion, setting up a post and nailing on it a sixpence as a token thereof.[58] It is probable that Colchero told him that Cabrillo had not landed north of 36° nor taken any possession beyond that latitude. It is only by assuming that Drake obtained such information from him that we can account for the statement in the "Famous Voyage" that the Spaniards had never been in that part of the country before (that is, in 38°) nor had discovered the land by many degrees to the southward. The maps, of course, bore mute evidence to the contrary, as Spanish names appeared above 40°, but it required some knowledge of the account of the voyage to know that the places had only been named from the sea.

It may be asked what Drake's object was in taking possession of the country. Did it betoken some intention to occupy it? As all the accounts are silent on the subject, and no further reference to it occurs in English literature for a long time, resort to supposition

is necessary to furnish an answer. Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his *Discourse* of 1576 had suggested the advisability of inhabiting some convenient place about Sierra Nevada as a kind of stopping and recruiting place on the way between England and the East. Furthermore, some evidence has just been produced that Drake himself was a believer in the Northwest Passage, and as he was no doubt thoroughly aware of Gilbert's ideas on the subject, he may have had in view some such ultimate object in taking possession of the country, although he had found no sign of the entrance to Gilbert's "Passage," which his map showed to be just where he then was. Wild as the idea seems to us of a navigable passage to the East Indies by a strait some two thousand or more miles in length between the continent of America and some polar country, the fact remains that intelligent men of Drake's day were ardent believers in it. In spite of the failures of the attempts to discover it made by Martin Frobisher, and the subsequent ones undertaken by John Davis a few years after Drake returned, many still continued to believe in it. In fact, up to the middle of the eighteenth century and possibly even later, the subject was periodically revived in England by enthusiastic individuals who frequently succeeded in getting sufficient support to renew the efforts to find it. If the suggestion just offered will not answer the question, only one other presents itself, namely, that as Drake was in a taking mood he took anything that came his way.

The distinction between the motive just suggested for Drake's taking possession of the country and that alleged by others of its having been done for the purpose of founding a colony there, may seem to be a purely verbal one, a distinction without a difference. Nevertheless, the question at issue is one of historical perspective. In the view of Mrs. Nuttall, Drake's voyage to the Northwest coast was a part of his plan, and his act of taking possession of the country is held out as the first premeditated step in English colonization in America. Corbett, while doubtful that Drake originally intended to proceed to the Northwest coast, was responsible for the idea that his act of taking possession was intended to be the beginning of a protectorate. The writer's view is that Drake's voyage had an entirely distinct object and that his appearance on the Northwest coast was fortuitous, brought about by a sequence of events which could never have been anticipated when he left England. For a like reason, his taking possession of the country was a proceeding purely incidental. He was there. Why not take possession?

The most preposterous idea which has been advanced about Drake and his voyage is that after his return he had the intention of founding a colony in New Albion. There is not a single sentence contained in any document relating to what happened during or after the voyage which can be properly construed to support it. It is difficult, of course, to prove a negative, but there exists one passage in the *World Encompassed* which is a clear indication that he never had any such idea, and if one could be certain that it was written at the time of the voyage or shortly thereafter it would be conclusive on the point. Speaking of the crowning of Drake by the Indians, it is said:

> Wherefore, in the name and to the vse of her most excellent maiesty, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignity of the sayd countrie into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had layen so fitly for her maiesty to enioy, as it was now her proper owne, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the vpland countries it abounds) might with as great conueniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdome here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there.[59]

Incidentally, it may be added that Drake found no riches or treasures in New Albion for the very simple reason that none were to be found in such places as he visited. The statement in the "Famous Voyage" that "there is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver,"[60] is simply a stock expression which will be found in almost every account of the early expeditions, and was omitted from the *World Encompassed*.

It is commonly supposed that the name Albion or Nova Albion which Drake bestowed on the Northwest coast, was derived from a resemblance of the coast in Drake's Bay, where a few small white cliffs are to be found, to that of old England.[61] No real foundation in the narratives exists for this assumption; no account states positively that there were any white cliffs in the bay in which he anchored. There are many along the coast, as well as very conspicuous white sand dunes, and it was the general white aspect of the shoreline, resembling that of the English Channel, which induced Drake to so name it, and not any white cliffs in the bay in which he anchored. New Albion itself was not the particular spot where Drake repaired his ship, but an extent of country covering perhaps four or six degrees of latitude. This is amply brought out by the way the name is placed on the maps. It is even probable that New

Albion was supposed to continue indefinitely to the north, as the name will frequently be found on maps as high as 50°, and in some cases even higher. The appearance of the name in such high latitudes can hardly be considered as proof that Drake ever saw the corresponding part of the coast, although such arguments have been advanced. Drake himself and the English statesmen of the day were willing to claim the country indefinitely to the north of his point of discovery, wherever that may have been, so the placing of the name at any particular point has no material significance.

So far as known, Drake performed only one other act of taking possession during his voyage: namely, that at Elizabeth Island in the Strait of Magellan. It is true that it was afterwards claimed that he took possession of the island to the south of the continent which many writers have insisted was Cape Horn, but there is no real evidence for this in any of the accounts. After Drake returned, he was knighted in April, 1581, and in January, 1582, a grant of land was made to him by the Queen wherein it is recited that he had discovered many unknown places in the *south* part of the world, nothing being said of the *north* part, an omission which argues either that the Queen placed no value on his discovery of New Albion or else that there was some reason for concealing any mention of it at that time.[62] When the Spanish ambassador complained to the Queen about Drake's actions, demanding his punishment and restitution for his robberies, the Queen is reported to have answered that she did not recognize the right of the Pope to invest the possession of the New World in the Spaniards nor did she recognize any title based on the building of small cottages and the naming of capes. She claimed the right to found colonies in such parts as were not inhabited by the subjects of the King of Spain, since prescription without possession was of no validity.[63] There is nothing in Mendoza's correspondence to show that at his audience with the Queen he had offered any objection to Drake's acts of possession, although it may be considered certain that at that time he knew of one—that in the Strait of Magellan. The Queen's answer, therefore, seems to have been anticipatory of some future objection, unless, indeed, Mendoza had objected to the proceedings at Elizabeth Island or New Albion. The Spaniards attempted to forestall any untoward results of the former act by settling the Strait themselves, but they never seem to have paid any attention to Drake's New Albion, although they must have known about it, at least by 1590.[64] The idea some-

times expressed that the expeditions of the Spaniards to the Northwest coast projected and realized from 1580 on were in some way brought about by Drake's visit to that coast is not borne out by any contemporary Spanish document. In reality these voyages were but a continuation of efforts begun as early as 1572.[65]

The act of taking possession of New Albion had no consequences. The English never followed it up by occupation nor did they ever attempt to do so. If a navigable Northwest Passage had been found by John Davis in his voyages after 1585, perhaps there would be another story to tell, but as it was, Nova Albion, the visible cartographical representation of Drake's visit, gradually faded from the maps. Indeed, even in the early days after the discovery many cartographers refused to notice it. When the Oregon question between the United States and Great Britain became the subject of diplomacy in the first half of the nineteenth century, Drake's discovery appeared out of the haze again for a brief moment as a basis for the British claim to the Northwest coast above 42°. Not much insistence was placed on this, however, for the simple reason that in the dispute with Spain over Nootka Sound,[66] England had denied the validity of the Spanish title because the discovery of that country by the Spaniards had not been followed by occupation, and the same could be said of Drake's discovery.[67]

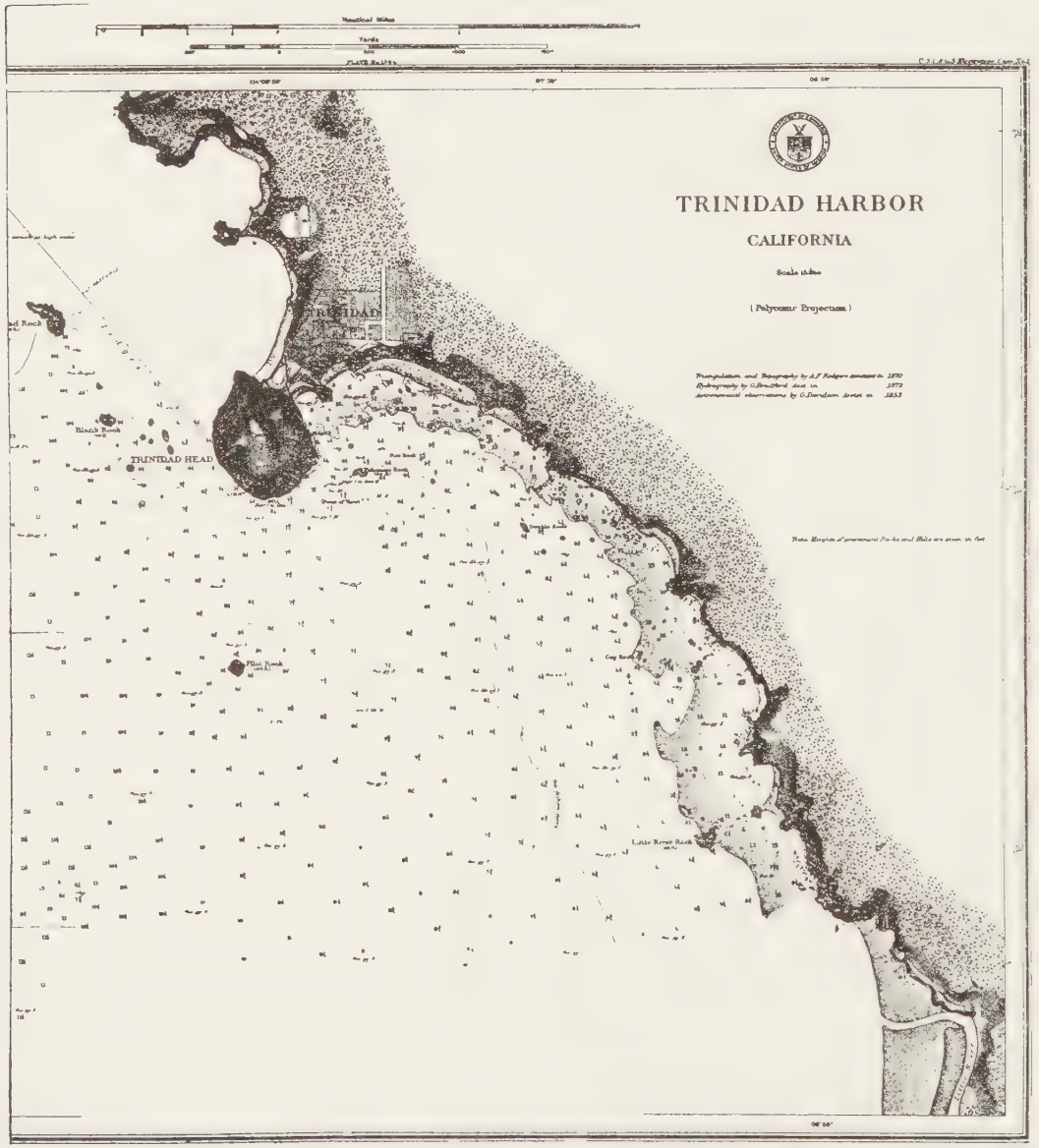
CHAPTER VIII

DRAKE'S ANCHORAGE

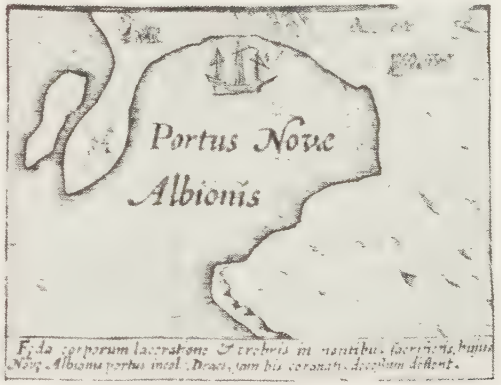
BEFORE attempting to identify the bay in which Drake anchored and repaired his ship, it will be well to recapitulate the available data. These may be said to consist of the small inset plan on the Hondius broadside entitled, "Portus Novae Albionis," the statement that it was located in 38° or 38½° and that some islands were found the day after leaving there, the better country in the interior and the elk and ground squirrels found there, the mussels and seals in the bay, the fact that there were some hills nearby, and the remark that the trees were without leaves and the grass was not green—a slender list, certainly. There is a singular lack of information about the topography of such parts of the Northwest coast along which the expedition passed; not a single cape is referred to, and only two bays, one bad, and the other "faire and good," in both of which thick fogs, said to have lasted as long as fourteen days, were experienced. The trend of the coast is not mentioned except once, and then incorrectly, assuming that the latitudes given are correct. In sailing south the country is said to have been not mountainous, but low, plain land with some mountains in the interior, apparently covered with snow. Numerous white banks and cliffs were also seen. Besides the above there is nothing to guide us except the accounts of the arts and customs of the Indians encountered.

Examining these points, a number can be at once eliminated as affording no indication of the locality of Drake's anchorage. Seals and mussels were found in all bays on the coast, fogs were common to all and hills mark the entrance of every port. As the remark about the trees could not possibly be true, doubt is cast upon the accompanying one of the lack of greenness.[1]

The most important piece of evidence known to us is the plan of the "portus." This, together with the three others on the Hondius broadside, was unquestionably taken from some record of the expedition, whether Fletcher's account or Drake's log cannot now be definitely determined.[2] On it we see the ship anchored in what may be supposed to be twelve fathoms of water, at the head of a small bay, which is separated from the ocean by a long head, almost as



Modern Map of Trinidad Harbor



From the Hondius Broadside

long as the bay is wide. The head is connected with the mainland by a narrow neck, and on the outside of it is what appears to be an island, almost as long as the head and parallel to it. On the head and at the neck are Indians building fires.[3] Almost opposite to the ship and a little to the right is an Indian settlement, or Drake's camp, and still farther to the right are a few Indians.

In the preceding chapter it has been suggested that in his voyage south, Drake would have found available for his purposes any one of several bays before he reached the vicinity of Point Reyes, and that he probably stopped for water and food and to repair his ship at the first one he reached. An examination of the charts of these various bays at once shows that Trinidad Bay most resembles that displayed on the Hondius broadside, which is reproduced herewith together with a modern chart of Trinidad Bay. Just about opposite where the ship is located on the plan of the "portus" is a level piece of ground, and at some little distance to the east there is a sort of terrace, perhaps some twenty feet above high tide, where the Indian town was located when the Americans occupied the country.[4] Behind this is the bluff some eighty or one hundred feet high on which the town of Trinidad is now located. The anchorage in this bay is perfectly protected from the northwest winds and the size and shape of the bay conform very closely to those shown on the Hondius plan except that the southeast side does not extend to the southwest as shown therein, but trends almost south. What appears to be an island off the head has bothered everyone who has investigated this subject, as there is no bay known on the coast which has an island occupying a similar position. The fact appears to be that it is not intended to be an island at all, but simply a part of the head itself, which, on the pen-and-ink sketch from which the engraving was made, was not shown clearly as attached to it. Trinidad Head has an excrescence almost exactly like that shown on the plan.

The Indians who inhabited Trinidad Bay at that time, without much doubt were Yuroks, the same tribe that lived there when the country was occupied by the Americans.[5] These Indians had canoes and built houses half underground, with a peaked board roof. The remains of these found there indicate that they were rectangular in shape at the bottom at least, and probably did not have a conical roof as described in the "Famous Voyage." Some Yurok houses in the interior, however, are said to have been found with conical roofs. These Indians, who were hunters and fishermen, subsisted

largely on mussels and seals and they had a practice of making a fire and burning angelica root in it as a sacrifice with their prayers. They were great believers in some superior beings they called *woge*, who were said to have inhabited the country in mythical times before they came. Is it not possible that Drake and his men were supposed to be *woge* come back to earth again, either to re-occupy their old homes, or at least, to subject the inhabitants to slavery?[6] This may be a possible explanation of the adoration the Indians are said to have shown Drake and his men and the self-lacerations in which they indulged.

An additional indication that Drake was in this bay may be gleaned from the finding there of knives in 1775 by Bruno Heceta. June 10, Heceta entered this bay with two ships, one under the command of Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra. Two canoes came out from the north side of the bay with some Indians, who offered to exchange skins for glass beads. Although comparatively few Indians lived at the port, some three hundred came in from the surrounding country to see them while they were there. Heceta remained long enough to make some observations on these Indians and clean the bottom of the schooner *Sonora*.[7] Canoes and square houses with board roofs were found, the Indians were dressed, or undressed, in much the same way as those described in the "Famous Voyage," except that the skins they wore were said to have been deerskins or sea-otter skins. Bone necklaces were in evidence, and the women had tattooing on their chins and the men on their arms. Some iron knives were found, one of which was marked with an "L," which Bodega y Quadra said were like machetes. (This allusion recalls San Juan de Anton's remark about the machetes Drake had on his ship.) They were carried in wooden sheaths hung by cords from the wrist or neck, and evidently attracted the attention of the travelers, who tried to find out where they had been obtained. About all that could be learned was that it was from the north. Iron knives were too valuable to have been passed from tribe to tribe by way of trade unless the Indians had plenty of them, and there is nothing to show that the coast Indians north of Trinidad Bay had any at all.[8] All that Heceta could find on that same expedition was a bayonet and a broken knife among the Indians just north of Vancouver Island. These objects may have been obtained from the Russians, but the Russian trading operations had not advanced far enough south in 1775 to warrant a belief that knives

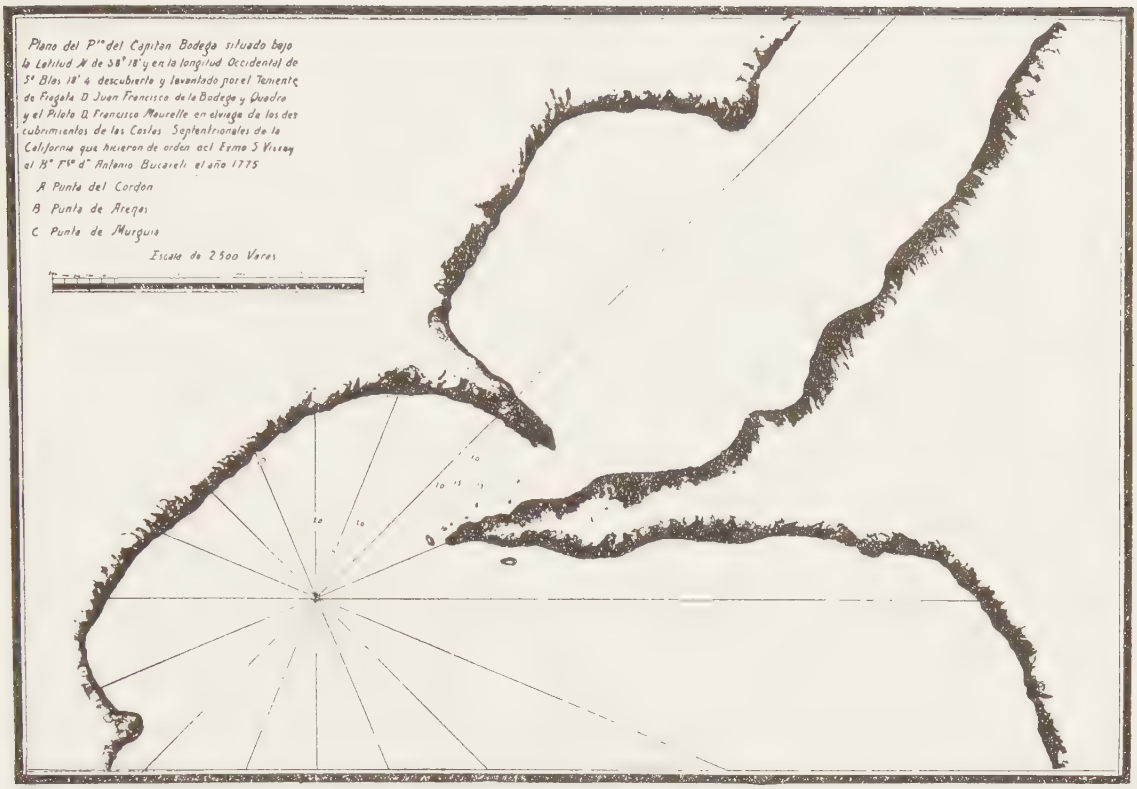
could have penetrated as far as Trinidad Bay.[9] An effort was made to ascertain if the Indians at the bay had ever seen vessels before, without satisfactory results, as the Indians' signs were too indefinite. It seems probable then, that the knives found in Trinidad by Heceta were relics of Drake's expedition.

In general, the customs of the Yuroks as now known to us were not like those described in the "Famous Voyage," and although it seems certain that Drake must have been in the bay and left a record of his stay there in the Hondius plan, it seems fairly obvious that he must have been in some other bay as well where he saw Indians of distinctly different customs.

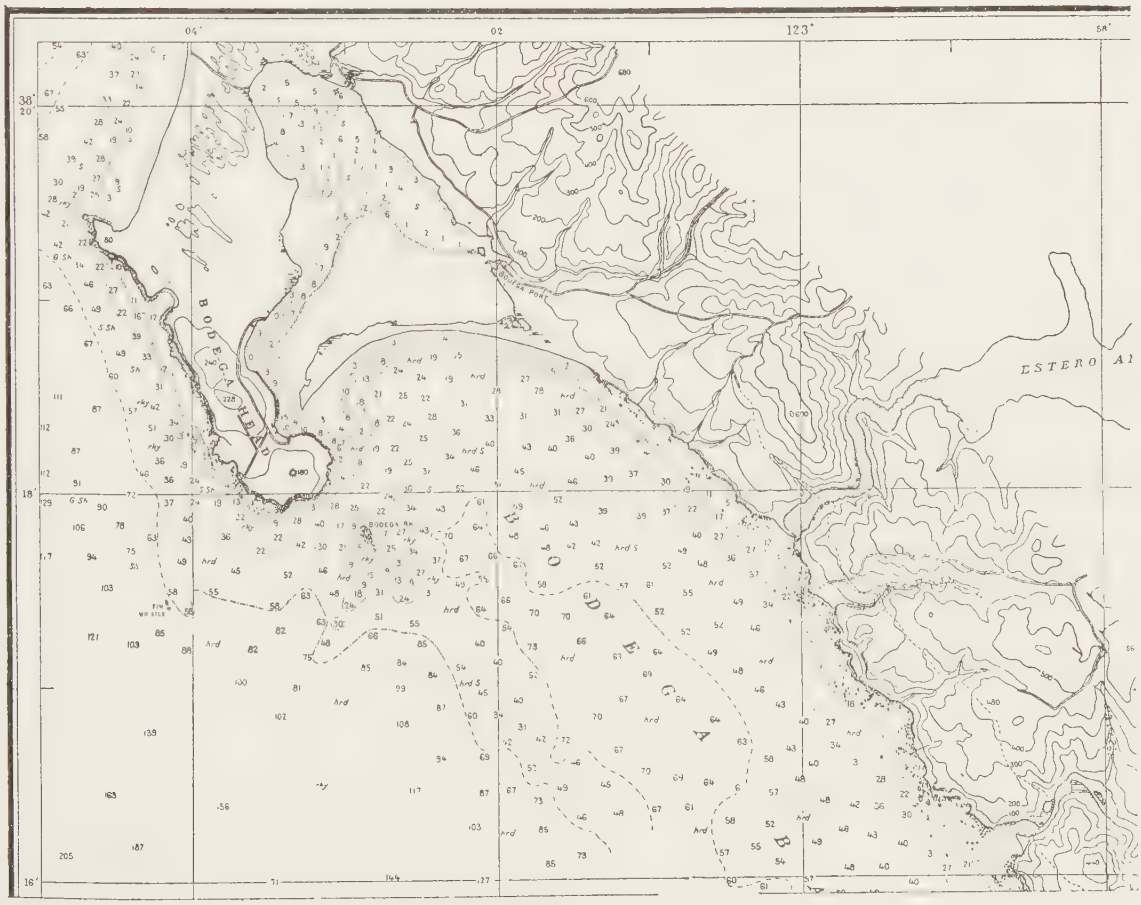
When we come to examine more closely the customs and habits ascribed to the Indians in the "Famous Voyage," we find that they resemble those of the Coast Miwok[10] and their neighbors to the north, the Pomo. Beginning at the Russian River and extending as far as Point Reyes there is quite an extent of comparatively low coast marked by an absence of timber, inhabited by these Indians, and it seems likely that in this neighborhood may be found the bay where Drake anchored and repaired his ship. Attention may be also directed here to the fact that it lies between lat. 38° and 38° 30′, in which his anchorage was placed.

Bodega y Quadra and Antonio Mourelle entered Bodega Bay October 3, 1775, in the schooner *Sonora,* and passing through the entrance, anchored near the Punta del Cordon opposite Punta Arenas in seven fathoms of water. A large number of Indians passed by the ship in tule *balsas.* When they had finally assembled at a hill they began to howl and kept this up without ceasing. Two of them came alongside the ship and freely offered as presents some feather plumes, bone necklaces, a basket of seeds which tasted like hazelnuts and some other trifles. A few glass beads, looking-glasses and other things were given to them and they went away much pleased. The only differences noted in the narrative between these Indians and those farther north were that their hair stood up straight in front and that they displayed some liberality in making their presents. The party only remained in the port a day and did not go ashore so far as known. The following day the vessel moved out into the channel near the end of the Punta del Cordon, where the tide came in so strongly that the ship's boat was lost and the schooner nearly foundered.[11]

Their report and map[12] indicate that there was then plenty of


Plano del Pto del Capitan Bodega situado bajo la Latitud N de 38° 18' y en la longitud Occidental de 5ª Blas 18' q descubierto y levantado por el Teniente de Fragata D Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra y el Piloto D Francisco Maurelle en el viage de los descubrimientos de las Costas Septentrionales de la California que hicieron de orden del Excmo S Virrey el R Pto d Antonio Bucareli el año 1775
A Punta del Cordon
B Punta de Arenas
C Punta de Murguia
Escala de 2500 Varas

Bodega y Quadra's Map of Bodega Bay



Modern Map of Bodega Bay

water inside the bay, and it was remarked that there was perfect shelter there, just as if the vessel had been in a dock. Reproduced herewith is a plan made by them which can be compared with the Hondius plan previously reproduced. A modern map of the bay is also inserted for purposes of comparison, to show the extent to which the bay has filled up since 1775 with sand blown in from the dunes.[13] Bodega's name was given to the inner bay and not, as appears on the modern map, to the outer bay.

From this account it is clear that not only were there numerous Indians there but that the bay was a very good one, affording perfect protection from any wind. There are plenty of white sand dunes to be seen there, and generally speaking, the country in the neighborhood has more resemblance to the moors of southern England than any other on the California coast. The *Sonora* was the first known vessel to anchor in Bodega Bay and the accounts of the Indians given by Bodega y Quadra and Mourelle, slight as they are, are the first known mention of them. The bay was subsequently visited by several parties before Stephen Smith settled there about 1844, but very little can be gleaned about the Indians from any of the accounts.[14] The few facts mentioned by Bodega y Quadra are, however, strikingly similar to those given in the *World Encompassed*, the only noticeable difference being the reference by the former to the tule *balsas*.[15] These Indians belonged to the Olamentko subdivision of the Coast Miwok and were on very friendly relations with their neighbors, the Pomo, who frequented the bay in search of clam shells out of which to make their money. Very little is known about them or their neighbors to the south, the Point Reyes Indians.[16]

In the Notes to the preceding chapter it has been seen that many of the ceremonies of Drake's Indians were similar to those of the Pomo, and it seems likely that they were actually performed by Pomo Indians who came down to Bodega Bay to see the strangers at the invitation of their friends there.[17] From this bay access to the interior, either directly east over the low hills or up Tomales Bay involves no difficulty, and in either direction it would have been easy to find plenty of elk and ground squirrels. If, when Drake left the coast, he actually saw some islands the day after he left his anchorage, the Farallones are just about the right distance from Bodega Bay to be reached in that time.

Although the Spaniards were generally of the opinion, certainly

in the eighteenth century, that Drake had repaired his ship in Bodega Bay, yet an error or a curious conceit had sufficed in the early part of the seventeenth century to identify his name with the bay under Point Reyes now known as Drake's Bay. Beginning in 1625, on many of the maps of California, will be found just below Cape Mendocino a "Pº. Sr Francisco Draco" and below it the "Punta de los Reyes." The maps on which these names occur display in general the results of the Vizcaino expedition of 1602 and 1603, but it is hardly necessary to say that Vizcaino did not give the bay that name. That under Point Reyes had been named "San Francisco" by Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1595,[18] but Vizcaino seems to have called it "Don Gaspar." Francisco de Bolaños, who had been with Cermeño, identified the bay when he afterwards accompanied Vizcaino, and he knew the original and proper name. In the *Derotero* which he made after his return,[19] the bay is called "San Francisco," and he gives therein a very good description of it, stating that it was in 38½°. He also mentions the Farallones. From his *Derotero,* it is probable that Father Antonio de la Ascension, who also accompanied Vizcaino, made the map, a copy of which in some way or other fell into the hands of the Dutch about 1620. This was copied by Henry Briggs, and published by Purchas[20] with a short dissertation by Briggs which had been printed previously in 1622.[21] Briggs probably thought it a patriotic idea to change the name "San Francisco" to "Sir Francisco Draco," and so it continued to appear on the maps of California, most of which were copied from his map. The "Draco" betrays an English origin, Briggs no doubt believing it to be the Spanish way of spelling Drake. There can hardly be any doubt that the appearance on this map of a Port Sir Francis Drake in 38½° convinced the compiler of the *World Encompassed* that the 38° in which it had been located in the "Famous Voyage" was an error and thus brought about the interpolation of the new figure in that book.

The Spaniards, of course, continued to call the bay by the name "San Francisco," and this was the one that Portolá was searching for in 1769 when he discovered that now known as "San Francisco." The Spaniards never were misled into thinking the two identical, but it is not at all to be wondered at that foreigners should have become confused and thought that the San Francisco Bay now so called is the same as that of Cermeño and the Sir Francisco Draco of Briggs. The subject was not a very live one until after the dis-

covery of gold in California, and the consequent influx of Americans. When a general interest in the geography of the country began to be manifested a discussion arose over the identification of Drake's anchorage, and the first impression, brought about by the identity of names, naturally was that Drake had anchored in the present Bay of San Francisco.

In recent years, it has come to be almost an article of faith that the bay where Drake repaired his ship was that now known as "Drake's Bay" under Point Reyes in Marin County, California. Perhaps Professor George Davidson more than anyone else was responsible for this opinion, which he announced in 1886[22] and supported in 1889 in his *Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California.* Later, in 1908, he published another monograph entitled *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1579,* in which he took occasion to answer a number of his critics and discuss again the various authorities, especially the maps. He relied entirely on the text of the *World Encompassed* and the Hondius broadside for placing Drake's anchorage in the neighborhood of 38°, and on the small inset plan of the Port of New Albion on the Hondius broadside and some maps made by Robert Dudley, for identifying it with Drake's Bay. He also advanced other arguments chiefly directed to proving that this bay was the best on the coast in which Drake could have anchored and repaired his ship and consequently must have been the one in which he did so. It is not worth while to controvert this last conclusion. The question is not what Professor Davidson knew about Drake's Bay but what Drake knew about it, which of course was nothing until he had actually seen it. Professor Davidson considered that his opinion was confirmed by the fact that Drake landed at the Farallones the day after leaving his port.

Several answers can be suggested to these arguments. The *World Encompassed* is the most untrustworthy of all accounts written about the voyage, although it does contain some information extracted in all probability from the log of the expedition. The Hondius plan of the port resembles other ports much more than it does Drake's Bay; the maps of Robert Dudley do not confirm anything because they contain no original information.[23] The reference to the location of the Farallones in relation to the port proves too much, because if Drake left Drake's Bay on July 23 it certainly would not have taken him a day to sail to any of the Farallones.

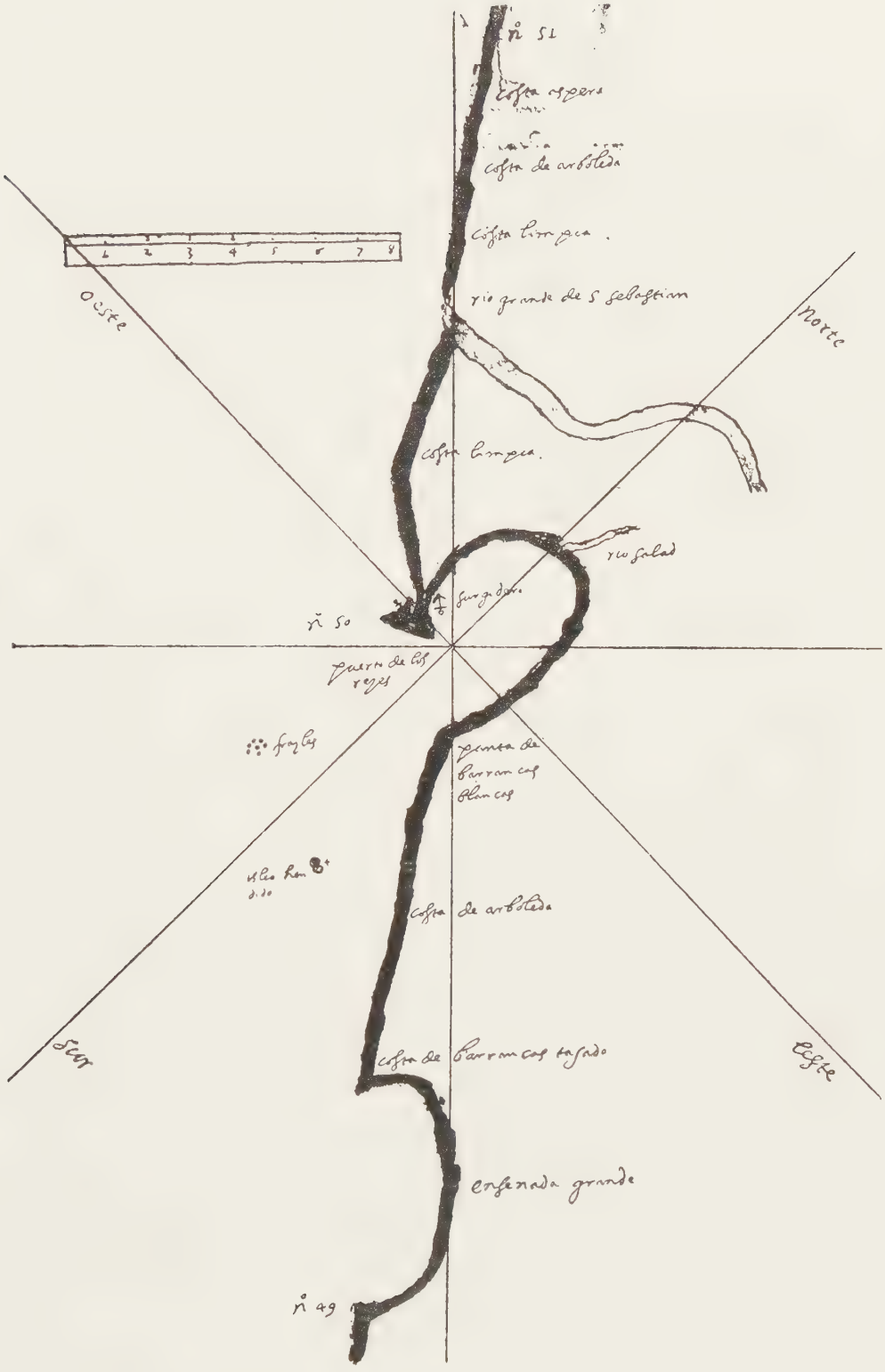
From the Hondius Broadside

Modern Map of Drake's Bay

The Hondius plan is herewith presented for comparison with the reproduction of the plan of Drake's Bay reduced from a modern Coast and Geodetic Survey map, the same as published by Professor Davidson himself. Considering the circumstances attending the sketching done on Drake's ship perhaps a very close approximation to the actual configuration of the bay cannot be expected, but certainly the little resemblance between the two does not inspire much confidence in their identity. The large *estero,* such a prominent feature on the map, does not appear at all on the plan, nor is any mention made of it in the narrative.[24] Nothing is to be found in the bay corresponding in the slightest degree to the enormous head shown on the Hondius plan, where it appears to be as long as the bay is wide. Professor Davidson was much worried about the island which appears on the Hondius plan. This, he thought, was intended to represent not an island but a rock some sixty feet in height near the east end of Point Reyes which looks something like an island when approached from the west. This is not at all reasonable, as the so-called island on the plan is almost as long as the port and could not have been intended to represent this small rock, nor is it far enough away to have been intended to represent the southeast Farallon.

One of the main points in his identification is the location of the Farallones with reference to Drake's Bay. The *World Encompassed* contains the following statement: "Not farre without this harborough did lye certaine Ilands (we called them the Ilands of Saint James), hauing on them plentifull and great store of Seales and birds, with one of which wee fell July 24, whereon we found such prouision as might competently serue our turne for a while."[25] It does not appear in what direction Drake sailed to reach these islands, and about the only thing which can be gathered from his general course and a knowledge of the prevailing northwest winds would be that he approached them from the north or northeast.

It is much more important to examine the question whether Drake ever saw the islands at all. No mention of them occurs in any of the other narratives, not even in the "Famous Voyage," which the compiler of the *World Encompassed* had been following up to this point. If the notice had appeared in the original from which Hakluyt compiled the "Famous Voyage," it is not easy to see why he failed to mention them. An important addition like this naturally arouses a suspicion that the compiler of the *World Encom-*



A Chart Made by Palacios

passed obtained his information from some other source, and this has led to an investigation of the knowledge of the Farallones which might have been available to him in 1628.

These islands were probably discovered by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo on his expedition in 1542, but they are not mentioned in the summary of that expedition which is extant and has been translated several times, nor do any islands appear in that locality on the maps derived from the accounts of the expedition.[26] The first mention of them so far found is in the account of the expedition of Cermeño. He located them very accurately with reference to his anchorage in Drake's Bay. His narrative was never published, but it is possible that one of the copies of it sent to Spain in 1596 might have reached England or Holland. Cermeño applied the name "San Pedro" to what is evidently Monterey Bay, and on the Hondius globe of 1600 there appears in lat. 44°, "B. de San Petro."[27] A peculiarity of this globe is that all the place names on this part of the coast are five or more degrees too high, so perhaps this B. de San Petro is Cermeño's San Pedro.

The account of the Vizcaino expedition published by Juan de Torquemada[28] does not mention the Farallones, but the charts of the expedition show them very plainly, as will be seen by the accompanying diagram,[29] and Bolaños in his *Derotero* states that they were a very good landmark to find Point Reyes and the Bay of San Francisco. It is not apparent that any of Vizcaino's men landed on any of the islands, so, even supposing that some account of this expedition had been intercepted and brought to England, as happened to many other Spanish documents sent from Mexico at that period, it could only be inferred from it that seals were numerous on them.

John Drake, in his first deposition, mentioned an island called "San Jaime" among others which had been discovered by Drake at 46° and 48°,[30] and this statement will be found repeated in Herrera's transcription of his account,[31] except that he omits the latitudes. As Drake called one of the islands "San Bartolomeo,"[32] which was in the Strait of Magellan, his statement does not afford very conclusive evidence that the other one, San Jaime,[33] was on the Northwest coast or near there. On the French Drake and Dutch Drake maps[34] four islands will be found from 40° to the north, in a line, one of them apparently being intended to be placed opposite the mouth of the bay from which Drake started on his journey to the Moluccas. These have a very suspicious resemblance to the

islands mentioned by John Drake, reduced from his five or six to four, by excluding San Bartolomeo and New Albion, although they may have been taken from Ortelius' *Typus Orbis Terrarum* of 1587[35] or his *Maris Pacifici* of 1589.

On the whole it seems probable that none of the narratives available to the compiler of the *World Encompassed* mentioned any islands on this part of the coast, still less the St. James Islands, but having found from some of the sources just referred to that there were actually some off Port Sir Francis Drake, he thought it would enliven the interest of the narrative to mention them, even adding a little detail about Drake's getting a supply of seals and birds there. As seals were plentiful at Point Reyes, no good reason can be assigned for Drake's waiting to go to the southeast Farallon after a supply, especially as there is no certainty that the Point Reyes Indians frequented those islands and consequently may have known nothing about the large herds of sea lions on the southeast Farallon.

Professor Davidson was well aware of the fact that there were good arguments in favor of Bodega Bay,[36] and he inserted a short chapter in one of his books, headed "Drake Did Not Anchor in Bodega Bay."[37] In this he says:

> In the latter anchorage [at Bodega] the vessel would not have been sufficiently protected, and therefore Drake would not have been so successful in repairing his ship, which was evidently done without risk or difficulty. He would not have been able to see the white banks and cliffs which are so peculiar a feature in Drake's Bay, and on account of which he named the country. He could not have seen the Northwest Farallones and the Southeast Farallon from Bodega Head, on account of its peculiar position, and thus he would not have known of the vast herds of Sea Lions on the southernmost Islet. Without the information of the safety of approaching them, from Indians who frequented them, he would have avoided them,—as every careful navigator does today. He could not readily and safely have travelled into the country, and found thousands of elks. He would not have been within reach of the Nicasio Indians; and it is very doubtful if there ever was any considerable body of Indians at Bodega Head.

Sufficient has already been said about Bodega Bay to show how unconvincing these remarks are; every one of his statements is incorrect except that regarding the Farallones and possibly the one about the Nicasio Indians. It remains to be proved, however, that Drake ever saw the Nicasio Indians. The legend that he left some pigs with them could not be true; it is much more likely that these were obtained from Cermeño if any credit whatever can be given to the legend.[38]

The indications are very strong then, that Drake did not anchor

in what is now known as Drake's Bay, or if he did he left no description of it; that the statement regarding the Farallones was interpolated in the *World Encompassed* in 1628, and therefore affords no support to Professor Davidson, and that in this latter work the latitude of the port was moved from 38° to 38½°, probably to conform to the location assigned to it on Briggs' map. All that Professor Davidson really accomplished was to demonstrate conclusively that Drake had not repaired his ship in the present Bay of San Francisco, a theory which had considerable vogue at that time. The question is frequently asked, why did Drake not discover the Golden Gate and the magnificent bay within? To anyone who has followed the narrative in this book up to this point, the answer is easy. He never came near enough to see it. Even assuming that he was at Drake's Bay and the southeast Farallon, both extremely unlikely, the Golden Gate is not visible from either place. Two Spanish expeditions passed inside the Farallones within the next twenty-five years, both of them looking for ports, and neither saw the Golden Gate.[39]

The account of one of these expeditions furnishes sufficient proof that Drake's anchorage was not in Drake's Bay. It is certain that it was there that Cermeño's ship, the *San Agustin,* was lost in 1595, only some sixteen years after Drake was on this coast. As the crew were thrown ashore by the wreck, they were obliged to pass five or six weeks on land, and during this enforced stay several short expeditions were made after food supplies, and much was seen of the Indians. During the month that Drake is supposed to have been in the bay, the Indians must have received from Drake and the sailors many presents of one kind or another, not to speak of a considerable number of things which they must have stolen. There is a possibility that they may have hidden these, yet it is difficult to believe that not even a single one remained in view. Drake, when he landed, must have set up temporary stocks on shore in which the *Golden Hind* was placed and thorough repairs instituted. He surrounded this with some kind of stockade and set up tents in which the men could live while work was going on. Remains of this camp must have existed for a long time afterward. Cermeño evidently found no trace of this or anything else to indicate that any Europeans or civilized people had been there before, for if he had, he would certainly have mentioned that fact in his report, stock instructions to Spanish explorers at that period being to look for signs

of civilized people. He stated that the Indians acted as if they had never seen people like him before, and in describing them, he said they had bows and arrows and that he could find no other kind of iron with which to cut a weapon or anything else. The word "other" might imply that the bows and arrows were of iron, but obviously what he meant to say was that he found no sign of iron.[40]

Cermeño's account of the Indians tallies in a general way with that given in the *World Encompassed,* but there are a few differences to which attention must be called. He states that the boats used by the Indians were tule boats and that the houses were covered with brush plastered over with mud, just such boats and houses as the Point Reyes Indians had. In the account of Drake's visit it is said that the houses were roofed with boards in a conical form, covered with earth, and while there is no reference to the material of which the Indians' canoes were made, the fact that the word "canoes" is used would indicate that they were made out of boards or logs.

The Hondius plan is good evidence, in fact almost convincing, that Drake anchored in Trinidad Bay, and other evidence has been brought forward to indicate that he remained there long enough to find out something about the Indians. He also probably stayed long enough in Bodega Bay to get acquainted with the Pomo Indians and witness some of their ceremonies. The truth probably is that Drake stopped at two or three different places on the coast and the writer of the original narrative or the compilers who worked on it embodied in one description those of all the Indians he met.

CHAPTER IX

IN THE MOLUCCAS

ALL accounts except the "Anonymous Narrative" agree that after leaving the Northwest coast near the end of July, no land was seen until some islands in 8° or 9° of latitude were reached. It is certainly somewhat remarkable that a ship sailing from the neighhood of San Francisco could have arrived so near the Moluccas as these must have been, and in such a low latitude without having seen some of the numerous ones which stand in the way, nor can any light be thrown on the subject from an examination of the maps, because those on which his route is laid down are so extremely inaccurate. On the Hondius broadside, for example, the Moluccas are only some forty-five degrees of longitude west of New Albion, instead of the actual distance of nearly one hundred. The Molyneux globe, only, can lay claim to any degree of accuracy. On this the Moluccas are removed about seventy degrees of longitude from the Northwest coast and Drake's route is shown as passing just south of the southernmost islands of the Ladrones,[1] where a stop seems to be indicated.

It may be well questioned, however, whether Drake took this route. His chart of the Acapulco-Manila navigation must have shown him that a westward course following a parallel of about 8° to 12° was the best. That at least was known, and therefore it may be assumed that he at first pursued a southwest course, and passing to the south of the Hawaiian Islands continued in that direction until he came to within at least ten degrees of the Line. In order to pass west from this point, which might be supposed to be in about 160° to 165° of West longitude, and not see any islands until within four or five hundred miles of the Moluccas, would be rather extraordinary, but if he passed between the Marshall and Gilbert Islands without seeing any of them he might have then sailed due west a long distance without seeing any others. There was nothing on Drake's maps between 145° and 175° East longitude to show that an extensive group of islands, now known as the Carolines and Marshall Islands, existed in that quarter, as the Philippine ships passed north of them. Names on some of the early maps, however, seem to indicate that a few of these had been seen. That there is a probability that this was the actual course followed may be gath-

ered from John Drake's second deposition[2] wherein he stated that on account of the currents Drake turned his course towards China (that is, toward the Moluccas) before reaching the latitude of 1½° N. No other indication is contained in any of the narratives as to Drake's course until after leaving the "Island of Thieves."

That Drake took this southern route is more likely than that he sailed farther to the north because if he had passed between the Ladrones and the Caroline Islands, he could hardly have avoided seeing some of the western Carolines, or else the Mackenzie Islands. If, however, he did pass just south of the Ladrones, it is much more probable that the "Island of Thieves" was one of the Mackenzie group of which Yap is the best known, rather than the Pelew group which is farther on in the same direction. The chief objection, of course, to this identification is the fact that Yap lies in lat. 9° 25′ N., twenty-five minutes farther north than John Drake's location and one degree still more than that of the "Famous Voyage" and the *World Encompassed*. The objection is not necessarily fatal, especially as after leaving these islands and sailing southwest, Drake would have passed a number of islands within a few hundred miles, just as stated in these texts.[3]

Although the natives seem to have been thieves, the name bestowed on the islands has too much resemblance to the English meaning of the Spanish name *Ladrones* not to suggest that Drake or Fletcher had been reading the accounts of Magellan's voyage. James Burney attempted to identify the islands as the Pelew group, situated between 7° N. and 9° N.[4] This conclusion may be correct although the reasons he assigns for the identification are very faulty. The characteristics attributed to the islanders in the narratives are just as common to the natives of the western Carolines and Mackenzie Islands as to those of the Pelew group. Any identification is rendered impossible by the account of the voyage in the *World Encompassed,* in which it is said that after leaving them they continued within sight of land until Mindanao was reached.[5] This cannot be truly said of any possible route that might be taken to Mindanao from the east, and therefore it is obvious that the statement is erroneous. Burney, and Corbett after him, thought the *within* sight was a typographical error for *without,* but even such a correction does not help their case very much. John Drake placed them in 9° N. but his estimates of latitudes are not as reliable even as those of the *World Encompassed.*

As soon as Drake's ship was seen, some canoes manned by a number of men came out bringing with them fish, coconuts and other fruit. The canoes displayed considerable skill in their construction, resembling very much those in use in other Polynesian Islands as well as in the Moluccas. They had outriggers, and at both the bow and stern, which were alike, there was a crescent-shaped staff on which white shells were hung for ornament. The people had the lower part of their ears cut round and various things hanging from them. Their finger-nails were an inch long and their teeth were blackened from eating some kind of an herb with a kind of powder, that is, the betel leaf.[6] Although at first they traded peacefully enough, they soon refused to give anything for what they received, and business being suspended in consequence, they assaulted the ship with stones. In order to get rid of them Drake fired a cannon, but after their first fright, they continued to come to the ship, and soon manifested thieving propensities. John Drake says that they had to kill twenty of them in order to get rid of them.[7] This action on the part of Drake is euphemistically referred to in the *World Encompassed* as follows: "Neither could we at all be rid of this ungracious company, until we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror."[8]

From this point to leaving the Island of Java, the text of the *World Encompassed* embodies an itinerary full of dates and degrees of latitude. How much dependence can be placed upon them is difficult to say, lacking any corroborative evidence by which they can be checked. In the other accounts these in the main are entirely different, but there is a certain air of verisimilitude about the *World Encompassed* at this point which arouses a suspicion that the compiler had some information that had not been available when the "Famous Voyage" was compiled. There are some obvious mistakes in the text[9] which tend to throw doubt on its general accuracy, but on the other hand, it receives some slight support from a Spanish account written three years later by one Francisco de Dueñas.[10] Dueñas had been sent by the Governor of the Philippines to the Moluccas in the fall of 1581 to ascertain how the Portuguese there had taken the news of the absorption of Portugal by the Spanish Crown. He heard some stories about Drake which he embodied in his report, written after his return to Manila in May, 1582. This story is not very consistent nor always reliable. The *World Encompassed* states that after having left the "Island of Thieves" October 3

we continued our course within sight of land till the 16 of the same moneth, when we fell with foure Ilands standing in 7 deg. 5 min. to the Northward of the line. We coasted them until the 21 day, and then anchored and watered vpon the biggest of them, called Mindanao. The 22 of October, as we past betweene two Ilands, about sixe or eight leagues South of Mindanao, there came from them two canows to haue talked with vs, and we would willingly haue talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put vs from them to the Southwards.[11]

The southernmost point of Mindanao is in about 5° 45′ and off this there are two well known islands, but as there are none on the coast of Mindanao in 7° 5′, this statement is quite incomprehensible.[12] Dueñas, in his voyage to the Moluccas, stopped at the islands off the south point, which he called Satangan and Candigan,[13] and if Drake's ship had passed near them or between them, the natives would probably have said something to him about it. When Dueñas arrived at the Island of Siago,[14] he heard that Drake had passed by there, taken two Indians who were out fishing, and carried them to the Moluccas as guides. While in Tidore he obtained another account herewith quoted in full:

A Portuguese galleon on her way from Malacca to the Moluccas, when between the Island of Mindanao and Celebes[15] sighted a ship with topmasts, and thinking it was Spanish because near the Philippines, when close by sent by order of the Captain a boat she was towing, to offer assistance, believing that the other ship was out of her course. Having arrived near they asked for the captain but no one answered as only two men were seen aboard. These made signs with their hands to them to keep off and they returned half frightened to their ship and told the Captain what had occurred. As it seemed to him to be a small ship he gave no more thought to the matter, continuing on his way. Night coming on, the Englishman followed his ship, spending part of the night, as it appeared, in getting ready his guns. When day dawned, the ships were only half a league apart, the English vessel coming towards the galleon with pennants and flag flying. When near enough to be heard, an Englishman spoke, saying: "Captain don Francisco de Paragon, Englishman and Lutheran, orders you to strike your sails and surrender, and if you do not do so at once he will make you do so by force." The Portuguese, marvelling to hear what the Englishman had said, answered that they should come aboard, beginning at the same time to open some port-holes and get ready some guns which they carried. The Englishman commenced to fire at them, but as she seemed like a large ship with many men aboard, after firing seven or eight shots he kept at a distance without the galleon being able to fire a single shot as his was a small ship and always sailed with her stern to the galleon. Keeping at a distance, as I said, the [English] ship took a southeast course, which is the one for the Moluccas, and in a short time was lost to sight. Another [the next?] day the Englishman arrived at Siago where he took two Indian fishermen, who thinking they were Portuguese, had gone to them. By signs they [the English] asked them to show them the road to the Moluccas and the Indians said they would.

Modern Map of the Moluccas

It will be noted that this incident is related in almost exactly the same way by John Drake in his second deposition.[16] Drake said, however, that they went to Borney where they took in wood and water, but it hardly seems likely that they had gone as far west as Borneo, as that meant a journey of at least seven hundred miles there and back from the southern point of Mindanao, and it is difficult to conceive that Drake was that far out of his course. Dueñas' story is very good evidence that Drake was somewhere in the Celebes Sea when the Portuguese galleon encountered him, as he could not otherwise have arrived at Siago by sailing in a southeast direction. At that time, Portuguese vessels coming from Malacca to the Moluccas seem almost always to have come by the Strait of Makassar and the Celebes Sea.

The *World Encompassed* has nothing to say about this incident of the Portuguese galleon or the Indians, but continues:

> October 25 we passed by the Iland named Talao, in 3 deg. 40 min. We saw to the Northward of it three or foure other Ilands, Teda, Selan, Saran (three Ilands so named to vs by an Indian), the middle whereof stands in 3 deg. We past the last saue one of these, and the first day of the following moneth in like manner we past the Ile Suaro, in 1 deg. 30 min., and the third of November wee came in sight of the Ilands of the Moluccaes, as we desired.[17]

This is a curious jumble in which the compiler of the *World Encompassed* seems to have put in all the islands of which they heard the names, without regard to their latitude or relative positions. As Talao is east of Siaul, the inference, of course, is plain, that Drake passed down to the east of the Sangi Islands and Siaul, instead of to the west of them. There is an island now known as Talaud which appeared upon the maps in those days as Talao, in about the latitude ascribed to it, but Drake certainly never saw any islands to the north of it because there are none there to be seen. The "Famous Voyage" calls these islands Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra. The resemblance of the last two to the Selan and Saran of the *World Encompassed* is obvious. What Teda may be supposed to represent, is uncertain but there is an island Dueñas calls Tangulandan, now known as Tagulandang, which is about fifteen miles or so south of the Island of Siaul. Between is the Siau Passage through which Drake must have gone after having taken the two Indians at the Island of Siaul. The Island of Siago or Siaul is very likely, then, the one called Selan or Zelon; Saran or Zewarra, Sarangane. It may be

concluded, then, that if Drake ever saw Talao, he did so when he passed north of it into the Celebes Sea.

The Island of Suaro agrees very closely in latitude and general relative position to the Island of Mayo, which is about midway between the Siau Passage and Ternate. The account in the "Famous Voyage" is consistent even if more meager, and the trouble with that in the *World Encompassed* seems to be that the compiler introduced into the former the stop at Mindanao. Previous reference to the extremely inaccurate representation of Drake's route on the various maps has been made several times; none of these shows that he ever went near Mindanao, and the "*carte veuee et corrige*," that is, the French Drake map, actually shows that he arrived from the south at some six islands labelled "Moluicke" where his stop is shown at the one farthest south.

Coming then through the Siau Passage and taking a southeast course it is not at all likely that the first one of the Moluccas sighted was Motir, or "Mutir" as the "Famous Voyage" has it. This island is south of Tidore and there is every indication in the English accounts as well as that of Dueñas that Drake did not pass by Tidore, but reached Ternate from the north or northwest. The mistake probably arose from using either the Ortelius map of 1564, or some one like it, on which Ternate is the island placed farthest south and Motir is to the north between Maquian and Tidore. The error was evidently discovered subsequently as "Mutir," as the name of the small island, does not appear in the *World Encompassed*. Dueñas continued:

> So these [the Indians] guided them and when near the Moluccas a Portuguese came along with a small vessel looking for supplies for those islands, and thinking it was a Portuguese ship coming from Malacca, went straight to her and going aboard was very frightened to see such strange people. The English, however, treated him well, entertaining him with kind words and telling him not to fear, that they were Englishmen and Lutherans, but did no harm to any one. They asked him where the fortress of the Portuguese was and he said very near. Among other questions, they asked him what direction the Portuguese took when they went to Malacca, placing before him a sailing chart. He answered that he had been born and brought up in Ternate, which was the truth, and that he knew nothing about navigation or sailing charts. Not pursuing the subject further, they discussed other matters.[18] At this time the ship was seen from Ternate and the King sent at once two *caracoas*[19] to find out what ship it was and from whence it came. When these found that they were neither Portuguese nor Spaniards but English Lutherans, as they said, they returned to tell the King and he soon sent to invite them to come ashore at once, offering them port room and everything

necessary, and saying that they should not go where the Portuguese were as they had a galley and a galleon with which they could do much damage.[20]

On the whole, this account conforms very well to the story told in the "Famous Voyage" except that in the latter the Portuguese is not mentioned and the messengers of the Sultan of Ternate are said to have come off from "Mutir." When Drake left England, it is hardly likely that he had sufficient knowledge of political conditions in the islands to induce him to seek any one in particular. Ternate was the best known and after that, Tidore. At any rate, Drake probably felt that he had a much better chance of doing business with the natives than with the Portuguese, so he accepted the invitation, and anchoring in the port of Ternate, at once sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak as a sign that he came in peace, at the same time advising the King that he wanted nothing but food in exchange for the goods he carried.

In view of the important rôle the Moluccas played in world history for a century or more, it may not be amiss to say a few words here about them. The word Moluccas, which is of Spanish origin, originally *Malucas,* was applied in a wide sense to all the spice islands in the Indian Archipelago and in a narrow sense to the small group which seems to have comprised twelve, lying just west of Gilolo. It was generally believed in the sixteenth century that cloves were indigenous only to four or five of these, but Dueñas says that the clove tree grew on the Island of Sanguin (that is, Sangi) and other islands. The fact was, however, that as an article of commerce their production was restricted to four extending from about fifty down to twenty minutes of North latitude in the following order: Ternate, Tidore, Motir and Maquian.[21] Another, the largest of all, named Baquian,[22] was about forty miles south of Maquian, and therefore south of the Equator, and although the clove tree grew there, cloves do not seem to have been produced in any quantity at that time. The Sultan of this island was independent but friendly to the Portuguese, who had a fortress on Tidore and thus, to a certain extent, also held the Sultan of that country in subjection. Babù,[23] the Sultan of Ternate, held possession of Motir and Maquian and thus controlled the bulk of the clove trade.

Usually referred to as Baber by English historians, this crafty Malay was only one of a number of Mohammedan chieftains of very warlike proclivities who by armed force managed to maintain themselves in possession of one or more islands in the archipelago or

even parts of islands. They were almost continuously at war with each other in efforts to enlarge their personal dominions, and the Portuguese had obtained a footing in the Moluccas and managed to maintain themselves there largely by taking first one side and then the other in these struggles. Babù had been especially successful in bringing under his control a number of these native chiefs, and having strengthened himself very materially in this manner, had succeeded in ejecting from Ternate the Portuguese,[24] who were now entrenched in Tidore awaiting aid from India to renew the contest. For the moment a truce was on between them and him, but he knew that sooner or later they would again appear in force. On account of his continued warfare against the Portuguese, the clove trade had for the most part passed into the hands of the Javanese, and no doubt he was badly in need of another market.

Drake at Ternate (From the Hondius Broadside)

When Drake arrived and Babù heard that he was not friendly to the Portuguese, he no doubt felt much relieved, and according to the English accounts, greeted Drake with great cordiality, sending out four large canoes to tow his vessel into port, advising him that he was ready to enter into trade. Shortly afterwards, the Sultan himself went on board in great state. He was a man of tall stature and seemed much delighted with the music. Long accounts of these proceedings occur in the "Famous Voyage" and the *World Encompassed*.[25] On leaving, Babù promised to come again the next day and said he would order food sent aboard. The day following, therefore, he sent a large quantity of rice, hens, a kind of liquid sugar,

bananas, coconuts, and a kind of meal called "sago,"[26] but he did not come himself. Instead, he sent his brother with the request that Drake come ashore to visit him.

Although it is said that Drake only wanted to buy food at Ternate, he had another purpose in view, namely, to obtain a supply of cloves, the chief object of the merchant adventurers in fitting out the expedition. No doubt at this time, with his hold full of gold and silver, cloves may have seemed to Drake of small importance,[27] yet the profit to be obtained from them was sufficiently great to make it worth while to take on board as many as he could, due regard of course being first observed to the necessity of carrying a sufficient supply of food. The only definite statement about the quantity taken from the island is in the "Anonymous Narrative" where it is said to have been six tons.[28] Later in that narrative three tons were said to have been thrown overboard while the *Golden Hind* was on the rock. Whether Drake actually reached England with three tons is not known, as there is no further reference to them. At that time, the bulk of Babù's revenue seems to have been derived from an export duty of ten per cent on cloves. Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola[29] states that Drake attempted to trade for these without his license, and although advised that illicit traders were harshly treated, he received the advice with contempt, whereupon Babù, becoming aware of this, ordered him to be put to death. Argensola adds:

> Little was lacking towards the execution of his rage, but Drake, expert in fraud, to whose ingenuity the arts of dissimulation were not new, gathered together his fleet to escape by flight. He then tried to appease the King with some presents which he sent him, and this was not a difficult matter. With these he purchased his good will, and an audience with that astute tyrant. He went ashore at different times to visit him and arranged with him that the King should be a friend and confederate of the Queen and the English nation, and that factories should be founded there very soon. The King agreed to this, and Drake promised him arms and protection for his provinces. Carrying away, among other gifts, a valuable ring, which the King gave him for the Queen, he left the country with a great quantity of cloves.

This information about the trouble between Drake and Babù Argensola did not obtain from the report of Dueñas previously referred to, but a mention of the incident will be found in Herrera,[30] and there are indications in the *World Encompassed* that all in Ternate was not *couleur de rose*. In this work, it is stated that the crew would not permit Drake to go on shore although Babù had

offered to send his brother on board as a hostage, "especially for that the kings brother had vttered certaine words, in secret conference with our Generall aboard his cabbin, which bred no small suspition of ill intent."[31] It can well be believed that Drake with his high-handed methods of doing things objected to paying anything for the privilege of trading, and attempted to carry out his plans without any regard to Babù. Finding that this would not work and that he was in a dangerous position, he no doubt adopted the more simple, if more expensive method of appeasing Babù by presents, as Argensola states, nor can it be doubted that this proved to be easy nor that they were long in arriving at an understanding.

"The Famous Voyage" has a story that even before the King had seen Drake he sent out word by a messenger that "hee would yeeld himselfe and the right of his Ilands to bee at the pleasure and commande of so famous a prince as he served."[32] This was getting a little ahead of time, and besides, that Babù ever made any such offer is quite incredible. The *World Encompassed* attributes the incident to the same occasion but simply says that Babù sent word that "he would sequester the commodities and traffique of his whole Iland from others, especially from his enemies the Portugals (from whom he had nothing but by the sword), and reserue it to the intercourse of our Nation, if we would embrace it."[33] He then, it seems, agreed to give the English a monopoly of the clove trade, and for the purpose of carrying this on was willing that the English should plant some factories in his dominions. Drake, on his side, either agreed to come himself with a force or send one, and accepted Babù's offer to allow factories to be established for the purpose of facilitating the trade. Dueñas' story of the transaction is very interesting. He said:

> Captain Francis went to the fortress of Ternate where he was well received and provided with certain supplies. The King of Ternate soon opened negotiations with him, saying that he was not a friend of the Portuguese but an independent King and that as Captain Francis had said that he was a vassal of the Queen of England, if the Queen desired to favor and help him to expel the Portuguese from that region, he would concede to her the trade in cloves which up to that time the Portuguese had had. Captain Francis, on the part of the Queen of England promised that within two years he would decorate[34] that sea with ships for whatever purpose might be necessary. The King asked a pledge that he would as a gentleman comply with the word he had given in the name of the Queen of England and Captain Francis gave him a gold ring set with a precious stone, a coat of mail and a very fine helmet. The King gave Captain Francis other presents but I could not make out what they were.[35]

Not only is the story of Dueñas borne out by the English accounts, but there is overwhelming evidence that Drake had no sooner returned to England than he set on foot a project to make good his promise. The Fenton expedition had no other object in view, or perhaps, to speak more accurately, no other ultimate object in view, and carried along materials necessary for the arming and maintenance of such a factory. It is even likely that Drake himself had some instructions about settling a factory at Ternate just as Fenton had afterward, but did not do so in view of the comparatively small force which he had to guard such a huge amount of treasure and the fact that every man on board had an interest in that treasure and in consequence must have been unwilling to stay there even if Drake had thought it advisable. Mrs. Nuttall, in translating John Drake's first deposition, says that Drake lightened the ship here by reducing the company to sixty men.[36] The original Spanish does not mean this at all, nor is there any evidence that Drake left any men at Ternate. All that John Drake said was that they were only sixty in number.

When the Spaniards in the Philippines learned of Drake's visit and his treaty with Babù, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, the Governor, at once recognized in this design a serious menace to Spanish power in the East. In a letter dated June 25, 1582, written to the King, Don Gonzalo said, "If in England they consider well the matter, they will think very highly of the Malucos which they can take and keep with few forces and your Majesty should take great care for their defense."[37] There is little doubt that the expedition Don Gonzalo sent from Manila to conquer Ternate in the latter part of the year 1582 was the result of Drake's visit. Although the Island of Motir was captured, no success was obtained at Ternate. Various other efforts were made until 1606 when Pedro Bravo de Acuña finally captured the island and expelled the Dutch.

Dueñas also told another interesting tale worth repeating as it is quite characteristic of Drake.

> He was there [in Ternate] only three days when the commander of the Portuguese learned that his ship had anchored at the fortress of Ternate. Thinking they were Spaniards, he sent to them two reputable Portuguese to offer them his port and all that was necessary, supplies as well as everything else, and to tell them that the people there were Moors and at war with the Portuguese, and that it was more reasonable that they should come to seek aid from him, since they were Christians, than from those Moors. These two Portuguese could go in safety as there was a truce on between the King of Ternate and the Portuguese. Having

arrived alongside the ship they asked for the captain because the Ternate people who were there for that purpose would not allow them to go aboard although they wished to do so, and an Englishman, who, according to the description they gave, was Captain Francis, a medium-sized man, heavy of face, came forth and asked them what they wanted. They told him that the commander sent them to kiss his honor's hand and to beg that his honor would be pleased to go to the fortress he had in Tidore where they would be entertained by him and provided with everything necessary, and that they should take note that those people were Moors and that it would not sound well in Spain when it became known that on arrival there Christians and Spaniards should prefer to be aided by Moors rather than by them. All this the Portuguese said, thinking the others were Spaniards, not yet knowing they were English, but the Englishman answered: "Señores, tell the commander that I kiss his hands many times and I thank him very much for the honor he does me, but I am no Spaniard but an Englishman, a Lutheran of a different persuasion, and that these are Moors who for our money will give us what is necessary." The two Portuguese were not a little surprised to hear what the Englishman said and asked him where he was going and what he was looking for. He answered that he came to discover the world by order of his Queen. On being asked how he had traversed such a long road in such a small ship he said he had ten other galleons which he had sent on discovery to different parts and he was now going to join them in a certain place. He said it was only a little while since he left Spain and only a year since he left Zafi. They asked him: "Since it is such a short time since you left Spain give us some news of Portugal?" He said: "The news from Portugal I can give you is that while in Zafi a year ago, the King of Portugal passed there with a large army and in an encounter he had with the Moors was killed and many of those with him, the rest being taken prisoners."[38] Marvelling at the news, the Portuguese took leave of him to go to the commander and tell him what they had heard. This news caused no little astonishment among the Portuguese. Next day the commander sent again to discuss the affair but Captain Francis had already gone, leaving behind the Portuguese man whom he had taken prisoner.

In after years, the verbal treaty between Drake and Babù figured in Eastern diplomacy, and the East India Company, especially, seemed to set great store on it. The mere fact that on the cup, still preserved at Nutwell Court, which according to a tradition in the Drake family was given to him by Queen Elizabeth about 1580, there was engraved the famous scene of Babù's four canoes towing Drake's ship into the harbor, is a very plain indication that already at that early time Drake's success in entering into friendly relations with the Sultan was considered to be of the utmost importance. Perhaps more importance was attached to it than it deserved, nevertheless, in view of the influence his alleged treaty may have had in ultimately bringing about the foundation of Great Britain's East Indian Empire, it may not be far from the truth to regard it as Drake's chief achievement during this famous voyage.

CHAPTER X

THE VOYAGE HOME

HAVING arrived at Ternate either the 4th or 5th of November, Drake set sail on the 9th with the immediate object of finding some out-of-the-way island where he could clean and repair the ship, probably not feeling much confidence in the friendship of his new allies. Five days later he reached a small uninhabited island which he found adapted to his purpose. What little wind there was probably came from the south or southwest, and in the few days required to reach the place the *Golden Hind* could not have travelled any great distance.[1] The *World Encompassed* places the island in 1° 40′ S.[2] and John Drake in 4° N.[3] Dueñas continued his story as follows:

> Many days had not passed before, one night during a storm, he was wrecked on a small island which has many reefs. This island is in the direction of Java near the island which above we called Matheo,[4] on the east side, on a north-south coast which the natives call Castarlibo. Taking out everything from the ship they made on land a fort of wood, planting all the artillery about it. They placed on the stocks a vessel, which was finished in three months, and in this they prosecuted their voyage. All the time they were there the natives of the coast of Limbotan and of the Island of Zangay nearby provided him with food in exchange for linen goods and other things so that it never was understood that he carried any gold or silver. The wreck, according to the account given me by the Portuguese, occurred at the end of October or November 10, 1579. He was there three months, so he left there in the month of February. I talked with a native of the town of Jape which is on the coast of Ymbutan [Limbotan], who many times went with others to sell him food, and saw all I here repeat. None of the people went abroad but the Indians continually went aboard the ships and thus traded food. They discharged the artillery from time to time to frighten the Indians. This is what I was able to learn about the Englishman Captain Francis, who here is called don Francisco de Aragon. I tried to find out from the Indian how many there appeared to be and it seemed to him there were thirty-four men.[5]

Dueñas' story places the date of the wreck, as he called it, at the end of October or November 10. The latter date coincides very closely with the probable time of arrival at "Crab" Island, which he said was near Celebes. The coast which he called Castarlibo, the neighboring one of Limbotan and the town of Jape cannot be definitely placed, but they were probably on Celebes. The deep bay, out of which Drake could not get in three days after leaving the island,

ELEBES
Peleng I
Peleng Str
Banggai Archipelago
Greyhound Str
TALIABU
MANGOLE
SULA I.
Sula Besi
MOLUKKA SEA
Tomori Bay
Tukala Mts
Dongi
Lamusa
Tojo
Malili
Palopo
Lelewau
Tapaluna B.
Salabangka I.
Salabangka Str
Nederburg I.
Talowa B.
Matarapi B.
Lasolo B.
Luna Suabi
Padea I.
Maru I.
Kipanipa
Kendari B.
Wowoni I
Buton Str
Tg Buton
Pandamarang
Bingkoka B.
Staring B.
Bumbia B.
Tukala
Kalowaha Wadobo
(D'waal Bay)
Tukang Besi
Langken I.
Kabaena
Telaga I.
Buton
Siumpuo South
Batu Ata
(Hagedis I.)
Driss
Kakabia or Baars I. (126)
FLORES SEA
Tg SALAYAR
(Saltier)
Salayar Str
(Saltier Pass)
Pasi I.
Bukuluang I.
Rajum
Tiger I.
Kambolabi
Kayuadi
Gunong Api
Tomahu I.
Tg Sarmera
Babi Kar
Kauditan
Tg Patiro
Tg Lassa
Tg Goram
Kauditan
Tg Buton
Tg Maroro
Kaluku Pt.
Tomia
Chobo
Kaka R.
Morenaho
Binongko
Kauai Olo
Wangiwangi
Tg Limpoga
Singaro
Tg Parigi
Tg Bangkeka
Tg Tabako
Tg Tabalo
Tg Tabelo
Tg Tampoga
Mt Tampoga
Tojo
Togian Is.
Peleng Str
Bangkulu
Sago
Banggai
Salabangka
Lamo
Longkaya
Chapalalu Str
Puris Kros
Sanana B.
Vesuvius B.
Wogo
Kuyo
Lamo
Peleng
Banggai
Salabangka
Tapaluna
Matarapi
Lasolo
Kendari
Wowoni
Buton
Tukang Besi
Kalowaha
Wangiwangi
Langken
Kauditan
Tomia
Chobo
Binongko
Morenaho
Kaka R.
Batu Ata
Driss
Kakabia
Gunong Api
Sula Besi
Sanana
Tomahu
Tg Sarmera
Babi Kar
Kauditan
Tg Patiro
Tg Lassa
Tg Goram
Tg Buton
Tg Maroro
Kaluku Pt.
Kauai Olo
Tg Limpoga
Singaro
Tg Parigi
Tg Bangkeka
Tg Tabako
Tg Tabalo
Tg Tabelo
Tg Tampoga
Mt Tampoga

old accounts a native word is very rarely spelled throughout in the same way. On the whole there are sufficient grounds for locating "Crab" Island in the Banggai Archipelago. It may have been one of the small islands off the northeast side of the Island of Banggai itself.[8]

It may be noted that while in some respects Dueñas' narrative is quite in agreement with the English ones, in others it is not so, especially in regard to the length of time spent on the island and the statement that the vessel was wrecked there. A wreck was probably inferred from the fact that the natives reported a vessel on the stocks which the Portuguese must have thought was in process of construction. John Drake said that they never saw any natives while they were there,[9] but he may have been mistaken in this as Dueñas' account of their coming to them and selling food is too circumstantial and probable not to have been true.

When Drake reached the island, the cargo was taken ashore, some temporary stocks were set up on land, in which the *Golden Hind* was placed and her bottom cleaned, as it was very foul with barnacles. For protection he threw up some kind of entrenchments around the ship and pitched the tents inside. To the west was a large inhabited island. "Crab" Island was well wooded but seems to have been without water, which Drake had to procure from another to the south. At night myriads of fireflies and huge bats filled the air. Immense crabs dug caves under the roots of the trees and also climbed them for refuge from Drake's men who had found them to be exceedingly good to eat.[10] Charcoal was burned for the use of the smith whose forge was set up on land, and the ship and the water casks were repaired. This necessary work having been finished, and wood and water taken on board, the men, many of whom had been sick, having recruited their strength in the meantime, they sailed away December 12, leaving on the island the Negress and the two Negroes, in order, as John Drake said, to found a settlement, leaving them rice, seeds and means to make fire,[11] but no doubt the real reason was that Drake did not wish to carry food for them on such a long voyage as was facing him. The men called it "Crab" Island, but in the "Anonymous Narrative" it is said that Drake named it "Francisca" after one of the Negroes.

Dueñas, in describing the artillery belonging to Babù, said that he had two half-spheres (no doubt demi-culverins),[12] one of bronze and the other of cast-iron, which Drake had left on Coro Island

when he was wrecked and which had been sent to him by his subject, the King of Bonga, in whose possession three others remained. In view of Dueñas' preceding account, it seems possible that he here referred again to "Crab" Island. If so, it would appear that Drake left five cannon there. The English accounts say that Drake threw overboard two big guns while on the rock, but he may also have left five at "Crab" Island.

The northeast monsoon for which Drake had been waiting had set in[13] and he now took a westerly course evidently thinking that he could reach the Celebes Sea by sailing in that direction and then pass down through the Makassar Strait. In a few days he sailed through the Banggai Archipelago into the Gulf of Tomori and somewhere in the western part of it sighted what must have been the mainland of Celebes. As he found it impossible to continue on his westerly course, Celebes Island barring the way, and this wind not allowing him to pass northeast through Peleng Strait or to return and pass up the Molucca Passage so as to round that island at the north end, he was forced to take a southeasterly course and follow the coast of Celebes, which in this quarter is lined with innumerable shoals. At some point, just where is not certain, Drake thought he had reached the end of Celebes as the land turned to the west. Just as they were congratulating themselves that they had clear sailing for a while, the wind being favorable, the *Golden Hind*, January 8 or 9,[14] ran on a shoal during the first watch. It is not necessary to suppose that the shoal was actually south of Celebes as Drake was mistaken about having reached the end of the island.[15]

From the Hondius Broadside

The *World Encompassed* gives the latitude as about 2° S.[16] and about the only part of the coast of Celebes on the eastern side which has any distinct trend to the west is in about this same latitude where it forms the north coast of Tomori Bay.

It appears that the vessel had taken a shelving reef not far from the coast, broadside on, on the port side, and the wind blowing from the starboard kept forcing her higher and higher on the reef. After all earthly measures had been exhausted, the wind at four o'clock of the following day suddenly shifted to the opposite quarter, all the sails were hoisted and the *Golden Hind* slid off the rock into deep water. At this time, it is said, there were fifty-eight persons on the ship,[17] this statement being in practical agreement with John Drake's that there were sixty at Ternate and fifty-nine at the Cape of Good Hope. Whether in their extremity they first tried to lighten the ship by throwing over three tons of cloves, two big guns, meal and beans, even the munitions for defense, in other words, almost everything except the silver and gold, or whether they first resorted to prayer, is a matter of doubt. Mr. Fletcher preached a sermon and all received the communion. In the *World Encompassed* there is what seems to be the substance of this sermon, with the exception of that part which treated of the affair at Port San Julian.[18] There can hardly be any doubt that Fletcher, on this occasion, said that this great danger was a judgment for the crime they had committed, and that he directed his remarks to the Captain, because no sooner was the *Golden Hind* safely off the rock than Drake excommunicated him out of the church of God and denounced him to the Devil and to all the angels, putting around his arm a paper with the now famous legend: "Frances fletcher, ye falsest knave that liveth."[19]

Although Argensola, in his account of Drake's visit to the Moluccas, follows the narrative of John Drake, he occasionally adds something from other sources, and at this point occurs one of these interpolations. He says:

> Drake had no sooner left Terrenate when the winds arose, in that part of the sea full of reefs, from whence they took him to put him wholly in the hands of *Fortuna*.[20] He had to lighten his ship, and among other precious things he threw into the sea a certain bronze cannon of marvelous size. After the tempest was over, the King of Terrenate ordered this brought up from the bottom of the sea and built a house in front of his palace in order to put it on the roof in open view, mounted ready to fire. He did this either on account of the size of the gun or as a matter of ostentation and in memory of the first Englishman who had arrived at his kingdoms.[21]

Whether this gun was one of those referred to by Dueñas, or had really been fished up out of the sea at the rock where two are known to have been thrown overboard, is quite impossible to determine.

During nearly a whole month Drake sailed around among the islands and shoals in the Molucca and Banda Seas. With the prevailing northeast wind he could not at first get away from the coast of Celebes, which generally trends southeast. It is said that he anchored January 14 at an island in 4° 6′ S. and spent a day there watering and taking on wood. There is a large island in that latitude now known as Wowoni. A little farther south, the wind changed to the west and here Drake found himself entangled in what were no doubt the Tukang Besi Islands.[22] By this time, he had apparently decided to go to Timor instead of to the west through the Flores and Java Seas, as the west wind prevented him from proceeding on that course. From January 20 to the end of the month the *Golden Hind* apparently drifted under bare poles to the east through the Banda Sea in a west-southwest gale. February 1, very high land was seen to the south, probably Gunong Api, a high volcanic mountain in 6° 35′ S. The storm still carried her on, and on the third day another small island was seen, possibly Serua, but they were unable to land on account of the wind.[23] February 6, five islands were seen, one towards the east and four towards the west. As near as can be determined the first was Nila and the latter were Damma and the small ones adjacent. At the largest of these, that is probably Damma, Drake cast anchor and the following day took on water and wood. Before this, probably about February 4, the southwest storm had ceased, and the wind coming again from the northeast, Drake had been able to resume a southwesterly course.

Two days later two canoes came out and guided them to land where there was a town the name of which appears in the different narratives as Barativa, Barateve, and Baratina. So far, no one has positively identified this town, but it may have been on Roma Island.[24] The latitude, 7° 42′, of this island corresponds closely enough to that ascribed to Barativa in the *World Encompassed*, 7° 13′. On the Ortelius map of 1564 there is an island in that part of the archipelago called Buttahave, which seems to be Timor Laut, the principal island of the Tenimber group. On the Hondius broadside there is also one in this same relative position, where Drake's route turns southwest. The size of Drake's island just referred to agrees much better with that of Timor Laut than with that of Roma,

which is only about forty miles in circuit, but as the former is of coral formation, it could by no possibility contain mines as Roma did, if the account in the *World Encompassed* can be credited.

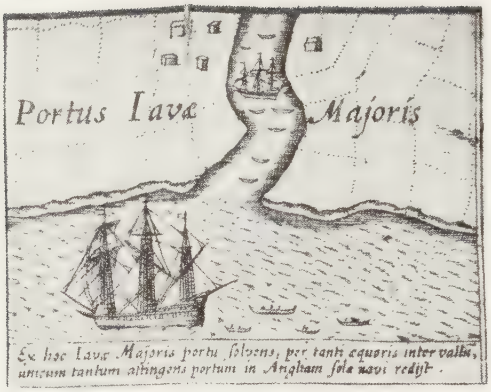
Here the natives were found to be very civil and willing to trade, linen being in especial demand as they made turbans out of it for their heads and sashes which they wore around their waists. Besides these adornments, the natives were apparently naked, but the men wore earrings and the women bracelets made out of bone, horn, or brass. They seemed to be workers of metal as well, and the island was said to be rich in gold, silver, copper and sulphur. It is possible that the existence of mines was inferred from the skill of the natives in working metals. Nutmegs and pepper were found here as well as coconuts, lemons, cucumbers, bananas and the ever present *sago*. A nut was also found, not very different from an acorn, probably that of some species of *Canarium*.[25]

After two days spent at this place in refreshing themselves and recruiting their supply of food,[26] they departed February 10. The *World Encompassed* then has the following passage:

> When we were come to the height of 8 deg. 4 min., Feb. 12, in the morning we espied a greene Iland to the Southward; not long after, two other Ilands on the same side, and a great one more towards the North; they seemed all to be well inhabited, but wee had neither need nor desire to goe to visit them, and so we past by them. The 14 day wee saw some other reasonable bigge Ilands; and February 16 we past betweene foure or five bigge Ilands more, which lay in the height 9 deg. 40 min. The 18, we cast anchor vnder a little Iland, whence we departed againe the day following; we wooded here, but other reliefe, except two turtles, we receiued none. The 22 day we lost sight of three Ilands on our starboard side, which lay in 10 deg. and some odde minutes.[27]

The green island to the south was Kissa or possibly Timor; the large island toward the north, Wetta. Those seen on the 14th must have been Timor and Kambing and those on the 16th, probably the same islands, and Ombai, Pantar and Lomblen which are in about 8° 15′.[28] If this identification of his course is correct, and it must at least be approximately so, Drake passed through the lower part of the passage between Ombai and Timor.[29] Later, the Dutch seem to have had an idea that he had passed through the Bali Channel at the east end of Java,[30] but it is impossible to reconcile this view with the detailed itinerary just described.

Having passed the strait, Drake apparently continued following the coast of Timor, and very likely the little island at which he anchored on February 18 was near that island. Leaving this, he then


Portus Iavæ Majoris
Ex hac Iavæ Majoris portu solvens, per tanti æquoris intervallu, unicum tantum attingens portum in Anglham sola navi rediit.

The Golden Hind in Java (From the Hondius Broadside)

Tjilatjap Harbor, South Coast of Java

directed his course towards the west, and the three islands referred to as having been passed on February 22 on the starboard in 10° and odd minutes must have been Sandalwood Island[31] and the two small ones known as Sawa and Danaer or New Island.

What map Drake was using is not known, but he evidently realized that he was south of Java, and wishing to stop at that island before undertaking the long journey to the Cape of Good Hope, he must have changed his course to the northwest during the succeeding days, as March 9 he sighted high land to the north in 8° 20′.[32] The description corresponds well enough to the Java coast to the west of Pangoel. He evidently continued following this, which here turns north of west, looking for a port. This he apparently reached on the 11th. The only harbor on that part of the coast of any importance and the only one which bears any resemblance to the small plan on the Hondius broadside is that named Tjilatjap in about 7° 45′. This is a very good harbor well protected by the Island of Kambangan. The narrow strait between this island and the mainland has the appearance of being a canal just as shown in the plan. No reference to this town is found in any of the accounts of Java in English in the sixteenth century, as the operations of the Dutch were confined to the north side of the island, but in view of its present importance and its very advantageous position, it must have been a place of consequence even at that time.

Drake at once sent ashore some presents of silks, linen and woolen cloth to the King, which were thankfully received and in return some rice, coconuts, chickens and other victuals were sent on board. Drake's ship was again very foul with barnacles and he at once engaged in the task of cleaning and washing her, filling in the time by entertaining the many kings who came to see him and being entertained by them. Kings seem to have been numerous, as five altogether are named and it is even stated that there were as many as four, called rajahs, on the vessel at once.[33]

Drake went ashore on the 13th of March with many of the gentlemen and others, taking along his music with which the natives were delighted. The people were found to be tall[34] and warlike, well armed with swords and daggers of their own workmanship. They wore turbans, and a silk garment of gay color from the waist down. Food was plentiful, including the *sago* of the Moluccas, and it is said that in every village there was a house where the inhabitants used to assemble daily for their common meal. A very interesting

notice is given of the method of boiling rice.[35] As a result of the very friendly relations established there is some reason to believe that Drake entered into a kind of treaty with one of the rajahs, looking towards future trade. The Portuguese were evidently hovering around, as John Drake said that one came on board the ship with some natives to see whether they could seize her.[36] As a long voyage was now in prospect before any land could be seen again, the ship was stocked with a great quantity of food, and having purchased some Java daggers and other curiosities and finished the work on the ship, Drake set sail March 26 on a west-southwest course for the Cape of Good Hope.

The accounts are hopelessly at variance about where the African coast was first sighted, whether at a latitude of 31½° on May 21, or at the Cape of Good Hope, June 18. It hardly seems possible that it could have taken from May 21 to sail from 31½° to the Cape of Good Hope in 34° 22′, which was reached on June 15, according to the *World Encompassed*, nor does it seem likely that Drake was such a poor mariner that he missed the cape by three degrees. Although specific statements are made that Drake did not land, in the "Anonymous Narrative" it is stated that he spent a long time trying to find fresh water on the coast in a bay to the west of the cape, but without success,[37] which indeed seems very likely from the fact that at the cape they found themselves reduced to three pipes of water and half a pipe of wine with fifty-nine persons on board.[38]

On the 22nd of July the ship reached the mouth of the river in Sierra Leone, the water on board being at that time reduced to a half pint for every three men on board, although during a rain some had been caught.[39] Here two days were spent in taking in water and some provisions. Numbers of elephants were noticed and a kind of oyster which grew on trees. Leaving Sierra Leone on the 24th, the course seems to have been to the northwest for nearly twenty degrees of longitude and then north to the fiftieth degree of latitude, whence a westerly one was taken and Plymouth was reached on Monday, September 26. Much to their surprise, it was found on their arrival that a day had been lost in sailing around the world, as according to their computation the day of their return was Sunday. It is said in the "Famous Voyage" that England was reached November 3, and this was repeated even in 1600 when Hakluyt reprinted the account.[40] The only way to account for the

discrepancy is to suppose that November 3 may have been the day the ship reached London.[41]

In the archives in Seville there are two very curious letters dated July 29 and August 19, 1580,[42] written by one Pedro de Rada from Portugalete, a small port on the Biscayan coast of Spain near Bilbao, to Dr. Gomez de Santillan at Madrid. Rada wrote that Drake had been at Belle Isle near La Rochelle in France, where he had secretly unloaded a great quantity of gold and silver, and also that it was believed that he was staying in that neighborhood until he could receive word from England whether he could safely return. Translations of these two letters will be found in Mrs. Nuttall's *New Light on Drake*.[43] Mrs. Nuttall's unfortunate error in stating that John Winter returned in June, 1580, instead of 1579, the proper year, induced her to indulge in some reflections on him, which are baseless.[44] The letters could have had no possible relation to Winter, and they raise a very curious question as to whether or not Drake actually did land or stay near La Rochelle until he could get some information from England. Rada certainly had some information which sounds very much as if it had been obtained from Drake or someone on board the ship, but most of it was a matter of common knowledge in Spain at the time and perhaps he connected this with some vague story that he had heard from France about a strange vessel at Belle Isle and rashly concluded that it must have been that of Drake, whose return was daily expected.[45]

CHAPTER XI

AFTER THE RETURN

A NEW figure now appears upon the scene, Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, and in order to understand the situation of affairs when Drake reached home, it will be necessary to go back a little. For some time Spain had had no ambassador in England but only an agent, one Antonio de Guaras, a Spanish merchant, resident in London. For some indiscretion, probably contained in an intercepted letter which he had written, Guaras was arrested October 20, 1577. Philip then decided to send to England a duly accredited ambassador, so Mendoza was appointed in January, 1578, and arrived in London March 12, having his first audience with the Queen on the 16th.[1]

Mendoza was a man of great ability and took immediate steps to establish an extensive and elaborate system of secret service which stood him in good stead during his stay in London. Several important officials were in his pay, including at least one member of the Council itself, Sir James Crofts, the Controller. No doubt a great deal of the court news and court gossip sent out in Mendoza's extensive correspondence was obtained from him, but Crofts was a Catholic and always more or less under suspicion so there were times when Mendoza found great difficulty in securing information of importance. At first, at least, and apparently even after he left England, Mendoza was on terms of personal friendly relations with Leicester, and usually maintained very good official ones with Burghley and the Earl of Sussex. He detested Walsingham and Hatton, a feeling which they reciprocated. The great rogue to whom he frequently referred in his correspondence was undoubtedly Walsingham.

June 2, 1579, Winter had returned with the first real news of Drake, and on the 10th and 20th of that month, Mendoza wrote letters to the King containing what, although brief, is on the whole a very accurate account of the expedition up to the time Winter had deserted Drake.[2] About the 6th of August, news reached Madrid about Drake's operations on the Peruvian coast. The King, on being advised of the contents of the letters, decided that Mendoza should not take up the matter with the Queen until Drake

From Crispin van der Passe's Effigies

returned. August 10 this decision was communicated to Mendoza, and copies of the documents received from Peru and Panama were sent to him.[3] Previously, however, English merchants in Seville had sent an express courier to London with the news, who arrived in London September 3, evidently before the King's letter reached Mendoza. In this advice it was stated that Drake had taken gold and silver belonging to the King, valued at 200,000 ducats, and to merchants to the value of 400,000. Mendoza wrote that the adventurers who had provided money for the ships, among whom were some of the Councillors, were beside themselves with joy.[4] The English merchants trading to Spain were, however, very fearful that the King of Spain would seize their property there in retaliation for this outrage, and some of them even went to the Council to see if that body would give them some assurance, but they received a reply that Drake had gone on a voyage of discovery and if he had plundered the Spaniards it was not the fault of the merchants, and that the King would hardly seize English property in consequence thereof. In the meantime, the premium of insurance against seizure of English property in Spain had gone up to about four or five per cent.[5] The trade with that country was England's principal one at that period, and to give an idea of the extent of it, it may be mentioned that Guaras, in a letter of October 4, 1577,[6] estimated that the English had in Spain at that time, one hundred ships, twenty-five hundred sailors and a million in property.

In September, 1579, Mendoza heard that the justices in the western ports had received orders from the Councillors who had a share in the venture to help Drake land and place his plunder in safety, and at this early date, Mendoza expressed a fear that it would be difficult to recover it.[7] By February, 1580, great anxiety began to be felt about Drake, and in the meantime Mendoza had placed some agents in western ports where it was expected that Drake would land, so that he could have instant news. September 29, John Brewer, the trumpeter, one of Hatton's men, reached London with the news that Drake had arrived. Mendoza immediately obtained the information and wrote a letter to the King, which unfortunately is not extant — at least it has never been printed. Knowledge of its contents is derived from the answer, dated November 14.[8] It is plain, however, from subsequent letters of Mendoza's that he even knew that Drake had returned by way of the Portuguese Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, although later

he had some doubts about it, as great secrecy was maintained regarding the matter. He also learned that Drake had been ordered to remain in Plymouth and discharge the silver.

When Drake reached Plymouth, it was reported that there was a pestilence in town, so he did not land, but his wife came out to see him. Having sent Brewer up to London, he left Plymouth with the ship and waited behind an island until the Queen sent for him to come to London.[9] When this order came he went up and had a long audience with her. The Council having been summoned, a session of six hours ensued to consider what had better be done about the matter. Only five of the members attended, and a decision was reached that the silver be registered and sent up to the Tower in London, but when the order was taken to Leicester, Hatton and Walsingham, who had not been present, for their signatures, they refused to sign, and, having conferred with the Queen in regard to it, she ordered the suspension of the letter and that a rumor should be spread about that Drake had not brought much money. Drake gave the Queen a diary of the three years' voyage and a long letter about it,[10] and then returned to Plymouth, where he delivered the gold and silver to Edmund Tremayne, who placed it in Saltash Castle.[11] Shortly Drake returned again to London, probably about the middle of October, and it was at this time, very likely, that he took with him a few horse-loads of the gold and silver and delivered them at Sion House in Richmond where the Queen was staying, and where she frequently received him.

From this, it appears that the first impulse of the Queen had been to take possession of the treasure so that she might be able to return it in case that might seem expedient, but the remonstrances of her chief courtiers who were, together with herself, pecuniarily interested in the enterprise, resulted in a change of policy so as to allow time and opportunity to get rid of a large portion of it secretly and thus be able to deny that Drake had ever had so much, in case restitution should become a pressing necessity. A certain part of the captured treasure had not been registered, just how much is not known, and it seems likely that at this time Drake explained to the Councillors the reasons why the merchants to whom it belonged would be unable to prove their rights to it.[12] Thereafter, he denied that there was any at all.

The excuse already had been set up by the Councillors favorable to Drake that he could not be punished as there was no binding

treaty on the matter between the two powers, none of the existing ones prohibiting Englishmen from going to the Indies; if they went, it was at their own risk.[13] What the Queen wanted to do was to avoid war with Philip and at the same time retain the money, and so things drifted along in this way, the money gradually disappearing in one way or another, and Mendoza doing what he could to get some satisfaction and restitution of the plunder. He was, however, in a difficult position, as King Philip refused to take the only steps which could have been effective, namely, the seizure of all English property in Spain. This course Mendoza advocated with great earnestness, and in his efforts to obtain restitution had some assistance from the English merchants trading in Spain, who were very much afraid that such action would be taken, as everyone was a little fearful on account of the magnitude of the robbery. The King, however, swallowed the affront to his pride, and subordinated to his own interests those of his subjects, to whom the largest portion of the property belonged. We can hardly see at this day why this robbery of himself and his subjects did not cause an immediate declaration of war, and it is only in the character of King Philip that the answer can be found. It seems that the English Councillors had taken his measure very accurately and took the threats of Mendoza for just what they were—bluffs. No one knew this better than Mendoza himself, and he chafed under the humiliations he was made to suffer throughout the entire affair. He had at once demanded an audience with the Queen but was put off on one pretext or another while an attempt was apparently being made to come to some arrangement with him privately. October 23, two secretaries of the Council, named Beale and Wilkes, were sent to see him. The Queen had the effrontery to notify Mendoza through these messengers that she had heard that he was complaining about Drake and her reception of him, which he had no right to do, as she had made careful inquiry into the details of the voyage and found Drake had done no damage, either to the subjects of the King of Spain or to his dominions. She said that until Mendoza had explained the Irish affair she would not receive him in his official, but only in his private capacity.[14] In Mendoza's letter to the King of the same day, after setting out the above facts, he gave a synopsis of his answer in which he said he showed some of the evidence against Drake, particularly one statement of a sum of 385,000 pesos taken from Anton's ship. In the Record Office there is preserved in

Walsingham's handwriting another account of Mendoza's answer to Beale, which will be found printed hereafter.[15] According to this, Mendoza charged Drake with being guilty of cutting off the hands of some of the King of Spain's subjects during a fight, of cutting the cables of some ships in Callao, and of robbing the King and his subjects of a great quantity of bullion and pearls; he denied that the soldiers in Ireland were Spaniards, and said that even if they were, they had not done as much there as the English had in the Low Countries in favor of the rebels against his King. Having been denied an audience, Mendoza demanded his passport,[16] and refused to visit the Queen in a private capacity. Even a week previous to this, Leicester had sent a secretary to Mendoza to tell him that his talk about Drake's robberies was causing great fear among the merchants that the King of Spain would declare war about them.[17]

Drake seemed to think it necessary to make some answer to the charges made by Mendoza, and had the members of his crew who were still in Plymouth sign a declaration in which they denied that any ships had been sunk with their men and mariners or that any Spaniard had been killed or had his arms or hands cut off or had been otherwise mangled or maimed. They admitted that some silver and gold had been taken, how much, they did not know, but said that it was a very small amount in comparison with what it had been reported to be. The document is interesting because it was signed by some forty-nine members of Drake's party,[18] but as a proof of anything it has less value even than the proofs afterwards submitted by Mendoza, to which the English pettifoggers objected. Besides, Mendoza had not said that any ship had been sunk with its men and mariners, but only sunk (which was true, that is, one had been burned, and it is possible that some of those Drake cast adrift may have been lost), nor did he say that any Spaniard had been killed nor any cruelly mangled, but simply that one or more had had their hands cut off in a fight. This very likely was the case, having perhaps occurred on board Alonso Rodriguez Bautista's ship in the harbor of Callao when Drake fired into her, as this was the only one of Drake's prizes that made any resistance.

All that fall Mendoza, by means of his secret agents, kept stirring up the Spanish merchants in London to memorialize the Council about the situation, keeping them in constant fear that Spain would declare war. In August or September, 1579, the King had

issued an edict prohibiting the exportation from Spain of all commodities in foreign bottoms except salt, but the edict was a dead letter except in Biscay where some attempt was made to enforce it. The reason for this laxity, in the latter part of the year at least, was the necessity of moving the crops from Andalusia, and Mendoza kept urging the King to enforce the edict as the English merchants were deriving enormous profit from the trade.[19] In the meantime, the Queen would not permit any division of the spoil, which October 24 she ordered brought up from Plymouth, except 10,000 pounds which was to be left in Drake's hands.[20] Apparently this silver, a little less than five tons in all,[21] reached Sion House early in November. From an interesting letter from Tremayne, dated November 8, we learn that the 10,000 pounds was actually delivered to Drake out of some portion which had previously been secretly landed.[22] Tremayne wrote that he had not attempted to find out the total amount which Drake had brought because he had seen an order from the Queen to Drake not to reveal the quantity of it to any man living.

As the Queen was resolved not to break off relations with Philip if it could possibly be avoided, she was unwilling to expel Mendoza, and finally some of the Councillors, who were anxious to get their share of the money, approached Mendoza and vainly offered him 50,000 crowns if he would soften his tone regarding Drake's voyage.[23] The Queen then ordered all the silver up to the Tower from her house at Richmond, and it was delivered there December 24 to the amount of 23,411 pounds, 11 ounces, together with 101 pounds, 10 ounces of gold, troy weight.[24]

While Mendoza was raging around and fomenting in secret all kinds of trouble, the wily English Councillors had circumvented him by approaching the King of Spain through a private individual. This man was Pedro de Zubiaure, a Basque, who as early as 1575 had gone to England as a spy although ostensibly as a merchant. He must have returned to Seville as he came back to London sometime in May, 1580, as an agent of the *Consulado* of Seville, a body which might appropriately be called the Gild of Merchants. This, of course, was long before Drake returned, but it is likely that he had been sent so that he could be on the ground when Drake should arrive, to represent the *Consulado,* many of whose members had interests in the gold and silver captured by Drake. The whole aim of the Council from the beginning in treating the affair was to get

it reduced to the level of a private matter, such as would, in the proper course of events, come before the English Law Courts, where the evidence produced by the Spanish claimants could be thrown out on technical grounds, and thereafter, during the ensuing delay the Council might, if thought advisable, make some cheap settlement. The *Consulado* was apparently willing to come to an arrangement, probably thinking that anything which could be obtained would be better than nothing. Whether Zubiaure made advances to the Council or some agent of the Council approached Zubiaure is not known, but as early as November 14, 1580, the King advised Mendoza that Zubiaure had written that if the *Consulado* would send him the particulars of the property taken by Drake, together with the necessary powers and instructions, he had hopes of being able to recover a considerable portion of it.[25] This power was granted and received the sanction of the King, December 16, 1580, on condition that Zubiaure should do nothing without the advice and consent of the ambassador.[26] Mendoza, from the first, strenuously objected to handling the matter in this way and continued to do so on the ground that in the first place there was no chance for any compromise, and that in the second place the matter should be made an official and not a private one. He correctly stated the case in his letter of November 7, 1581, where he said, "Restitution can only be obtained by showing that the matter concerns your Majesty, and in that case, if restitution is refused, the Crown of England will manifestly be responsible for the value of the property."[27] Nevertheless, the King, who was averse to taking any stand which might involve him in war, seemed to favor proceeding through Zubiaure, and this man kept up negotiations in England, reporting progress from time to time.

The Queen showed Drake extraordinary favor and never failed to speak to him when she went out in public. As early as January, 1581, she publicly stated that she would knight him on the day she went to see his ship.[28] The *Golden Hind* had been brought around to London, probably in November, and she had ordered it taken ashore and put in the arsenal near Greenwich.[29] On the 4th of April, she went there to see the ship, and a grand banquet was given to her, finer than any which had been seen since the time of King Henry. Drake was then knighted by Monsieur M. de Marchaumont whom the Queen authorized to perform the act, telling Drake when she handed it to Marchaumont that she had a gilded

sword to strike off his head. After the ceremony Drake distributed 1200 crowns among the Queen's officers and gave her a large silver coffer and a frog made of diamonds.[30] After the Queen reached the ship, the bridge over which she had crossed fell down with more than two hundred persons, but John Stow says no one was hurt by the fall. Drake's name and fame now "became admirable in all places, the people swarming dayly in the streets, to behold him, vowing hatred to all that durst mislike him. Bookes, pictures, and ballads, were published in his praise, his Opinion, and Judgement, concerning Marine affaires, stoode currant."[31]

This public affront to King Philip and his ambassador at her Court one would think would have put an end to any lingering hope that the money would be recovered or that Drake would receive any punishment. As Queen Elizabeth jocularly expressed it, she would sufficiently punish Drake by taking his plunder away from him. Mendoza, however, still continued his efforts to obtain restitution, and June 17, had an audience with the Queen, the first, apparently, since Drake's return, and another about the end of the month.[32] Most of the time at these seems to have been passed in crimination and recrimination, and the affair of Drake apparently received little attention. In the second one the Queen became very much excited and screamed out to Mendoza that he was to blame for everything that had happened. February 21, 1582, Mendoza saw the Council, and on February 24, had an audience with the Queen. March 1, he wrote that he had new indications that the Council wanted to make a common lawsuit out of the Drake affair, as Walsingham had told him that the evidences of the robberies which he had submitted to the judge of Admiralty, as requested by the Queen, would be sent to Drake for answer.[33] From this it appears that the documents must have been presented by Mendoza shortly before, and Drake's answer appended to the complaint must have been written about March 1. April 1, Mendoza had received no reply, Walsingham having advised him that the Queen herself intended to consider the matter.[34] Finally, May 15, he wrote that after having asked the Earl of Sussex to take up the matter with the Queen, she had sent him a message by Walsingham that she did not intend to decide the matter of the restitution of Drake's booty until she had received a written explanation from King Philip regarding Ireland.[35] From Mendoza's correspondence it appears the Council was divided over the question, giving rise to

grave dissensions, but that he himself was always fearful that in the end the influence of Leicester, Walsingham and Hatton would prevail.

The original documents submitted by Mendoza are not extant, but it may be concluded that besides an account of Drake's raid drawn up from the deposition of San Juan de Anton, he presented a certified copy of the register of the *Cacafuego* and perhaps those of other vessels captured by Drake, and certified copies of depositions taken in Seville before the prior and consuls of the *Consulado* of various individuals who testified regarding the value of the plunder seized by Drake on the Peruvian coast, most of whom were probably merchants of Seville who were interested in the captured gold and silver. An abridgement of Mendoza's complaint entitled *An abridgement of the relation and proves made against Sir Francis Drake knighte towchinge his doings in the Sowthe Sea beyond the streighte of Magalanus* exists in the Lansdowne MSS in the British Museum.[36] At the end is a note to the effect that Drake denied that he had ever had or seen any of the unregistered silver referred to in the complaint, but that he thought that having been hid under the ballast, it had been taken by the mariners on board the ships. The abridgement evidently contains the substance of the documents just referred to as presented by Mendoza, except the register of the *Cacafuego*. Then follows a translated copy of the power of attorney given to Pedro de Zubiaure. At the end of the document in a different handwriting is an answer, in legal terms, in which it is set forth that the relation of the voyage is no real proof, being only the bare assertion of the parties pretending to be damaged; that the copy of the register shows nothing beyond the fact that so much had been put aboard the ship; that none of the witnesses were sworn in the presence of Sir Francis Drake; that the depositions of the witnesses had been taken before the prior and consuls trading into the Indies, who were both parties complaining and judges as well, and that, admitting that the witnesses had been examined before a competent judge, yet being chiefly mariners of the ships claimed to have been robbed, they had charged Sir Francis with taking goods which they themselves had taken, or at least the most part thereof.[37]

A greater piece of pettifoggery could hardly be imagined than this answer to a legitimate complaint. Having succeeded in removing the controversy from the sphere of diplomacy to that of

common business, the English were willing to take advantage of any technicality the lawyers could suggest to delay matters, in hopes that the complainants, finally becoming worn out, would accept anything in settlement. Of similar character, although on a somewhat higher plane, was the answer the Queen made to Mendoza, previously cited, the substance of which is contained in his letter of May 15. She is reported by Camden to have said that the Spaniards had brought on themselves the evil by their injustice towards the English in hindering their business, against the rights of nations, and that Drake would answer before the law if they could by just indictments and proper testimony convict him of having committed anything against equity. She said that she had sequestrated the riches he had brought back in order to give satisfaction to King Philip, although she had spent more money against the rebels whom the King had raised up against her in England and Ireland than Drake was worth. She could not see why Spain should prevent her subjects from sailing to the Indies and then entered into some abstract declarations on the rights accruing on taking possession of unoccupied territory.[38] As usual, instead of answering Mendoza's charges against Drake she brought forward her own complaints against Spain. Whether any other answer was ever made to Mendoza or not is not known, as no further reference to the affair occurs in his correspondence so far printed. That of the Queen and the one attached to his complaint indicate that neither she nor the Council had any intention of making any restitution. Long before this, she had found out that the soldiers in Ireland who had gone there to assist the Catholics in their struggle with England were Italians sent by the Pope and not by Philip.[39] Camden said that great sums of money were afterwards paid back to Zubiaure, who said he was an attorney for the return of the gold and silver, but that when too late it was discovered that instead of making restitution to private persons the money was spent against the Queen by the Spaniards to maintain the war in Flanders.[40] Antonio de Herrera made a statement so similar, except that he did not say it was a large sum, that it seems likely he took his facts from Camden's book, which had appeared two years before his own.[41] During some complication with France it may have been deemed advisable to placate Philip for the moment by making some settlement; Camden should be good authority but it may well be doubted that any large sum was restored.

The total value of Drake's plunder will probably never be known. It is even possible that no one but Drake ever knew it. No record of the silver finally delivered into the Tower seems to exist except that previously referred to, but obviously this was only a part, and by no means the largest at that.[42] No other trace exists of the gold and none of the disposition or value of the jewels. The only approach to a definite statement is one made by Lewes Roberts in 1638 that he had seen an account in Drake's own hand showing a distribution to the adventurers of forty-seven pounds sterling for each one invested.[43] On the supposition that the cost of fitting out the vessels may have been 4,000 pounds,[44] this would indicate a payment of some 188,000 pounds sterling. How much was given away by Drake cannot be known, nor even guessed at. Besides the amount said to have been paid to the subscribers, there is the statement of Camden that great sums of money were afterwards paid back.[45] A claim was presented by the merchants in Seville that besides 406,000 pesos in gold and silver registered, Drake had seized a large amount unregistered; 400,000 pesos on the *Cacafuego*, 86,000 on the *Capitana* at Valparaiso, and 50,000 on Diaz Bravo's vessel, or a total of 942,000 pesos.[46] Besides this there were the thirty-four bars of silver found at Arica whose value may be taken at 8,000 more, making a grand total of 950,000 pesos, equivalent in English money of the day to some 332,000 pounds sterling at the rate of seven shillings per *peso de oro*.[47] Drake probably admitted the claim for 406,000 pesos registered, that is, 142,000 pounds. Consequently, if Roberts' statement be accepted, not only must part of the unregistered treasure have been divided among the adventurers but the proceeds of the jewels. These last could not have been very valuable, as emeralds, the most prominently mentioned, were not worth very much at that time.[48] It must not be forgotten that the booty did not belong to Drake alone, but to many, even the sailors having a claim to a part of it. If the expedition had been fitted out as a plundering one and the crew enlisted for that purpose they would have been entitled to one-third or one-quarter of the proceeds, but as they were hired for wages, their standing was different. Drake had made extravagant promises to them at Port San Julian, and Mendoza alleged that they claimed 10,000 pounds sterling, which he said Drake had promised them if they would help him capture the *Cacafuego*.[49] John Drake testified that 40,000 pesos (about 8,000 pounds) had been distributed among them by the

Queen's orders before the treasure had been taken to London.[50] As late as January 15, 1580, the sailors were still clamoring for money, if Mendoza may be believed. He said that Drake had not settled accounts with anyone connected with the voyage, but was simply keeping them in hand with sums of money, in order that he might induce them to return with him on his next voyage.[51]

Drake himself must have given away large amounts in presents to insure support in the Council. Mendoza tells us that he squandered more money than any man in England after his return, and that his companions were equally prodigal. All the Councillors seem to have accepted his presents with the exception of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Sussex. The former refused ten bars of fine gold worth 300 crowns each, as his conscience would not allow him to accept anything from Drake, and the latter, silver plate and vases to the value of 800 pounds. Drake had a crown made for the Queen which she wore on New Year's Day, in which there were five Peruvian emeralds, three of them almost as long as a little finger and two round ones worth 20,000 crowns. On New Year's Day of 1581, he also presented her with a diamond cross worth 5,000 crowns.[52] Some time in the early part of January, 1581, Mendoza reported that the Queen gave an order for 10,000 pounds sterling of the money lodged in the Tower to be given to Drake as a reward for the voyage he had made.[53] This is the last definite statement in Mendoza's correspondence about the distribution of the plunder, but in his letter of April 6 he said that Drake had given the Queen 100,000 pounds sterling besides what was in the Tower, but this can hardly have been anything but an unfounded rumor.[54] The Tower records disclose deposits of gold and silver only to the value of about 70,000 pounds sterling.[55] The policy adopted immediately after Drake's return of getting rid of as much as possible surreptitiously had been entirely successful.

With some of his newly acquired wealth, Drake bought an estate in Devon called Buckland Abbey, and the Queen having made him a grant of arms shortly after he was knighted,[56] he set up as a courtier. Although he seems to have sprung from a yeoman family or at best from one belonging to the lesser gentry, and never had had the advantage of an early education, he had managed by this time through a natural aptitude and a varied experience to take on somewhat the appearance of a gentleman. He was a fluent and eloquent speaker and not given to talking nonsense except when in

a bragging mood. Success had in no way diminished his natural propensity to loud, vainglorious and boastful speech, but had added an ostentatious and arrogant manner which made him offensive to the gentlemen of Queen Elizabeth's Court, among whom he now began to circulate. While Stow tells us that the common people applauded and made a hero out of him yet it is plain that his contemporaries of the better class looked at him askance; they decried his methods of gaining wealth and denied that his exploits had required courage or valor. Perhaps some, less successful than he, were envious of his good fortune.

Relying on his prestige and the marked favor shown him by the Queen, Drake went about ceaselessly working up new schemes to harass and rob King Philip, and pressed her to allow him to make another expedition, but she kept him well tied up at home and would not permit him to go to the Moluccas, Fenton being sent instead.

The wise heads of England who looked upon his exploits as discreditable to the nation were fearful of the hour of retribution. They could not believe that Philip would sit down calmly under such affronts, and they began to imagine they saw in his every move signs of preparations to attack England. Philip was the lion of those days and England had twisted his tail too often. He began preparations for a great fleet with the object of overwhelming England and wiping his hated enemies, the English Lutheran heretics, off the map. In 1585 this enterprise began to assume such threatening proportions that the Queen, realizing open war with Spain was only a matter of time, turned Drake loose on the Spaniards with an expedition under her public sanction. This was not exactly the approved method in vogue to begin war but it was effective. Drake went to the West Indies, did some damage to the dominions of Philip, and obtained quite a sum of money by way of ransom, with the attendant loss of a large number of his men. The results on the whole were disappointing, although it is said the private subscribers received a profit of fifteen shillings to the pound.[57] On the way back Drake destroyed San Augustin, the Spanish fort in Florida, and farther north, stopping at Virginia, took on board Raleigh's colonists, who were about at the end of their resources, and carried them home. Incidentally he took back from there what is said to have been the first tobacco seen in England. Then followed some operations on the Spanish coast with little results, but Drake was

FRANCISCVS DRACVS NOBILISS. EQVES ANGLIÆ
Effigies fortiſs. Ducis Franciſci Draci ad vivum, una cum delinea-
tione admirandæ ipſius navigationis, quam Id. Decemb. 1577 ex An-
glia incepit. 4° vero Kalen. Octob. 1580 feliciſs. abſolvit.

Enlarged from the inset on the Hondius Broadside

fortunate enough on the way home to capture a huge Portuguese carrack, one of the richest prizes that had ever been taken. With her cargo she was sold for over a hundred thousand pounds, of which some very considerable sum must have fallen to Drake.[58] Delayed by various causes, Philip's blow did not fall on England until 1588. The *Armada Invincible* went to pieces through bad management, bad luck, and bad weather, seconded by the heroic efforts of the English seamen. England escaped the greatest danger with which she has ever been threatened and breathed freely once more. Drake bore his part in the glorious victory.

It is not the purpose of this work to follow his career to his untimely end in February, 1596, off Puerto Bello, but it may be said that further success did not attend his efforts. While acting as a private captain with entire responsibility, he achieved marvelous results, but when in the Queen's service and in joint command with others, as he was from this time on, his expeditions were partial or total failures. Like all great leaders, he brooked no opposition to his decisions, and unable to cooperate on amicable terms with his equals or superiors, he was forever engaged in dissensions with them whenever an important enterprise was under way. While all recognized his great abilities, none of the great naval commanders of the day wished to serve with him or under him. There were times when he was in disgrace at Court, and his services were only in demand in times of pressing necessity. In his last expedition in 1595, he found the Spaniards better prepared than ever before and was unable to accomplish anything. His indomitable spirit must have been weakened by his ill success and he fell an easy victim to Chagres fever.[59] His body was consigned to the deep where he died.

Sir Francis Drake was twice married, once about 1570 to Mary Newman, who died in January, 1583, and then in 1585 to Elizabeth Sydenham. Leaving no children, he made his youngest brother, Thomas, his heir, having amply provided in his will for his widow, who shortly married again. From Thomas the present Drake family is descended although in the male line it became extinct some time ago. At Buckland Abbey, the first property Drake acquired, and at Nutwell Court nearby, which by marriage later passed into the family, there are preserved as family heirlooms many interesting relics of Sir Francis, some of which are described in Lady Eliott-Drake's book. Among these is the miniature portrait of Drake, painted by Isaak Oliver, probably before 1577, in which he is

represented as a comparatively young man.[60] There are also two fine portraits of him, one said to have been painted by Abram Jannsens in 1594, and the other by Federigo Zuccaro about 1589.[61] These bear a marked resemblance to each other, but very little to the descriptions of Drake's appearance contained in the depositions of his prisoners taken on the west coast of South America, which accord much better with the one said to have been engraved by Judocus Hondius.[62]

Of his character, little is known. The only real glimpse that we get of it is from anecdotes told by his Spanish prisoners and a few related by Mendoza and others. In spite of his occupation, which necessarily involved the shedding of blood at times, Drake seems to have been neither cruel nor bloodthirsty, but on the contrary, had a kindly disposition and a great sense of humor. He liked to chaff his prisoners and delighted in telling them marvelous tales, but in some of them Drake's uncommon astuteness can be detected. Everything he told them seems to have been calculated to convey suggestions which he wished them to carry away and repeat. He even tried to deceive Silva about his return voyage. It is usually asserted that he was extremely generous, but no sufficient proof of this has been produced. That he was prodigal is certain, but this trait is usually due to a desire to win admiration, a failing with which he was frequently charged. Sailors are proverbially prodigal abroad no matter what their conduct may be at home, and after all, Francis Drake was a sailor by inclination, training and profession. Herrera[63] says of him that he "had an active and daring spirit; he knew no more than to read and write; was of noble mind and of affable disposition, although avaricious and niggardly." The English writers generally do not accuse Drake of being either, nor have I found any indication that he was niggardly as Herrera states, but numerous that he was avaricious. The continuator of Stow merely remarks of him that he was skillful in navigation, "was of a perfect memory, great Observation, Eloquent by Nature, Skilfull in Artillery, Expert and apt to let blood, and giue Physicke vnto his people according to the Climats." At the end he says that his imperfections were ambition for honor, unconstancy in amity and a fondness for popularity.

In view of the assertions which have been made about Drake's colonizing purposes it would seem that some allusion to them could be found in contemporary works, but a long search has failed to

reveal a single one. Hakluyt in the Preface to his *Divers Voyages*[64] only says that Drake had offered to give twenty pounds outright and twenty pounds a year towards the expense of a lecture on navigation. In his long and interesting work on *Western Planting*,[65] a treatise devoted entirely to colonization, Hakluyt never mentions any interest Drake might have had in the matter. The only indication that he ever proposed any enterprise of an analogous nature is contained in the letter of Mendoza from Paris, dated June 9, 1586, in which he says, referring to Drake's offers to the Queen to go out and rob the King of Spain's fleets:

> The idea of landing and establishing himself on shore and awaiting reinforcements from England was one that the Queen's Council and the English in general, regarded as extremely difficult of execution, because of the impossibility of their carrying merchandise for trade, their ships being as usual, three-quarters loaded with victuals, so that even for shorter voyages than this the cost would be prohibitive.[66]

It is clear from the context that *this* voyage to which Mendoza refers was the one to the West Indies in 1585. Plainly, what Drake recommended was the taking possession of some strategic point in those islands, not for any purpose of colonization, but as a point of vantage from which to attack the Spaniards.

As a war measure this proposal of Drake's was sound, but it does not therefore make him a statesman. The essential principles underlying Drake's policies, instead of being of statesman-like character, as Corbett has labored so hard to demonstrate, were as a matter of fact, just the reverse. That his operations in the North Sea and the South Sea annoyed King Philip may be taken for granted, but that they had any permanent effect on the power of that monarch or were of any material assistance to England may well be doubted. The occasional capture of a ship, even though it was a rich one, or the sacking of some defenseless town, was a mere incident. Instead of weakening the power of Spain, such acts merely alarmed the King and brought about more effective measures for defense. The Spaniards' hold on the rich provinces of Mexico and South America was too strong to be loosened by such pigmy attacks. Even if some enterprising corsair like Drake or Cavendish succeeded in making a rich prize, the fountain continued to flow, and the year following, the movement of treasure to Spain was again resumed, increasing year by year as time went on. At the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign in spite of nearly twenty years of war, Spain was more firmly entrenched in her American possessions than she had been when

Drake set out in 1577. Plainly nothing was gained by his methods. The principles underlying them were mistaken ones; England could not be built up on the ruins of Spain, but only by the application of her own people to manufacture and trade.

It must always be questioned whether even such a stupendous booty as Drake obtained compensates for the losses which it inevitably occasions to other citizens.[67] There are always to be found in any country adventurers willing to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest of the nation, and for a long time England was cursed by having an undue number of such individuals in places of honor and influence in the councils of the government. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the particular form of enterprise which engaged the attention of this class was the pursuit of booty. It was a form of gambling by the adventurers who did not go on the voyage, but risked only their money, and by sailors who put their lives in hazard. As in any other form of gambling, the prizes fell to but few. Sir William Monson gives a long list of the private voyages which had no other object in view, and even adding to these the public ones, he says: "We shall find that they were much more chargeable than gainful to us."[68] In other words, taken together, they did not pay. Much damage was done to the King of Spain but little profit accrued to the English. He also says:

> Our private Actions of Reprisal have been as fatal to the Adventurers, as Sejanus's Horse to the Riders, or the Gold of Toulouse to Scipio's Soldiers; for to this day there remains a Proverb in France, That he who is Unfortunate, has some of the Gold of Toulouse in his House: And so fares it with our Undertakers of Reprisals, for Wealth so gain'd brings a Curse with it, and not only wastes it self, but consumes Goods well gotten, if mixed with it.[69]

Nothing is said, usually, about the frightful loss of men on these expeditions. Even that of Drake himself of 1585 only returned a profit of seventy-five per cent to the subscribers at the expense of the lives of some two thousand men. As time went on even these enterprises became increasingly hazardous, more and more expensive and finally so unprofitable that they had to be abandoned. The Spanish increased their defenses by erecting at strategical points substantial up-to-date fortifications and by building ships sufficient in size, armament and speed to protect their silver fleet, the never-failing lure to the corsairs of England and Holland.

The Queen's wise councillors were opposed to these expeditions because they believed that the interests of their country could be

best promoted by encouraging peaceful trade and thus obtain an outlet for their manufactures, but the country was booty mad and their voices were seldom heard. They had to be content with the knowledge that out of this frenzy one good, at least, was resulting. The pursuit of pillage attracted thousands of men to the sea who would never have engaged in the merchant marine at the wages then current. A great body of sailors was thus built up which formed a reservoir from which the Royal Navy could draw by means of impressment, a practice no doubt made necessary by the scanty remuneration paid in the Queen's service.

Peaceful methods were neither in keeping with Drake's character nor with those of many of England's leading men of the day. It will always be to the credit of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, that he steadfastly opposed any of these expeditions which had the least savor of piracy, and if we take the true measure of Elizabeth's councillors, we shall find that he was one of the few real statesmen among them. One of the worst effects produced by the orgy of piracy through which England passed at this period was to engender a profound disdain among the better classes for any legitimate gainful occupation. The Norman sea kings came to life again and held the sea, reincarnated in Drake, Hawkins, Grenville, Cavendish and many others too numerous to mention. Although Drake set out in command of a trading expedition, it may be considered certain that he had little sympathy with the object in view. If he projected it, which is very doubtful, his only object probably was to use it as a pretence for the purpose of getting into the South Sea, where he hoped to be able to plunder the Spaniards. Although he was financially interested in the Fenton expedition, which according to all the evidence had no such object in view, but only one of trade, yet it is not unlikely that the conspiracy to divert the expedition to a raid on the Spaniards which soon manifested itself on the voyage had been formed in England before Fenton left and that Drake himself was at the bottom of it. Fenton's return and the airing of the dissensions between the leaders could hardly have been anything but hurtful to Drake's reputation and it is not likely that thereafter he took any part in fitting out subsequent expeditions to the South Sea.

The examination of his career brings no conviction that he was statesman, explorer or colonizer. He should properly be called a captain of industry. The particular one to which he devoted his

attention and which may be said to have been the most popular, if not the most remunerative, pursued in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was plundering the Spanish King or his subjects. In this Drake showed positive genius. His methods, even if not always successful, owing to dissensions with his equals or superiors, could not be improved upon, and his ideas which he tried to carry out, as far as the Queen would allow him, showed inspiration. Corbett asserts that he invented naval strategy as practiced later by the English, and although the writer is not qualified to pass judgment upon this statement, there seems to have been much in his career to indicate that he was competent to do so. There were many other great seamen in England at the time of the Armada, equal at least to Drake if not superior to him in the art of managing and fighting ships, but as a captain in his chosen field he had no equal. With him, the end was the great thing, as with most great men, and he made use of any means to accomplish this which seemed adequate to the purpose. He even managed to persuade himself that his methods were legitimate, and that his pursuits were not incompatible with religion, which to be sure is always easy. That he was a Protestant, a patriotic Englishman and devoted servant of his Queen, can not be doubted, but that he was also avaricious and an unscrupulous seeker after gold, is equally certain. The high quality frequently attributed to his motives is therefore open to suspicion; if he hated King Philip and the Papists and prayed by night, he did not fail as he himself said, to rob by day. In all his enterprises, booty seems to have been somewhere in sight.

CHAPTER XII

THE FENTON EXPEDITION

No sooner had Drake returned than he broached the subject of another expedition. Even on his first visit to London he began to arrange to go back with six ships, offering subscribers a return within a year of seven pounds for each one invested.[1] From the short time that he expected to be gone, it would appear that he must have contemplated another raid in South America, although later he was reported to have said that he could go out to the East and back in a year. No more was heard of this scheme, and it must be that the Queen refused to sanction it, as certainly there was no lack of adventurers crazy to put their money into anything fathered by "Drake the fortunate." By January, 1581, a new project was on foot to proceed to the Moluccas by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Drake offered subscribers a return within a year of 1600 pounds sterling for each 500 invested.[2] The enterprise was being organized by the Earl of Leicester, and was to consist of ten ships to be commanded by Drake. If he should not find the winds favorable for passing direct to the Cape of Good Hope, he was to cross over to Brazil and winter there. At the same time, Mendoza wrote that Knollys, the son of the Queen's treasurer, was going out with six vessels to winter at Port San Julian, and then proceeding through the Strait of Magellan and making what captures he could in the South Sea, was to proceed to the Moluccas where he would join Drake. This expedition, which Sir Humphrey Gilbert accompanied, actually set sail but returned in four months without accomplishing anything beyond taking some prizes on the high seas.

At this time, the only legally constituted corporation which had the right to carry on trade in the East was the "Fellowship of English Merchants for the discovery of new trades," commonly called the "Muscovy Company."[3] By charter, their territory was confined to that north, northeast and northwest of England, but they claimed that this meant anywhere north of the Equator. An attempt had been made in 1577 by those interested in Martin Frobisher's voyages to the northwest, to obtain a grant from the Queen for a new corporation to be called the "Company of Kathai,"[4] but

apparently the adventurers reached an agreement with the Muscovy Company and thereafter operated under their license. As Drake's trading operations were to be conducted in the Moluccas and islands to the south thereof, a project for a new corporation was now brought forward by him and his backers. This was nothing but a revival of the scheme proposed in 1573 or 1574 by Gilbert, Peckham, Grenville and other West Country gentlemen.[5] A petition was presented apparently in November, 1580, which is interesting enough to quote in full. The document is in Walsingham's handwriting.

A project off a corporatyon of sooche as shall ventere unto sooche domyniones & contries scytuat bayonde the equynoctyall lyne

Imprimis y^t y^t may please your Ma^te to grawnt lyke prvyleages as have bene grawnted by your H^s and her progenytores unto her subjectes tradyng into the domynions off the Emporor off Russya.

Item that in consyderatyon off the late notable dyscoverye made by Francys Drake off sooche dominyons as are scyteated beyende the seyd Equynoctyall lyne y^t y^t may please her Ma^et thet he may during his naturall lyfe supplye the place off Governor off the sayd compagnye and in consyderatyon off his great travayle and hazarde off his person the sayd dyscovorye to have during his seyd lyfe a tenthe parte off the proffits off sooche comodytes as shall be browght into this realme from the partes above remembred

Item that ther shall be rasarved unto her Ma^te a vth parte of the proffyt off sooche mynes off goould and sylver as shall be fownd in thos contreys y^tt are hereafter to be dyscovared and are not lawfully possessed by any other Christyan Prynce.

Item y^t y^t may please your Ma^te to graunte lyke prvyleages errect an howse off Contratacon w^t sooche orderes as weare grawnted by the K. of Spayne[6]

Drake had discovered nothing in the southern hemisphere except some islands south of the Strait of Magellan; certainly nothing was to be found there worth going after, therefore the discovery referred to must have meant the discovery of trade which he had made in the Moluccas and Java. The Muscovy Company apparently objected to the granting of this charter, and December 16, presented a petition asking a re-statement of their rights.[7] The objections which they raised probably grew out of the fact that some of the Moluccas were north of the Equator. From the fact that the merchants of the Muscovy Company were afterwards interested in the Fenton expedition, it seems that Drake's project for a new company was abandoned and an arrangement made with them similar to that made by the Frobisher adventurers, when they gave up their proposed Kathai Company.

As early as April 6, 1581, a decision had been reached that Captain Bingham and not Drake should command the expedition.[8] No efforts seem to have been made for some time to fit it out, and it was not until October that Martin Frobisher, who had finally been appointed to the command, purchased the *Ughtred* of 400 tons from the owner, Henry Ughtred, for 2800 pounds, of which Ughtred agreed to subscribe 800 pounds to the fund for fitting out the expedition.[9] Shortly after, the *Edward Bonaventure* of 250 tons was purchased. By this time, most of the money necessary had been subscribed.[10] The list of the principal adventurers shows that the Earl of Leicester contributed the largest sum, 2200 pounds, and that Henry Ughtred with his 800 pounds was the second largest. Sir Francis Drake subscribed 666 pounds 13 shillings and 4 pence besides a bark of forty tons. In the list will be found the names of the Earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, Pembroke and Lincoln, Lord Burghley, Walsingham and Hatton, Frobisher, Edward Fenton and Luke Ward, besides other gentlemen and merchants.[11] How much the members of the Muscovy Company put in is not shown, but probably their subscription consisted chiefly of goods for trade, perhaps to the value of four or five thousand pounds.[12]

In June of that year, the Portuguese Pretender, Don Antonio, arrived in England.[13] His coming was a godsend to the Queen, who for some time made use of him as a means to annoy Philip. He had some money which he proceeded to expend in fitting out an expedition to relieve his adherents who were holding for him the Island of Terceira, one of the Azores.[14] The Queen also authorized an English expedition to go to the island for the same purpose, and in the documents of the day this was officially known as "Project Number 1."[15] Don Antonio also entertained the Queen with another scheme designed to harass Philip, which was to divert the proposed expedition to the Moluccas to India, where he said that his adherents were numerous and a landing could be effected with their aid; even if they could not remain, they could then go on to the Moluccas.[16] This project, which was received with enthusiasm by the Council, was officially known as "Project Number 2." The plan was to establish the spice trade in Calicut under rights granted by the King of Portugal, that is, Don Antonio, whom the English affected to believe was the legitimate King.[17] October 10, 1581, however, Dr. Hector Nuñez, the Queen's Portuguese physician, advised Walsingham that the Portuguese in the East Indies had taken the

oath of allegiance to King Philip,[18] and in consequence, the idea of sending the expedition there was abandoned.

By the end of the year it was about ready to start, but a quarrel broke out early in the following year over the man who was to be appointed lieutenant to Frobisher. The Muscovy Company merchants who, as has been seen, were the largest subscribers, wished to have Edward Fenton appointed.[19] Fenton had accompanied Frobisher on his second and third expeditions to the northwest, officiating as lieutenant-general in the third. During the course of this last voyage, he had become involved in a violent altercation with Frobisher,[20] and probably on this account the latter objected to his appointment as second in command. The Muscovy Company insisted and finally Frobisher refused to go, so Fenton received the chief command in his place. It is evident that the quarrel over this question of second command was a long and serious one, and it seems probable from the documents that when Frobisher withdrew, some of the subscribers, who were his friends, also withdrew. Frobisher set out to organize an expedition of his own to the Moluccas, and in April, 1582, said that he would pass through the Strait before Sarmiento's expedition, and would reach the Moluccas before Fenton.[21]

Some instructions had been issued to Frobisher in which he was enjoined not to pass China to the northeastward as it was feared he might desire to hunt for his formerly-sought-for Northwest Passage, and thus hinder the voyage, "which is only for trade." He was also ordered not to take anything from any of the Queen's friends while on his way home without paying for the same nor use any force against anyone except in his own defense, but "to use themselves like merchants." He was ordered not to go by the Strait of Magellan.[22] The manuscript is so badly mutilated that it cannot be positively affirmed that he was also ordered not to try to go around the south end of the continent, where Sir Francis Drake thought there was open sea, but this is probably what was said. Another reason for not going that way or through the Strait seems to have been a fear that he would have on board with him some persons who would wish to do the same as Sir Francis Drake had done, that is, divert the expedition to a raid on the Spaniards. Fenton's commission was dated April 2.[23] In this it is stated that the voyage was to be made into foreign parts to the southeastward "as well for the discovery of Cathiea & China as all other lands and

ylandes allredy discovered, & hearafter to be discovered by Edward Fenton." He was also specifically authorized to punish any person by death if the greatness of his crime made it necessary, and to leave behind at any land discovered by him "to inhabit and dwell therein" as many of his company as he thought advisable. Nothing was said in it about any prizes or about avoiding committing any offense against Her Majesty's friends as in the orders to Frobisher, these clauses appearing in his instructions.

A new set of instructions was also made out and delivered to him. These are printed hereafter in full.[24] In item ten, Fenton is directed not to pass to the northeast of the fortieth degree of latitude, but to take a straight course to the Moluccas for the better discovery of the Northwest Passage, if without hindrance to his trading and within the same degree, he could obtain any knowledge regarding the Passage. In item fourteen, he is instructed to settle the beginning of a further trade in places where he and his council should think fit and to bring back some of the natives, leaving behind as hostages a few of his men, but taking care that he should not deliver people of more value than he received, "but rather deliver meane persons under colour of men of value, as the Infidels do for the most part use."

Just what was meant by item ten, just quoted, is hard to say. Fenton was specifically instructed not to pass north of the fortieth parallel of latitude while on his voyage to the Moluccas, but there is nothing to show how he could have been expected to go any where near the fortieth parallel, as, according to item nine he was bound to approach the Moluccas from the south, or at best from the southwest, nor is the reference to the Northwest Passage any clearer. Francis Drake had come back with the statement that no Northwest Passage was to be found in the neighborhood of 42° or 43°, perhaps he said even as far north as 48° and as far south as 40°. The ambiguity probably arises from the fact that some addition was made to the instructions issued to Frobisher without considering that it was not pertinent to what preceded. As a matter of fact, some changes had been made in this article by Lord Burghley.[25] About all that can be gathered from it is that Fenton was not to look for either the Northeast or Northwest Passage beyond the fortieth degree of North latitude if he should happen to reach that far north.

In item fourteen are set out what may be considered to be instructions to found a factory in the Moluccas, or at least to leave a

few men there, if thought advisable, to learn the language and get acquainted with the products of the country. Richard Madox, who copied part of the instructions to Fenton, added at the end a copy of a letter, written by Leicester and Walsingham to Fenton, April 11, which he said he had found annexed to the instructions. In this, Fenton was advised that Christopher Carleill, who was to accompany the expedition in charge of land operations, was to be put in charge of those left behind. Carleill was a man of some standing, and his nomination for the position shows that great importance was attached to the plan.[26] All this plainly indicates that the intention was to take advantage of the arrangement Francis Drake had made with Babù. A gilded chair of state and other presents were even sent along by the Queen as a present to him.[27]

Sir Francis Drake took an active share in the preparations, being, as stated, a large subscriber. Among the documents in the Otho manuscripts in the British Museum relating to the preparations for the voyage, there is a letter written by him to the Earl of Leicester, dated October 14, 1581, which is so badly mutilated that but little of it can be made out satisfactorily.[28] He expressed his good will towards the enterprise and offered to become a subscriber. In the same collection there is another damaged letter of great interest, certainly written by him, although unsigned.[29] As in other documents regarding this expedition in this collection, the mutilations unfortunately frequently occur in the most important parts. Enough of it can be made out, however, to see that it relates to traffic in the East Indies, apparently at the Island of Java. Drake said: "For their Traffique of spices I am of the opinion that the Molucas will furnishe them sufficientlie as cloves especiallie." As his opinion had been requested about the best watering places and the best means to preserve the men's health, he offered to send along some of the men who had accompanied him on his last voyage. This offer was accepted and he sent Thomas Blacoller and Thomas Hood to act as pilots. He put his cousin, John Drake, in command of his bark, the *Francis*. William Hawkins probably went along without any urging.[30]

An extensive assortment of goods for trading purposes was embarked, with which it was expected that at least 500 tons of spices could be obtained. Already, Mendoza wrote, the profit which would accrue to the adventurers from the trade had been calculated.[31] On the 2nd of April the *Leicester* sailed from London and

went over to Southampton where the other vessels were waiting, and May 1, in the morning the whole fleet set out from that port.

As finally organized, the expedition consisted of four vessels, the *Leicester,* as the *Ughtred* was now called, the *Edward Bonaventure,* Drake's bark of forty tons, called the *Francis* and the *Elizabeth* of fifty tons. Fenton was General, William Hawkins the younger, Lieutenant-General, and Luke Ward, who was Captain of the *Edward Bonaventure,* acted as Vice-Admiral. Besides John Drake, Hawkins and the two pilots sent by Francis Drake, all of whom had accompanied him on his voyage around the world, there was a Portuguese pilot named Simon Fernandez. Two chaplains and four merchants were also sent. The vessels were fitted out with the same degree of liberality and completeness as Drake's, and heavily armed, everything being calculated to impress the Eastern potentates who might be encountered with the greatness of the English Queen and her country. Musicians were carried to entertain the sailors and the natives, and the officers were attired in handsome uniforms, with gold buttons and medals.[32] Food for thirteen months was put aboard, and some reserve besides.

A list of the occupations of the various persons on the expedition is extant.[33] Sometime in February, 1582, Mendoza got hold of a story that the ships were going to carry thirty carpenters and thirty brick-layers, from which he concluded that there was some intention of forming a colony,[34] but it is plain that he misunderstood what he had heard and that the carpenters and bricklayers were intended to form part of the expedition to Terceira, that is, "Project Number 1." Mendoza seems to have discovered his error, as after his letter of February 19, he made no further reference to this scheme although he continued to write about the preparations. The fact is, of course, that there were no carpenters or bricklayers with the expedition, or anything else connected with it which evinces any plan to form a colony anywhere. The most that can be said is that Fenton was permitted to leave behind a few people somewhere as a nucleus of a new trading establishment, that is, a factory, as such establishments came later to be called.

It is not the intention of the writer to give any account of the progress of the expedition. It was a total failure for reasons easily to be discerned from an examination of the extant accounts, written by various participants, namely Luke Ward,[35] John Drake,[36] William Hawkins,[37] Peter Jeffrey[38] and one of the preachers named

Richard Madox.[39] Dissensions arose at the start, and Fenton and Hawkins had a quarrel before the ships left the coast of England.[40] A long delay occurred on the coast of Africa, and then the expedition crossed over to Brazil, where, while at anchor in a bay in about 27° 50′ S. lat., a sail to the south was seen one morning. Luke Ward went on board the *Francis* with Captain Parker, gave chase to her, and finally captured her and brought her in.[41] On board was found an Englishman named Richard Carter who had been living for twelve years at Ascension, 300 leagues up the Rio de la Plata. This man was known to the Spaniards as Juan Perez. Besides Perez, there were on board the prize, seven friars, a Spanish official and some women and children. The commissary of the friars was named Juan de Rivadeneyra, and from a letter which he afterwards wrote and from one written by Juan Perez, we derive a most interesting account of Fenton's ships.[42]

Fenton immediately made inquiries about Sarmiento's fleet, and learned that he had departed for the Strait six weeks before from Rio de Janeiro, where he had spent seven months refreshing the men while waiting for spring to arrive. A council having been held to consider what had best be done, it was decided to proceed through the Strait in spite of Sarmiento. A few days later another council was held and Hawkins, Drake and the two pilots were brought in to hear their opinions, which, as Luke Ward said, were "as divers as their names." As a result, Fenton resolved to secure a supply of food before proceeding, and as the Rio de la Plata was suggested as one of the places where this could be obtained, Perez was called in. His information was not very reassuring, as he said that although food could be obtained, they would have to wait there four months for wine. The river was shoal and dangerous, and as Ward said, "which considered that the treachery that from thence might be used, into the streights by sea, and into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited by Portugals, and where in honest sort we might conveniently have all our businesse done."[43]

This reference to Peru and one by Perez are the only statements found in any of the extant documents concerning the voyage which even convey a hint that a raid on the Peruvian coast had received any sanction before or during it. It is to be said, however, that as early as February 19, 1582, Mendoza had written that a captain of one of the ships had confessed to a friend of his that they intended

to plunder on the Indian passage, and that the show they were making of another intention was only a bait to get commercial men to risk their money in the adventure.[44] That there was some truth in this rumor is apparent from Madox' story. He wrote that even before the fleet arrived at the Cape Verde Islands, the men were clamoring for opportunities to pillage. When the question of the course to be pursued after leaving those islands was brought up before the council, the pilots asserted that on account of the winds it would be necessary to cross over to a point very near the coast of Brazil, and this having been done, only a short distance more would have to be travelled to reach the Rio de la Plata where fresh water could be obtained. Although Madox was fearful that this was only pretence, the real purpose being to proceed afterwards through the Strait of Magellan and plunder the Spaniards, he was constrained to agree because of the seeming necessity of this course which the pilots urged as the only practical one. It is plain from his account that a conspiracy existed to divert the expedition to such a course,[45] and those favoring it had the support of the sailors. Whether Fenton was of this party or not is difficult to determine with certainty, but apparently he was not.

William Hawkins asserted that Fenton wished to attack the Portuguese fleet on its return voyage from India at the Island of St. Helena. His account is written on one of the mutilated documents previously referred to in the Otho collection, and it is not easy to make out from it just what was the cause of the violent quarrels between him and Fenton, nor whether Hawkins was one of the party favoring the plan to rob the Spaniards or not, but as he was in favor of proceeding through the Strait, he might be assumed to have been one of the conspirators. Hawkins records a conversation with Fenton in which apparently Fenton asked him what there was in the Moluccas, to which Hawkins replied that there were all kinds of spices, especially cloves, the things they were sent for, whereupon Fenton asked him whether Hawkins and his companions could assure him that they would be able to load the ships when they reached there, and said that unless Hawkins and the rest could insure it he would not go. Hawkins answered that if Fenton did not do what he was sent for it would not be so easy to explain it as he thought. After some further conversation, Fenton apparently added that the voyage "is overthrowen because I wolde not play the theefe as . . . . [Drake] . . . . the last voyage," to which Hawkins

replied, "When God sendeth vs home . . . . ffrauncys and you must ende that matter, for I haue [nothing] to do wyth it . . . . " It seems from other evidence that Fenton wanted to continue the voyage to the Moluccas by the Cape of Good Hope as planned, but that Hawkins was opposed to this because he said that in consequence of the shortage of food, water, wine and other necessaries, they would have to abandon that idea and continue through the Strait into the South Sea.[46] An inspection of his list of the men who voted for and against the proposition to go by the Strait, shows that besides himself only John Drake, the pilots, Richard Fairweather the master of the *Francis,* Mathew Talbuthe, and John Walker one of the preachers, favored the proposition.

Nothing seems to have been said about the possibility of proceeding around the southern end of the continent, as Francis Drake had said they could do before the expedition had left,[47] and the presence of Sarmiento's fleet in the Strait, where it was then supposed to be, must have given rise to many misgivings as to the feasibility of making a successful passage through it. This consideration must have had some weight, although Hawkins' arguments had considerable merit which Fenton recognized. Fenton, however, was a man of but little determination and realized that once in the South Sea, he would not be able to restrain his men. Evidently, although no traitor, as suggested by some writers, he had no more stomach for an enterprise like Drake's than John Winter had, and finding that the majority of his crew were bent on following in Drake's footsteps he advocated a return to England. The majority of the council agreed with his views, and the resolution was thereupon put into effect. The fleet returned to St. Vincent, but minus the *Francis.*

John Drake had deserted, dissatisfied, as he told Juan Perez, at the decision to return. What foolhardy enterprise he contemplated with his small vessel of forty tons and seventeen men and a boy, can hardly be imagined. In his own deposition he said that he went to the Rio de la Plata to secure supplies and continue the voyage because Fenton had decided to return, having given as his excuse that the merchants in England had not complied with their agreement to give him supplies for two years, and in consequence he was under no obligation to comply with his agreement. The *Francis* ran on a rock in the river and was wrecked, the crew saving themselves in the boat. After wandering around for some time, Drake

and two companions finally reached Buenos Aires. Here they were well entertained until Juan Perez, to whom he had talked freely about his experiences with Francis Drake while Perez was a prisoner, arrived from Brazil and recognized him.[48] From Buenos Aires he was taken to Ascension and finally to Santa Fe, where on March 24, 1584, he was examined through Juan Perez, who acted as interpreter. Later he was taken to Lima, where in 1587 he was again examined and related the facts just given.[49]

The three other ships, after a fight with the Spanish fleet in the harbor of St. Vincent, finally reached Plymouth at the end of May, 1583. Mendoza wrote on July 16 that the Queen had ordered the Captain of the ship—that is, probably, Fenton—and of the galleon which accompanied her—that is, probably, Luke Ward—to be arrested, for not having continued the voyage. He said, "All the money spent on this expedition has been lost, and the merchants say that the English cannot make the voyage in ships of less than 1000 tons burden, as they have to sail loaded with victuals, considering the way Englishmen eat, and they can only bring half a cargo home for the same reason. Even a cargo of spices will not pay under these circumstances, the voyage being so long."[50]

This was the real secret of the failure of so many of the voyages to the East at that time. Merchant vessels were small and there was not room enough in them to carry both cargo and food and water for a long voyage. They were also slow sailers and it was therefore necessary to stop somewhere every little while to replenish the supply of food and water. This made it impossible to launch out into the ocean and follow the shortest routes. The Portuguese had long recognized this and carried on their trade to India in ships of 1000 tons or more burden and it was not until the English placed vessels of similar and even larger size in operation that they succeeded in making satisfactory profits out of their enterprises.

One is astounded in reading the accounts of Fenton's expedition to see the degree of insubordination which prevailed on the ships.[51] Not only were the officers insubordinate, but they themselves were entirely in the hands of the crew, who dictated practically every important move. Under such conditions, considering the character of English sailors of the day, whose one idea was booty, a plain, honest, trading expedition to a remote country was out of the question, more especially if there was any chance to get into the South Sea, which Drake's exploit had made the goal of freebooters.

The failure of the expedition and the consequent loss to the adventurers and merchants of the money they had put into it seems to have discouraged any further attempts for some time. No real proof has yet been found that the expedition sent out under the command of Lister and Withrington[52] and that of Thomas Cavendish in 1586 intended to proceed to the Moluccas.[53] The former, which was certainly a trading expedition, probably had that object in view, but never reached the South Sea. Cavendish was more fortunate and not only succeeded in doing so but was lucky enough to capture near Cape San Lucas a Philippine galleon returning from Manila. The galleon had no silver and only a small amount of gold, the cargo consisting largely of silk, porcelain and other Eastern commodities. This offered a much better opportunity to obtain goods than by trade in the East Indies, so he loaded up his ship with what he could carry, burned the rest, and returned by way of the Philippines and Java. He did not stop at Ternate for some unknown reason, but spent a short time in Java making friends with the Rajah. After his return, John Chidley went out with an expedition to the South Sea but apparently with no intention of proceeding to the Moluccas,[54] and probably the second expedition of Cavendish also had some other end in view.[55] Sir Richard Hawkins, who went out in 1593, did, however, intend to proceed there but, stopping on the coast of Peru, was captured in an effort to emulate Drake.[56] It must not be forgotten that in 1585 England went to open war with Spain, and these last expeditions were strictly within their international rights in harrying the Spaniards and destroying their vessels.

A certain continuity of effort to take advantage of Drake's treaty is apparent in some of these expeditions. In a minute of correspondence "East Indies," March 23, 1613, a series of voyages is set out which it is asserted had this end in view.[57] They occur in the following order: Francis Drake, Edward Fenton, Captain Anguish in 1586,[58] Chidley and Paul Wheele in 1589, James Lancaster and George Raymond in 1590,[59] Richard Hawkins, Benjamin Wood in 1596,[60] and finally, James Lancaster in 1600.[61] The inference from this would be that all these voyages were intended to carry out Drake's treaty but in view of the inclusion of Chidley's and Wood's voyages, which, so far as known, had different objects in view, it is probably not a correct one.[62]

The temptation to plunder the King of Spain's subjects in the South Sea was too great to be resisted by any party which reached

there, and in order to secure results, the English were obliged to send out their expeditions by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Their efforts were finally crowned with success. In 1601 Sir James Lancaster was sent out by the newly formed East India Company by this route and he broke the spell of bad luck which had pursued them for so long a time. He had general instructions to found factories in the East wherever he thought advisable, and evidently a special one to do so in the Moluccas. Although he did not visit Ternate himself, before leaving Bantan on his return he sent a pinnace there with twelve men and some merchants to begin a trade and await the return of the next ship from England.[63] What happened to this pinnace does not appear, but when the next expedition, that under the command of Henry Middleton, reached Ternate in 1605, the Dutch were found to be in possession of the trade under an arrangement similar to that which Drake had made with Babù. Middleton carried a letter from King James addressed to the Sultan, and attempted to establish a factory. The Sultan, a son of Babù, told him the Dutch would not permit it. He gave him a parcel of cloves as a present to the King of England in token of friendship and an interesting letter in which he recalled Drake's visit there thirty years before, saying his father had sent a ring to the Queen by his hand and had anxiously awaited his return. After many years of vain expectations the Dutch had come, he said, and assisted him to drive out the Portuguese in return for his promise to grant them the exclusive trade of his dominions.[64]

Drake's voyage, then, was only one of a number set on foot in England between 1553 and 1604 which had in view one prime object only—to open commerce and trade for England with Cathay and the famous Moluccas or Spice Islands. He was the first to meet with any success, and the few cloves he brought back formed the feeble beginning of a trade destined in later years to become one of the principal sources of England's wealth. Long after the gold and silver he had captured had been dissipated, his country felt the beneficial effect of his treaty with the Sultan of Ternate for a trade based on mutual concessions. That particular treaty never had any direct results, but the efforts the English made to put it into effect were finally productive of similar arrangements with other Eastern potentates which in time proved to be more advantageous than the one in Ternate could have been from which they had been ousted by the Dutch.

PART II

DOCUMENTARY

ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I.—Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

A. G. M.—Archivo General Mexico.

Anon. Narr.—Annonymous Narrative.

B. M.—British Museum, London.

Col. Cal.—Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1860-1892, 8 vols.

Col. Cal., E. I.—Colonial Calendar, East Indies.

E. I.—East Indies. A collection of documents in the British Record Office.

Lans. MSS.—Lansdowne manuscripts in the British Museum.

S. P.—State Papers. The documents in the British Record Office.

S. P. Dom. Eliz.—State Papers Domestic Elizabeth.

Spain—A collection of documents so labeled in the British Record Office.

Sp. Cal.—Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas. London, 1892-9, 4 vols.

W. E.—The World Encompassed.

THE TEXTS

JOHN STOW'S *Annales* of 1615 in the account of Drake, states that after the Queen knighted him, books, pictures and ballads were published in his praise. If so, they must have been in the nature of chap books as there is quite a little evidence that the Queen forbade any account of the voyage to be published. The Seigneur de la Popellinière, writing in 1582 in *Les Trois Mondes,* states that the Queen kept the record of his voyage so that it could not be published. He intimates that she had been persuaded to this through fear that some other nation might extract some profit from it, and possibly this was the real reason. That Drake kept a log is certain. Mendoza, in his letter of October 16, 1580, says that Drake had given to the Queen a diary and a long letter about the voyage. This diary was probably the book in which Silva said Drake was always writing, and painting pictures. From an examination of item eighteen of the instructions issued to Edward Fenton, it seems that there may have been at this time general orders from the Queen that any charts or descriptions of all such voyages should be given to her on the return, no copies being allowed to be retained. Both Drake's diary or log and his letter have disappeared, but it is not at all impossible that some day one or the other may come to light.

There is no doubt that as soon as Drake returned, the English planned to send out ships to trade in the Moluccas and take advantage of the arrangement Drake had made with the Sultan of Ternate. They may therefore have wished to conceal the details of Drake's voyage until this object had been accomplished. Perhaps they feared a Dutch intrusion into their chosen territory, as happened later. Certainly some powerful motive existed, as English writers in the next decade wholly refrained from anything but bare mention of the voyage. What few references there are to it contain nothing about the objects of the expedition, its general course, or even its results. William Burroughs, in his edition of Norman's *New Attractive* published in 1585, only refers to Drake's voyage as a successful effort, and Thomas Blundeville in his *Description of Universal Mappes and Cardes* published in 1589 says nothing more than this about it.

In the archives of the London Dutch Church, there is preserved an interesting letter from Gerard Mercator to Abraham Ortelius, dated Duysburg, December 12, 1580. From this it appears that different accounts had been given out of the itinerary of the expedition and of the regions seen. Mercator suspected that the huge treasure of silver and precious stones had not been obtained as booty, as asserted, but had been secured from some rich country, never hitherto reached by Europeans or even by Indians. As additional evidence to support his view, he referred to an expedition sent out in the preceding month of May under the command of Arthur Pitt, which was equipped with food for two years, with instructions to proceed through the Northeast Passage beyond the Tabis Promontory. He thought that the idea was to seek for Drake's fleet. He was also of the opinion that Drake had returned by way of the Northeast Passage, as, although Frobisher had explored westward from Greenland, yet the passage was difficult on account of many rocks, and consequently it was not likely that Drake had attempted to return that way.

Richard Hakluyt, who must have known all about the expedition, made but the slightest reference to it in the two works which he wrote during that period. In 1582 he issued his *Divers Voyages,* in which there is a map made by Michael Lok on which occurs the first cartographical notice of Drake's voyage. In the Dedication to his work, he speaks about his endeavors to get Sir Francis Drake "whom God had blessed so wonderfully" to do himself honor and benefit to his country by providing a fund for a lecture on navigation. It is barely possible that Hakluyt may also have referred to Drake in the following interesting passage:

> And heere to conclude and shut vp this matter, I haue hearde my selfe of Merchants of credite that haue liued long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe of late that none of his subiectes shall discouer to the Northwardes of fiue and fortie degrees of America: whiche may bee thought to proceede chiefly of two causes, the one, least passing farther to the North they should discouer the open passage from the south sea to our north sea: the other because they haue not people enough to possesse and keepe that passage, but rather thereby shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that way. Certes if hetherto in our owne discoueries we had not beene led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then Gods glorie, I assure my self that our labours had taken farre better effecte.

In 1584 Hakluyt wrote an exhaustive treatise on western planting which was never published until it was edited by Charles Deane and printed in Cambridge in 1877 as Vol. II of the *Documentary*

History of the State of Maine. In this work Hakluyt displays a vast acquaintance with the literature of the period, extending even to the accounts of the Portuguese and Spanish explorers and travelers. He complains that none of the Protestant explorers had ever converted any infidels, and refers especially in this connection to Frobisher, Drake and Fenton. He quotes the passage from Lopez de Gomara in which that writer makes the curious error of placing Quivira in 40° on the west coast of America. The only references to Drake's voyage of circumnavigation are purely incidental, as for example, he speaks of the weakness of the Spaniards in Peru "as Sir Francis Drake can tell," and of the voyage of Drake taking two or three years for a return to the merchants.

The whole object of Hakluyt's discourse was to urge the great advantages to be gained by colonizing the east coast of North America, and in not a single place does he refer to any possibility of colonizing the west coast; apparently he took no stock in the schemes for trade with the Moluccas because the time for the voyage was too long and he insisted upon the immense advantage of colonizing the east coast as providing a quick return. The plain intimation all the way through is that the voyages of Drake and Fenton were primarily trading voyages financed by merchants, as they were at least in part.

In view of the widespread interest in Drake's exploit, and the fact that in a general way the then civilized world must have become more or less acquainted with it, it is indeed remarkable that the Queen did not see fit to remove the prohibition against publishing any account of the voyage until nearly ten years had passed. It is certain that the Spaniards long before this had obtained all the information regarding it which was needful for their purposes. Two days after Drake arrived in England the Spanish ambassador knew by what route he had returned and a few years afterward the Spanish King received direct information from the Moluccas about Drake's operations there, and shortly thereafter came into the possession of John Drake's first account. I am perfectly satisfied, that Mendoza, even long before this, through some secret agent, must have obtained from one of the sailors the story of the voyage, and I do not think that the Dutch or the French remained ignorant very long of the fact that Drake had been to the Moluccas, or that he had robbed the Spaniards in the South Sea of an unheard of amount of treasure. After the return of Thomas Cavendish in 1588 from

another successful raid into the South Sea, permission seems to have been given to someone to publish an account of Drake's voyage, as we gather from Richard Hakluyt's Preface to his *Principall Navigations and Voiages*, published in 1589.

Hakluyt says that he had intended to include in his work an account of the voyage, having taken more than ordinary pains with it, but had been persuaded by his friends not to anticipate "another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume." That volume never appeared, nor do we know who was the author of it, but the general impression is that he was Francis Fletcher, the chaplain of the expedition. This may well be doubted, as after Hakluyt's book had been published he printed on six supplementary leaves the "Famous Voyage," which he must have compiled, in part, from that of Francis Fletcher himself. If Fletcher had been intending to publish a book on Drake he would hardly have allowed Hakluyt to print extracts from it. Besides Fletcher's work, of which he made very little use in the first part, Hakluyt drew from the one written by John Cooke who had returned with Winter and consequently only covered the first part of the voyage. As he apparently had little confidence in Fletcher he used largely for the second part the "Anonymous Narrative," so called because unsigned, which he may have had some one who had been with the expedition write for him.

In 1592 John Stow in his *Chronicles* printed another although very short account of the voyage, taken largely from John Cooke's narrative. Thereafter little additional information from English sources regarding the voyage was presented except Edward Cliffe's relation of the first part published by Hakluyt in 1600. William Camden's account, issued in 1615, was taken largely from the "Anonymous Narrative," and the *World Encompassed*, published in 1628, adds only a few facts of but little importance to those contained in the "Famous Voyage" and Cliffe's account. George Fortescue, one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake, wrote a narrative which has disappeared, except for a few insignificant extracts included by Thomas Fuller in his *Holy State*, first published in 1642.

The account of John Cooke and the "Anonymous Narrative" are printed hereafter in parallel columns with Hakluyt's account, called the "Famous Voyage." Only those parts of Cooke's account are omitted that deal at length with Doughty.

The most important parts of the omitted passages will, however, be found inserted in Chapter III. Similarly a few passages from the *World Encompassed* are printed in parallel columns with corresponding ones from Cliffe's account, just enough to prove that his account forms part of the basis of that work. Cliffe's account down to the day of Winter's desertion of Drake is reprinted from the original of Hakluyt's 1600 text.

To the above are added reprints of some accounts written by Drake's contemporaries, some of which are frequently quoted in support of statements made in those just described. None of them can be said to be wholly based on any of the original narratives and none of the writers even states that he had ever seen a published account of the voyage. It is only from internal evidence that it can be ascertained which particular one was used, and in every case there remains a certain residuum which can not be allocated to any known narrative. Some of these differences may be due to errors, either in copying or printing, while others may be additions made by their authors from other sources unknown or from their own imaginations, and some may be genuine statements of fact obtained from personal interviews with the survivors. The second has never, to my knowledge, been referred to by any writer on the expedition. They are arranged as follows in the order in which they were probably written:

John Stow's *Chronicles of England.*
A Declaration Of The Trve Cavses Of The Great Trovbles. . . .
Thomas Blundeville's *His Exercises.*
John Davis's *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription.*
William Camden's *True and Royall History.*
Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts.*

It is quite likely that somewhere among the Portuguese archives some statement of Drake's capture of Silva's ship and some report from the commander at Tidore of his visit to the Moluccas lie buried, but up to the present time no contemporary Portuguese document has been found which would tell us, for example, the actual day on which Silva was captured or the day Drake reached Ternate, and whether or not he first sighted Brazil near Bahia. After all, the knowledge would be of but little value either in itself or for use as a criterion for determining the credibility of any of the narratives. Probably the substance of all the commander at

Tidore knew about Drake is embodied in the story of Francisco de Dueñas.

If there are no Portuguese documents to tell us anything about Drake, there are, at least, an abundance of Spanish ones dealing with his operations on the west coast of America and two which have something to say about his sojourn in the Eastern Archipelago. The principal ones are copies of four depositions made by Nuño da Silva, two by John Drake, and Silva's so-called log. In some respects these constitute the most valuable record of the expedition extant. Indeed, it has only been possible to reconstruct anything like a satisfactory account of it by making use of the detailed information afforded by Silva of the occurrences during that part of the voyage in which he was on board the *Golden Hind*. While there are some differences in the accounts given by him at different times, these are, comparatively speaking, of minor importance, and detract but little from their value. The one which he made before the Viceroy of New Spain, May 20, 1579, in some way or other fell into the hands of the English, and a translation of it was printed by Hakluyt in 1600, in the third volume of his expanded collection of *Voyages*. Although the Viceroy, in a letter which he wrote accompanying the document, said that Silva had not given the information willingly, but that it had been extracted from him, under careful questioning, the relation gives a singularly consecutive account, quite foreign to what might be expected from one obtained in the manner indicated. It is clear that some secretary of the Viceroy wrote it from the answers Silva had given to questions asked him. Nevertheless, there is little indication of any padding or interpolation, and it remains today the fullest and most readable of any of the original narratives and far surpasses in intrinsic value and general trustworthiness any written by the English participants or compiled therefrom. The reason for this is not far to seek. Silva had no reason for misrepresentation nor concealment and gave a plain unvarnished account of what had happened while he was on board the ship, while the events were still fresh in his mind.

The depositions of John Drake, made in 1584 and 1587 while he was a prisoner, are of less value, although they take in the whole voyage. Even at the time of making the first deposition from four to seven years had elapsed since the occurrences, and he seems to have forgotten many things and to have given inaccurate information about some others. Presumably, he was not telling any more

than he felt obliged to, and condensed the story as much as possible. In spite of this, he gave many interesting details, and as far as we can see today, told a straight story. By reason of the corroboration which Drake furnished for many of the stories found in the "Anonymous Narrative" which had hitherto been questioned, we owe to him the assurance that can now be felt that the "Anonymous Narrative" is substantially an accurate one.

The majority of the other documents have little bearing on the expedition itself but relate to the various efforts which were made to pursue and capture Drake; a few, however, contain speculations regarding the route he might have taken, based on information which the Spaniards had obtained from various persons who, at one time or another, had been captured by Drake. A number of depositions were made by such individuals to the authorities who examined them, for the chief purpose, seemingly, of finding out Drake's force, the equipment of his ship, the route home he intended to take and what they had seen on the ship. All of these had something to say about their capture, and some of them related what they had heard or what they said they had heard on board from others. This last class of hearsay evidence is about as unreliable as any that can be produced, but it always seemed to have a special appeal to the Spanish authorities; the more hands the story had gone through, the more value they seemed to place on it. Of all the prisoners examined, only one, apparently, understood English, and it is astonishing to read how much the others found out from the few sailors on board who spoke Spanish, and we can be pretty sure, poor Spanish at that. Sailors are notorious for "stringing the long bow" and therefore from these various depositions little can be obtained that can be relied upon for the events of Drake's expedition previous to the time of the capture of the individuals in question. After making due deductions, however, there remains a considerable quantity of evidence which corroborates in the main the facts as set out in the "Anonymous Narrative" and the "Famous Voyage," and even adds interesting details to these.

Most of the Spanish documents bearing on the expedition, which have so far been discovered are to be found in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, and many of them were collected together at the time, in a file now numbered 2-5-2/21. A few others are scattered in other *legajos* and much of the correspondence relating to Drake is filed where it belongs with that of the Viceroys or other

officials. Some of these letters were published in Madrid in 1877 in *Cartas de Indias.* In 1883, Manuel M. de Peralta published in his book, *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panamá en el Siglo XVI,* a number of others relating to Drake's stay on the Central American coast. One of the principal Spanish documents, and in fact the one of the greatest value next to the depositions of Silva, that written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, is not at present to be found in the archives, but the original, as such it seems to be, is in the collection of Francisco de Zabálburu in Madrid. It was printed in Vol. XCIV of the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España,* Madrid, 1889. Since the death of Señor Zabálburu, his library has been closed to the public and it is therefore now impossible to get at the original document, which is the more to be regretted inasmuch as the printed version seems to be full of errors. All this material Mrs. Zelia Nuttall brought together with some other documents in the file above referred to, and some manuscripts which she had discovered in the archives of Mexico and Spain, and published translations of them in 1914 under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society as *New Light on Drake.*

The principal documents are as follows:

Nuño da Silva's deposition, made some time in April, 1579, in Guatulco, that made before the Viceroy, May 20, 1579, that made during his examination by the Inquisition, May 23, 1579, another dated May 21, 1580, and his log; the two depositions of John Drake, made in Santa Fe in 1584 and in Lima in 1587 respectively; the account written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa containing a declaration made to him by San Juan de Anton, which seems to have been a verbal one;

A series of depositions made before the Audiencia in Panama, beginning with the declaration of San Juan de Anton, March 16, 1579. On March 28 the deposition of Nicolas Jorje was taken. On April 3, Benito Diaz Bravo was examined, and on the same day Francisco Jacome and Juan Perez de Medina, on April 9, Domingo de Lizarza, on April 13, Custodio Rodriguez. At the end of the original document is a letter from Fr. Gaspar de Palma, written on March 14;

The deposition of Cornieles Lanberd made before the Audiencia, May 8, and that of Alonso Sanchez Colchero made at Realejo, in Nicaragua, April 15;

The letter of Francisco de Zárate to Martin Enriquez, the Vice-

roy of New Spain, dated April 16, 1579, previously printed by Peralta;

Two reports made while Drake was in Guatulco by the Alcalde, Gaspar de Vargas, and a deposition made by him, May 14, 1580; depositions by Bernardino Lopez, May 15, 1580; by Simon de Miranda, May 15, 1580; by Francisco Gomez Rengifo, February 18, 1580, and by Juan Pascual, March 5, 1580, and May 13, 1580.

Besides the above Mrs. Nuttall printed the depositions of Diego de Messa and Jusepe de Parraces who had been captured March 20 at the same time as Lanberd, previously printed by Peralta, and a number of letters written by various Spanish officials which, although interesting in themselves, contain hardly anything of importance relating to the expedition not found in some of the other documents.

One of the most interesting documents contained in the bundle of Drake papers in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, a letter written by Benito Diaz Bravo, escaped Mrs. Nuttall's notice. It contains much more important information than his deposition, made April 3, which she printed.

Recently two documents relating to Drake's visit to the Moluccas were located by the writer, one a letter from Don Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila, June 15, 1582, which gives an account of the visit of Francisco de Dueñas to the Moluccas. The other is a copy of Dueñas' original report, now in the archives in Seville, *legajo* 1-2-1/13, No. 14. That part which relates to Drake is printed in Chapters IX and X.

I shall confine myself to printing a composite of Silva's log and depositions, translations of Antonio de Herrera's version, largely taken from John Drake's first deposition, part of Sarmiento's narrative, the depositions of San Juan de Anton, Lanberd and Jorje, the letters written by Don Francisco de Zárate and Benito Diaz Bravo, the two reports of Vargas, and that part of the report of Dueñas which relates to Drake. In these will be found all the important facts in the Spanish documents relating to the expedition. The other witnesses told much the same story as will be found in these. In translating the depositions, the narratives have been restored to the first person in which they were originally given.

THE FAMOUS VOYAGE AND ITS SOURCES

THE first published account of Drake's voyage around the world which has yet come to light is *The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1577.* This account, consisting of six folio leaves without number, will be found inserted between pages 643 and 644 of Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . .*, printed in London in 1589.

The first three of these leaves have the signatures Mmm 4, Mmm 5, Mmm 6, the last three being without number. At the bottom of the last page there is the catchword, "Instructions," which is the first word on page 644. The same catchword will be found at the bottom of page 643. The inserted leaves occur between signature Mmm 3 and a leaf without signature but which is really Mmm 4, as two more leaves without signature follow to complete signature Mmm, the book being printed in "Sixes," of which, as a rule, only the first three are numbered.

There is a somewhat widely disseminated idea that this was written by one Francis Pretty, the author of the account of Cavendish's voyage around the world, published by Hakluyt in 1600—even Corbett made the statement, but there has never been any real basis for this opinion as there is nothing to show that Pretty made the voyage with Drake and plenty of negative evidence that he did not. A comparison of the accounts printed hereafter in parallel columns will furnish abundant proof that it is a compilation from three or more sources, probably made up by Richard Hakluyt himself, a conclusion which never seems to have been suspected by those writers who have examined the various available accounts.

So far the writer has not been able to find any direct evidence fixing the date at which these inserted six leaves were printed, but it seems very obvious that they were not issued with the book. There is a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence which indicates that they may not have been printed until after 1594 or 1595. Before 1596 several works appeared containing some notice of the voyage, and so far no reference to the "Famous Voyage"

has been discovered in any of them. From remarks made by Thomas Blundeville in *His Exercises,* published in 1594, and reprinted hereafter, the positive inference might be drawn that this had not yet appeared. Not only does he fail to refer to it but he even goes so far as to express a wish that Drake should write a perfect diary of the voyage. The expression is ambiguous and might be construed to mean that he had had access to an imperfect account of the voyage written by Drake, but this is most unlikely as his description seems to have been drawn almost entirely from the red line on the Molyneux globe. Neither John Stow nor John Davis made any use of the Hakluyt account, but there is some indication that the author of *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles presupposed to be intended against the realm of England,* had seen it. There is one slight discrepancy in the figures of twenty tons instead of twenty-six given in this for the amount of silver captured in the *Cacafuego,* but otherwise the two accounts agree in precisely those details found also in the "Famous Voyage" which were not taken from the "Anonymous Narrative." It may be, however, that the account in this little work, which is very short indeed, was derived from the original that Hakluyt used to make up his account. On the whole, although the "Famous Voyage" has been very thoroughly edited, there still remain in it some passages not especially complimentary to Drake, so it seems possible that it was not actually published until after Drake died in February, 1596.

This earlier version, which may be readily distinguished from the second issue in 1600 by the fact that in the latter the highest point reached by Drake on the Northwest coast was changed from 42° to 43°, formed the basis for a number of translations and was used to some extent by William Camden in his account first published in 1615. The first translation to appear, as far as known, although in a somewhat condensed form, was the Dutch text found pasted on the Hondius map, which is supposed to have been engraved in 1595, forming, with that, what is usually known as the Hondius broadside. Theodore de Bry published a condensed version in Latin in his *Americae Pars VIII* in Frankfort in 1599, and Levinus Hulsius a very much more condensed one in German in 1603 in Part 6 of his works. In 1613 a French version appeared in Paris entitled: *Le Voyage De L'Illvstre Seignevr Et Cheualier François Drach, Admiral d'Angleterre, alentour du monde.* This is the most complete translation of all, and the fact that the 1589 version

and not that of 1600 was used arouses a suspicion that it may first have appeared before the latter year. A few explanatory phrases are inserted in the text to make it understood by the French, but there is no evidence whatever that the translator had any other information than that contained in the "Famous Voyage." He does not even say in the Introduction, as sometimes affirmed, that the account was furnished by a Frenchman, one of the subjects of Baron de Courtomer to whom the work is dedicated, but merely that he has dedicated it to him because he understood that one of his subjects had made the voyage with Drake. Subsequent editions appeared in 1627 and 1641 with a second part, which so far as Drake is concerned is pure fiction.

In 1600 Hakluyt reprinted his account on pages 730-742 of Vol. III of his *Voyages*. In this version some interesting and suggestive changes were made as will be seen in the notes to the reprint hereafter. In the "Famous Voyage" of 1589, the account of stopping at the Island of Caño and that of the capture of the ship off that port are placed after that of the events at Guatulco. In the reprint in 1600 Hakluyt attempted to straighten this out in a very peculiar manner. This part appears as previously published on page 736, but he inserted in an earlier part of the volume, pages 440-442, a separate account of the Northwest coast taken from the full account, with one exception. He cut out the part referring to the Island of Caño and the taking of the ship and begins his account at Guatulco, except that he prefixed to this the following paragraph:

> We kept our course from the Isle of Cano (which lyeth in eight degrees of Northerly latitude, and within two leagues of the maine of Nicaragua, where wee calked and trimmed our ship) along the coast of Nueva Espanna, untill we came to the hauen and towne of Guatulco, which (as we were informed) had but seuenteene Spaniards dwelling in it, and we found it to stand in fifteene degrees and fiftie minutes. As soone as we were entred this hauen we landed, . . . (Vol. IX, 319.)

Samuel Purchas in 1625 in *His Pilgrimes* (Vol. II, 127), reprinted from the Hakluyt 1600 edition what he called a corrected account. The only corrections made consisted in omitting the clauses in the original dealing with the trial and execution of Doughty and the fight on shore in which Winterhey was killed. In place of these Purchas substituted the following: "And here M. Thomas Doughty was tried, and received sentence of death, which was also here executed. Here also some of our men going ashore, were by the Savages forced to retire."

The "Famous Voyage" is largely based on two manuscripts in the British Museum, printed in the 1854 edition of the *World Encompassed,* as Appendices Nos. III and IV. To these should be added the "Memoranda" printed as Appendix II which without doubt belong to Appendix III and in some way or other have been misplaced in the volume of manuscripts in which they are all contained. There are also a few indications that the Fletcher MS of the first part of the voyage was used, and many that the second part, now lost, was largely utilized. Appendix IV is signed by John Cooke, Appendix III is unsigned and is referred to in this work as the "Anonymous Narrative." This begins at the Island of Mocha, leaving between the two accounts a certain hiatus, which, in the "Famous Voyage," is filled from some unknown source.

JOHN COOKE'S NARRATIVE

[Harleian MSS in the British Museum, No. 540, Folio 93.]

Cooke returned with Winter on the *Elizabeth* but it is not likely that he wrote his account immediately after his return, his remark about the master of the fly-boat having been hanged "as he remembered" implying that some considerable time had elapsed between the occurrences recounted and the date of writing the narrative. The manuscript is said to be in the handwriting of John Stow and was apparently used by him in his account of Drake's voyage first published in 1592. If Stow really copied it, he made a mistake in the heading he gave it, "For Francis Drake. Anno dñi 1577." Nothing can be more certain than that Cooke did not write it for Sir Francis Drake or any of his relatives. The notation probably means that it was for the account of Drake's voyage, and was to be used in Stow's book.

This account incurred the displeasure of Corbett and especially of Mrs. Nuttall. Although Corbett admits that Cooke's sincerity is obvious and the general correctness of his facts is amply borne out by confirmation from other sources, he adds, "Its bias is so obvious that as evidence against Drake it is inadmissable except where confirmed by the friendly narratives; but as evidence against Doughty it is of as high a value as an historical document can well be." (I, 405). Comment on this statement is unnecessary. In Mrs. Nuttall's view, it is a malicious narrative, the maliciousness consisting in exploiting the troubles between Doughty and Drake in such a manner as to amount to a charge of injustice and unfairness against Drake. She considered that Silva in his deposition of May

21, 1580 (page 378 of her work) contradicted Cooke's statement that Drake did not produce his commission because he said that Drake took out some papers and read them, after which he showed them to the others and they all saw and inspected them, adding that those present said that the papers were those of her with whose authority he was making the voyage. Cooke also said he took out some papers and read them but specifically stated that he did *not* produce his commission. As at that time Silva could hardly have known any English, it is not probable that he understood what Drake said. Drake claimed to have authority to execute Doughty, a statement which, under the circumstances, the sailors were perfectly willing to accept, and that is about all Silva's statement amounts to.

It cannot be doubted that John Cooke was thoroughly convinced that Doughty was the subject of a persecution by Drake which finally ended in his unjust and illegal execution. When his manuscript was first published by the Hakluyt Society in 1854, Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, the editor, discussed it in a long Introduction. He expressed himself on the subject of Doughty as follows:

> Who this John Cooke was, we have now no means of telling—yet, if his statements are not to be rejected as altogether false, (which, from their general consistency, and their agreement with the notices and language of other documents, seems to be impossible,) we must conclude that he was one of the company in Drake's squadron. His name, indeed, occurs among the list of witnesses to three of the charges against Mr. Doughty, and he on more than one occasion distinctly asserts, that he was present at the events which he describes.
>
> This manuscript account is, indeed, a very remarkable one, and it is, to say the least, a little curious that it should so wholly have escaped the notice of those who have so repeatedly searched our manuscript collections for new matter relating to the History of Sir Francis Drake. The most distinguishing feature of it is the light that it throws on the death of Mr. Doughty: and it cannot be denied, that if it be in the main a true narrative, which we are inclined to think it is, the character of Sir Francis for impartiality and justice is materially impeached. It seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion, that, though doubtless himself persuaded of the honesty of the course which he was pursuing, the Admiral allowed himself to be swayed from the strict course of justice by the cavils and jealousies of persons who were envious of Mr. Doughty's character and abilities. (xvii.)

I refer the reader to Mr. Vaux's Introduction for his long discussion of this subject, only adding his final remark:

> For ourselves, we need hardly add, that it never was our intention, as it could scarcely have been our wish, to attempt to reverse the general judgment of the men of his own times upon the character of Sir Francis Drake. If they who knew him best were content to believe, it is admitted, with an imperfect knowledge of

the facts, that no charge of blood guiltiness could be brought against Sir Francis Drake in the matter of Mr. Doughty, we are content, even though much new matter has been discovered, to accept in his favor the judgment of his contemporaries. It was our simple duty to lay before the public whatever papers seemed to throw light on an obscure transaction, but we must not therefore forget that the narrative of John Cooke, though it reads so consistently, may have been either a fabrication or a gross exaggeration, the result of jealousy or some vindictive feelings against Drake; and that, be this as it may, this much is certain, that no steps were taken, on Drake's return to England in 1580, to examine the matter legally, or to bring Drake himself to trial. (xxxix.)

Corbett, (Vol. 1, 320 *et seq.*), has produced a number of documents to show that this last statement was not true, but that on the contrary John Doughty prosecuted Drake in the Earl Marshall's court for the murder of his brother.

Vaux's attitude as displayed in the passages above quoted is characteristic of almost all writers on Drake; they are unwilling to accept their own obvious logical conclusions when not favorable to him. In spite of the characterizations of this narrative as false, biased, malicious or exaggerated, the fact remains that it is the only one which gives a consistent view of the relations between Doughty and Drake which culminated in Doughty's execution. Everyone practically admits that the account in the *World Encompassed* is unbelievable and therefore Cooke's account has to be taken, the method pursued being to throw out those parts which do not harmonize with preconceived views of Drake's character. As pointed out elsewhere, the account was used as the basis for the first part of the "Famous Voyage," but in this all references to Doughty's quarrel with Drake were eliminated. When the compiler of the "Famous Voyage" came to the execution of Doughty, the episode was recounted in a single paragraph, perfectly colorless, but the few facts contained in it were still taken from the Cooke account.

THE "ANONYMOUS NARRATIVE"

[Harleian MSS in the British Museum, No. 280, Folio 23.]

This account unfortunately only covers what might be called the second part of the voyage. On examination, it appears to have been written after the expedition returned, from information derived from some member or members of the expedition as it does not purport to be by an eye-witness. From the fact that Hakluyt, in drawing up the "Famous Voyage," made use of the Cooke account for the first part of the voyage, it seems possible that when that failed him he secured this statement which begins at the Island

of Mocha in order to supplement Cooke's narrative. Nevertheless, there is evidence that he had another account of the second part of the voyage, from which he inserted the account of California and the subsequent part of the voyage. It is impossible to determine on what theory he made a choice between the two, nor can any plausible supposition be advanced.

The narrative is discussed in Appendix E to the first volume of Corbett's work. Corbett seemed to think that it had been written by William Lege (or probably Legge), basing his opinion upon the fact that it contains a story about Legge's difficulties with Drake. This assumption seems entirely gratuitous and was probably made by Corbett for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the account, as having been written by a man who had a personal grudge against Drake. An inspection of the deposition signed by forty-nine members of Drake's company, reproduced by Mrs. Nuttall in her work, will show that Legge's name was signed to the deposition by someone else, probably by Blacoller. He was therefore an uneducated seaman and if he wrote the account it must have been by way of dictation. A common seaman would certainly never have employed the terms which he did regarding Drake's piratical acts, so it seems much more likely that it was written by one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake, some of whom we know to have been disciplined by him, apparently for having sided with Doughty, or for having entertained the same opinions as Doughty regarding Drake's actions. Many of the facts related in this narrative, which were omitted in the "Famous Voyage" were copied by Camden, indicating that he not only had the original or a copy of it, but that he also had confidence in its veracity. In view of his and Hakluyt's use of the account, both Drake's contemporaries, it must be conceded to be entitled to great credit; as the most picturesque account which has survived it certainly has great interest.

Not all of the "Famous Voyage" can be traced to these accounts, and it is certain that the compiler had at hand one or more others. Even where they have been used, changes have occasionally been made indicating that some choice had been exercised for reasons which are not apparent. Attention will be called to these differences in the footnotes. Besides a few added descriptions, some latitudes were inserted not found in the Cooke narrative but these are erroneous, an indication that the compiler of the "Famous Voyage" copied them from the Fletcher manuscript. Why greater use

was not made of this latter work is somewhat of a mystery inasmuch as there is convincing evidence that the second part of it, now lost, was used for the voyage after leaving Guatulco. Here we encounter descriptions and digressions as well as facts which cannot be traced to any existing manuscript. The account of the Northwest coast and the Indians there is substantially the same, and indeed in many cases is expressed in exactly the same words as in the *World Encompassed*. Further, these descriptions are in very similar language to those used by Fletcher in his account of the Indians on the east coast of America. The "Anonymous Narrative" contains very little about the Northwest coast, and after leaving there a radical difference exists between it and the "Famous Voyage." We cannot say which is correct as no evidence as to the exact time when Drake was at Ternate is available from Spanish sources.

The "Famous Voyage," printed hereafter, is from the original version of 1589 and as originally printed. The manuscripts have been printed from the texts published in the *World Encompassed* edition of 1854, corrected by word-for-word comparison with the originals. The abbreviations in the originals have been written out.

JOHN COOKE'S ACCOUNT

The xv. of Novembar in the yere above writen Francys drake, John wintar, & Thomas doughty, as eqwall companyons and frindly gentlemen w^{t} a Fleett of Fyve ships and to the nombar of 164 men gentlemen and saylers departed Plimouthe gyvynge oute his pretendyd voyage for Alexandria and had for that place made wages with his men, but the wynd falyng contrary, he was forceblye the next morninge put in to Falmouth haven in Cornewell, where suche and so terryble a tepest toke vs as no man then lyvyng had ever sene the lyke and was indede so vehement that all owr ships had bene lyke to have gone to wracke, but yet this storme ceased not without the torninge to owr great detryment and hyndrance of our pretended voyadge, for first owr admyrall which was the *pellycane* for her farder

THE FAMOUS VOYAGE

The 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, 1577. M. FRANCIS DRAKE, with a fleete of fiue ships and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, Gentlemen and Sailers, departed Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for ALEXANDRIA: but the winde falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a tempest tooke vs, as few men haue seene the like, and was in deed so vehement, that all our ships were like to haue gone to wracke, but it pleased God to preserue vs from that extremitie and to afflict vs only for that present with these two particulars: The maste of our Admiral which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the safegard of the ship, and the Marygold was driuen a shore, & somewhat bruised, for the repairing of

savegard had hir mast cutt ovar borde, the *marygolde* was not onely dryven a shore and merveylouselye by meanes there of brused, but had also hir mast cut over borde, for the repayrenge of whiche domages we were forced to repayre agayne to Plymouthe, where mastar drake began to fall on great dislyke, and found occasyon of qwarell with one James sydye, who had taken very greate paynes as well in seinge the ships provisyon of vyctuales to be well and swete saved as also every thinge to be dwely and indyferently placed accordingly as suche his voyage mowght require, and without havynge regarde to thes his paynes, or to the sufficienty of the man in respecte of his servise everywaye he dismissed and altogethar acquited hym of the voyage.

Thus the xiij of decembar we agayne departyd plimouth and makynge owr course sowthwards we fell the xxv. day of decembar with Cape Cantyne on the coaste of barbarye, the whiche coastinge alonge the xxvij day of decembar we found an Iland called moghador lyenge one myle distaunt from the mayne betwene the mayne and this sayde Iland we found to be a very good and safe harborowe and voyde of any feare on this Iland owr generall (so we now termed hym) erected a pinnes, where of he browght owt of england withe hym fowre alredy framed, While thes things were thus a handelynge it chaunsed that there cam to the watar syde some of the inhabitaunts of the contry shewing out theyre flags of truyse, whiche sene of owr generall, he sent his shipe boate ashore to know what they would, they willynge to come a borde, owr men lefte there one man of owrs for pledge and browght ij. of them aborde, who by sygnes shewyd owr generall that the next day they wolde which damages we returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, we set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set saile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the same moneth we fell with the CAPE CANTINE, vpon the coast of Barbarie, and coasting along, the 27. day we found an Island called MAGADOR, lying one mile distant from the maine, betweene which Island and the maine, we found a very good and safe harbour for our ships to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger.

On this Island our Generall erected a pinnase, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed.

While these things were in doing, there came to the waters side some of the inhabitaunts of the countrey, shewyng foorth their flags of truce, which beyng seene of our Generall, he sent his ships boate to the shore, to know what they would: they being willing

brynge hym some provysyon, as shepe and capons and hens and such lyke so at this tyme owr generall bestowynge on them some lynnen clothes and shoes and a javelyne the whiche they gratefully takynge departed for that tyme, and the next morrowe fayled not in lyke maner to come agayne to the watars syde, owr generall agayne sent his boate, where one of owr men leapinge ovar rayshely a shore and offeringe frendly to imbrace them, they set vyolent hands on hym offeringe a daggar to his throte yf he made resistaunce, and so layenge hym on a horse caryed hym awaye,

owr pinnes beynge finished we departed hence the last of decembar, and coasting alonge the shoare, we dyd descrye (not contrary to owr expectacion) certeyn Canters which are spanishe fishermen, to the whiche we gave chase and toke thre of them, then costinge still alonge we toke iij. Carvells. The xvij. of January we aryved at Cape blanke, where we founde a shippe rydinge at anchore within the Cape, but forsaken of all her men excepte ij. very symple marinars, this shipe we caryed farder into the harborowe with vs, here we remayned fowre dayes, in the whiche tyme by the meanes and procurement of Mastar Thomas dowghtye who was alwayes carefull in that respecte and toke greate paynes in that behalfe, did here trayne his men in warlyke order, for that they myght not be vnskylfull in tyme of neade, and shewynge hym selfe not ygnoraunt, but as a good sowldior wayenge

to come aboord, our men left there one man of our companie for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our shippe, which by signes shewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring some prouision, as Sheepe, Capons and Hennes and such like, whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some linnen cloth and shoes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come agayne to the waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer rashly ashore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they set violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any resistance, and so laying him on a horse, caried him away, so that a man cannot bee too circumspect and warie of himselfe among such miscreants.

Our pinnase beyng finished, we departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December, and coasting along the shore, we did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spanish fishermen, to whom we gaue chase and tooke 3. of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Caruels and took them also.

The 17. day of January we arriued at CAPE BLANKO, where we found a ship riding at anker, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her, which ship we tooke and caried her further into the harbour where we remained 4. dayes, and in that space our Generall mustered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occasions.

In this place we tooke of the Fishermen such necessaries as wee wanted, and they could yeld vs, and leauing

the inconvenyence that want of good experyence dyd evar bringe, here havynge taken suche necesaryes as we wantyd, and thes pore fissher men wer able to yelde vs, and havynge here lefte amongest these poore fisshers owr lytle barked called the *benedicte* we toke with vs one of theyr boates the whiche they call Canters, beinge a vessell of xl. tonne or there abowtes, and thes things finyshed we departed of the harborowe the xxij of Januarye, carienge a longe with vs one portyngale Carevell that was bound to the Ilands of Cape de Verde for salte, whereof there was greate store made in one of those Ilands, the mastar or pylot of whiche shipe dyd advertyce owr generall that in one of those Ilands, as namely on the Iland of mayowe, there was greate store of dryed Caberytas the which a few inhabytaunts that there were resydent dyd yerelye make reddye for suche the kynges ships as dyd there touche, beinge bound for his contrye of brasell or els where;

With this Iland we fell the xxvij of Januarye, but the inhabytaunts would not in any wyse trafficke with vs, as thereof forbyden by theyr kyngs edycte and lawe of theyr contrye, yet the next daye, owr generall sent to vewe the Iland and the lykelyhods that myght be of provysyon of vyctuales, well towards lxx men vnder the conducte and goverment of Mastar w y n t a r and mastar Thomas dowghtye who alwaye shewed hym selfe not unskylfull in suche affayres. Thus marchynge towards the chefe place of habytacion in this Iland (as by the portyngall we were informed) havynge traveled to the mountenance of thre myles and aryvynge there some whate before the day breke, we arested owr selves to se daye before vs, which apperinge we founde the here one of our litle barkes called the BENEDICT, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, we departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with vs one of the Portingall Caruels which was bound to the Islands of CAPE DE VERDE for salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Islands.

The master or Pilot of that Caruell, did aduertise our Generall that vpon one of those Islands called MAYO, there was great store of dried Cabaritas, which a few inhabitaunts there dwelling, did yeerely make readie for such of the kings ships as did there touch, beyng bound for his countrey of Brasile or elsewhere. We fell with this Island the seuen and twentieth of Januarie, but the inhabitants would in no case traffique with vs, beyng thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall sent to view the Island, and the likelihoods that might be there of prouision of victuals, about three score & two men vnder the conduct & gouernment of M. WINTER and master DOUGHTIE, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Island (as by the Portingall wee were informed) hauyng trauelled to the mountains the space of three miles, and arriuing there somewhat before the day breake, wee arrested ourselues to see day before vs, which appearing, wee found the inhabitaunts to bee fled: but the place by reason that it was manured,

inhabitants to be departed or fled, We found this place by meanes it was manured, to be more frutefull then thothar parte, here we gave owr selves a lytle refection as by very rype and swete grapes that the frutefulnes of the erthe at this season of the yere yeldes vs, we also had here a kynd of frute called Coonis,[1] the whiche for that it is not comonly knowne to us in england I have thowght good to make relation of, the tree on which it growethe beareth no leaves nor bowghes, but at the very toppe the frute growith in clustars hard at the topp of the steme of the tree as bygg every severall frute as a mans heade, but hevynge taken of the vttermoste barke the whiche you shall fynde to be very full of strings or synowes as I may terme them, yow shall come to a hard shell which may holde of quantite of lycore a pinte comonly or some a qwarte and some lesse, with in that shell of the thiknes of halfe an ynche good, yow shall have a kynd of harde substance, and very white no les good and swete then almondes, within that agayne a certayne clere lycowr whiche beynge dronken, you shall not only finde very delycate and swete but m o a s t e comfortable and cordyall, Then marching fardar on we sawe greate store of Caberytas a lyve the which were so chased by the inhabytants that we cowlde do no good towards owr provysyon, but yet by the way I must tell yow that they had layde oute as it were to stope owr mowths withall certayne olde dryed Caberytas which for the lothesomnes of, as also for the small qwantyte we we found to bee more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils.

Here we gaue ourselues a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season beyng with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme straunge that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Sunnes, and beyng so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Island is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called COCOS, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauyng taken off the vttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of string or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a

[1] Evidently an error for "cocos," that is, "coconuts."

made small accompte of, thus vppon owr returne the generall determyned to departe this Iland, the which without longar abode then the nyght folowynge he went thrughe withall and so the xxx. of Januarye we fell with one othar of those Iland called S. Jago by the which as we passed but farr ynowghe of theyr daynger, they shot at vs thre peces, all which fell shorte of vs, but before this Iland we found vndar sayle ij shipps, to the one of whiche we gave chase, ye and in the ende borded hir with his shipe boate without any resistaunce, they yelded, this good price dyd yelde good store of drinke and especially to them that wolde thrwghly take it, who at no tyme wantyd, thowghe those as were honestly m y n d e d were fayne to watche the rayne dropps when no intreatie woulde serve to have thirst satysfyed by any othar meanes, but here our generall shewyd hym selfe not so r y g o r o w s e as every man hard shell which may hold a quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kind of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleere liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After we had satisfied our selues with some of t h e s e fruites, wee marched further into the Island, and sawe great store of Cabaritas aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitaunts, that we could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had laied out as it were to stop our mouths withall certayne old dried Cabaritas, which beyng but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Island of S. IAGO, but farre inough from the danger of the inhabitaunts, who shot and discharged at vs three pieces, but they all fell short of vs and did vs no harme. The Island is fayre and large, and as it seemeth rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portingals, but the mountains and high places of the Island, are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bene slaues to the Portingals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desart places of the Island, where they abide with great strength.

Being before this Island, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which we gaue chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship boate without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and yelded vnto vs good store of wine, which prize our Generall committed to the custodie of M.

thowght he would, neythar dyd he hurte or plange the pore men of theyr bodyes, (thowghe he a litle pynched them by the purse) ne yet dyd he altogethar disfurnishe them of pryncipall necesaryes, for first retaynynge with hym the portyngale pilote, he gave to the rest of the companye his *pinnis* with a but of wyne and some victuales and theyr weringe clothes, and so let them to departe but sure they toke no daye for payment for that I thinke theyre hole stocke rested in owr hands now mastar drake havynge here somewhat satisfyed his eye with the viewe of these commodities, he commytted the custody and well kepynge of this price vnto Mastar Thomas dowghty as his good and especiall friend prayenge hym in any case to se good ordar kept and who so shuld be the breaker there of to gyve hym to vndarstond of any suche without exception of any, ...

[*Two pages omitted of the troubles between Drake and Doughty*]

thus havynge dispacht away thes sayd portyngals we drewe towards the lyne, where we were becalmd the space of thre wekes, but yet subiecte to dyvars great stormes, terible lyghtenings and with thundar, and here we had great store of fishe, as dolphens, and bonytes and othar greate and myghty fisshes, we also Found here flyenge fishes in great aboundance, which by the sharpe and eger chasynge of the dolphens and bonytes, and as it were to avoyde a great birde that semed to watche to pray on hir above the watar beinge so

DOUGHTIE, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnase, giuing them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The same nighte we came with the Island called by the Portingals, ILA DEL FOGO, that is, the burning Island: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayd to bee of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Island, because the Portingals haue built, and doe inhabite there.[2]

Upon the Southside thereof lieth a most pleasaunt and sweete Island, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it ILA DEL BRAUA, that is, the braue Island. From the banks thereof into the sea doth run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient road for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for ankering, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of FOGO burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of BRAUA are quenched as low in the sea.[3]

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet s u b i e c t to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphin, Bonitas, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where hence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the islands of CAPE VERDE,

[2] From the Fletcher MS, apparently.

[3] From the Fletcher MS, apparently.

put vp by those fisshes dyd dyvers tymes fall into our shipe, where she could not ryse agayne, for want of moystoure to hir wyngs for hir wyngs once beinge dry she cane no longar flye, this fishe is as byge as a pilchard, hir wyngs of the lengthe of hir body, havynge thus in the begyninge of february put of the Iland of Cape de verde, we had not the syght agayne of any land vntill the vi. of Aprill that we fell with the coste of Brazylle.[4]

[*Here follows one page of more trouble between Drake and Doughty*]

Thus, as I aforesayde, the vi. of Aprell we fell with the coaste of Brasyle, the vij. day in a myghty greate storme bothe of lighteninge rayne and thundar we lost the *Canter* now named the *Xpofere*, but the xj. day aftar by our generals greate care and dyspersynge his ships found hir agayne, by meanes especialy that the mastar coasted always by the shoare and keping hit in syght, here where he found owr Canter owr generall named this Cape, Cape Joie, here every shipe toke in some watar, then we wayed ancker and rann somewhate fordar, and harbored owr selvs betwene a rokke and the mayne where by meanes of the rokk that brake the foarce of the sea we ryde very safe, vpon this rocke we kylde some seyls for owr provysyon, but not very many, for that this place had not the multitude as aftarwards wee sayled 54. dayes without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we sawe the fift of Aprill in the height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike,[5] and being discouered at sea by the inhabitaunts of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vse coniurations, making heapes of sands and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may bee gathered together in shoales in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments.[6]

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the CANTER which wee called the CHRISTOPHER: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her agayne, and the place where we met our Generall called the Cape of Joie, where euery ship tooke in some water. Here wee found a good temperature and sweete aire, a very faire and pleasaunt countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soile, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but trauelling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay ground, shewyng that they were men of great stature.[7] Being returned to our shippes we wayed anker, and ranne somewhat further and har-

[4] All the other authorities agree with the "Famous Voyage" that the coast of Brazil was sighted April 5.

[5] This whole paragraph is apparently from the Fletcher MS.

[6] This story is very similar to the one related by Fletcher, and was probably taken from his manuscript.

[7] Fletcher also gives a similar account except that in place of deer he says they were partridges.

we found, here we entered the greate ryvar of freshe watar called the ryvar of plat, and ran into 5.4. and 3. fadome and halfe of freshe watar, where we fild in freshe watar by the ships syde, for that owr generall could find here no harborowe as he expected, he bare owt agayne to sea, here we lost owr flee boate in the whiche was Mastar Thomas dowghtye, in all whose absens owr generall nevar ceased to invey agaynst, terminge hym a coniurer and witche, and, at eny tyme when we had any fowle wethar he would say that Thomas dowghty was the occasyoner thereof, and wolde say that it came out of Tom Dowghtys capcase, and wold avouche the same with greate othes whiche he at no tyme scanted, they cost hym so lytle, the xij. of may owr generall went a shoare in the Elizabethes boate where suche a sodayne storme and tempest with a marveylows thicke fogge toke hym, that yf the marygold had not rune into the shore and taken vpp the boate it had bene very lyke without the greate provydence of god, that they had there perished; for they had loste the syght of the ships, and were dryven to leeward by meanes of the great storme this land owr generall named the Cape of good hope, and dothe lye in 47-4- from the equinoctiall to the sowthewards, and here in boured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke wee killed for our prouision certaine sea wolues, commonly called with vs Seales.

From hence we went our course to six and thirtie degrees,[8] and entered the great riuer of PLATE, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water,[9] where we filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough as he thought hee should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of Aprill.,[10] and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flie boate wherein master DOUGHTIE was, but wee sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Baie wherein were many and the same profitable Islands, one whereof had so many Seales as would at least haue laden all our ships, and the rest of the Islands are as it were laden with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, beyng on shore in an Island, the people of the countrey shewed themselues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entered into traffique with him, but they would not receiue anything at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very actiue.[11]

[8] This latitude is also probably from the Fletcher MS.

[9] In copying the Cooke narrative a curious error occurred here—the "5, 4 and 3½ fathoms of fresh water" being turned into "54 and 53½ fathoms of fresh water."

[10] This date occurs in the Cliffe narrative.

[11] This information is extracted from the Fletcher MS, but is out of place here, belonging to the occurrences at the next stopping place.

this great tempest the price was forced to wey anker and beare it out to sea, for her savegarde, and were not able agayne to recover the fleete. Thus the price departed the 13. of may, and the next day the rest of the ships wayed, the *marygold* still continuynge within the Cape with the Elizabethes boate, here our generall had syght of some of the Contry people, who were naked, savynge a certayne losse mantle made of skynns about them, and rowles aboute theyr heads to thes our generall made shew of truce; as by holdynge vp a whit flagge, and they with theyr heds and bodyes made certayne signes and gesturs as yf they ment frindeshipe, and thus there was a kynde of parley betwene them but one could not vndarstond an othar, neythar would they come near owr men, the next daye aftar this owr generall went agayne a shore the same place, where althowghe he had not the syght of any men, yet found he there certayne fowles newly kylled and layde in a heape as of purpose for vs, as ostreges, and some sea fowles; all whiche owr generall browght aborde with hym and then wayed and cam to sea, where he mett with all the rest of the flete, excepte the price, owr generall hear dispersed his shipps, some for the sekynge agayne of the price, and some into the shoare for to fynd harborow and it so chansed as he hym selfe was sekynge the price the xxij. of maye, he casually had syght of the flee bote, the *marigold* and *Cantor* gyvynge vs to vndarstand of a saffe herborowe that they had found, we bore all into the same the xviij. of may being whitsonday.

but here may not be forgotten, how hardly Mastar Thomas dowghtye and some othar gentlemen were delt with

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needful to haue a care of such shippes as were absent, and therefore induouring to seeke the Flie boate wherein master DOUGHTIE was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the MARYGOLD and the CANTER beyng imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by seales, whereof we slew to the number of 2. or 300. in the space of an hower.[12]

[12] This seal story seems to be from the Cliffe account.

all in this they absens by a sorte of badd and envyous people as saylers and such lyke, but specyally Mastar dowghty, at whose discredit they dyd nevar leave to shotte, at that the generall dyd always terme his very good frynds, for there the mastar put hym selfe from the mease of Mastar dowghty, and othar gentlemen, and dyd syt hymselfe amongst saylers nothing at all sparinge but rathar augementynge his owne dyet; but how symply thes gentlemen dyd fare, there is some come home (that except they will deny theyr owne words) can make relation there of. Mastar dowghty seinge hym selfe and one mastar Chestar that drake had made Captayne of the flee boate so yll vsed, told hym I marvayle mastar Chestar that yow will take it at his hands to be thus vsed, consyderinge yow were here aucthorised by the generall, and withe the same he cam to the mastar and told hym that he dyd vse to muche parcialitie, consyderinge the extremytie that for want of victuales they were lyke to fall into, and it was agaynst reason that he and his mates shulde be so plentifully fedd and othars to be at poynte to starve, the mastar begeninge hereat to storme, sware that suche rascales as he was shuld be glade to eate the Tholes when he wolde have it, mastar dowghty answered hym agayne that reason wolde will that he shuld be vsed as well as othar men, consyderynge his adventure, thow an adventure here qd the mastar, I will not gyve a poynt for the nor thye aventure, and when thow comest home to inioye any aventure I will be hanged (as I remembar he hathe kepte promise) then in multiplienge some fardar wordes and, as I hard a blowe or twayne, had past betwene them, and conseqvently the mastar tolde hym, thow (qd he) wilt

thow have victualles, thow shalt be glade yf we do not mete with the generall, the rathar to eate that falls from my tayle on the anker slooke. Then mastar dowghty turnynge to mastar Chestar sayd vnto hym, Mastar Chestar let vs not be thus vsed at thes knaves hands, lose nothinge of that aucthoritie that the generall hathe commytted vnto yow, yf yow wyll we wyll put the sworde agayne into yowr hands, and yow shall have the governement, this can I well avouche to be true for there were two or three sworne to thesse articles, as some the especiall mattar that the had to out of his head for: well here ere he departed this forsayde harbour he had the flee boate close aboard the pelicane and there toke all his provyson of victuall and what els there was forthe of hir and halynge hir aland set fire in hir and so brent hir to save his ire stuffe, whiche beinge adoynge ther came downe of the contrye certeyne of the people naked excepte aboute theyr waste a certayne skyne of some beaste with fure or heare, and all they had also somewhat wrethed abowte theyr heades, they had also theyr faces paynted of dyvars colours, and some had on theyr heades the symylitude of hornes, every man his bowe, which was of an ell of lengthe, and a cople of arrowes thes were very agille people, delyver, and quycke, and semed not to be ignoraunt in the feates of warre, as by ther order in rangynge theyr fewe men myght appere, thes people woulde not of longe tyme receave any thinge at owr hands, yet at lengthe owr generall beinge ashore thes people dansynge aftar theyr accustomed manor about hym and he alone withe his bake towards them one lept sodeynly to hym and toke his Cape with his gold bande of his heade and rann a litle distance from

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie boate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and hailing her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke, which beyng a doing, there came downe of the country certayne of the people naked, sauing onely about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bowe which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignoraunt in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men m i g h t appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our hands, yet at length our Generall being a shore and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one lept suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other.

hym and shared it with his fellowe, the cappe to the one, and the band to thothar, our generall havynge finished his busynes with ij. or rann at them to have taken them, who yet departed not tyll they saw themselues folowed so neare, but then they fled, all thes busynesses thus ovar passed, and mastar dowghtye delyveryd out of this flee botte, remayned as yet in the pelicane, but yet vpon some vnkynd speches, as in sayeng that the worst word that came out of his mowthe was to be beleved asone as his othe, where vpon the generall dyd not onely stryke hym, but commaunded hym to be bound to the mast, for the accomplyshement of the whiche the mastar of the flee bote, his old hevy frend toke a litle payne with hym this was donne as the ij. ships lay together, here was Mastar Thomas dowghty put into the Canter althowghe greatly agaynst his will, for that he sayde he knew them to be there that sowght his lyfe, as namely the mastar of the flee bote, and some othar desperate and vnhonest people, but would he or no thethar he must, or els he sware he wowld lyfte hym out with the takle, and in that behalfe commaundyd the takle to be lowsed, thus aboarde the Cantor he went, and his brothar John dowghty with hym, this with all is not to be forgotten that fell out on this Iland where the flee bote was gyven (as I was credibly informed) as we were even ready to departe and to wey ancor, and the very last company ready to come from the shore there was one Thomas Cuttle who sometyme had bene Mastar of the pellycane with whome at this instant the generall had talked, from whome the sayd Cutle departed in greate fury and offerynge to goo over to the mayne, betwene the whiche and the Iland was but a shallowe water, he

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately vpon our setting foorth we lost our CANTER which was absent three or foure dayes, but when our Generall had her agayne, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope.

standynge well towards the myddest in the watar with his pece his necke vttered thes wordes, well my masters qd he I ame heavyly borne heare, becawse I wyll not accuse this gentleman of that as I take god to wytnes I knowe not by hym and therefore I take you all to wytnes what so ever become of me I nevar knewe any thinge by hym but to be the generals frend and rather then I wyll byde this hard Contenance at the generalls hands I wyll yeld my selfe into Canibals hands and so I pray yow all to pray for me, with this all owr company departed to theyr ships, and aftar they were all gonn Cuttle as he aftar Confest discharged his pece to the end that the people of the Contrye might repayre vnto hym who indede cam not. our generall takynge it that it had bene for a bote sent his boate a shoare and the company by intreaty brought him aboarde, and so we departed this harboure, not forgettynge y^{t} we had hear watered and made new provyson of vyctuales, as by soyles, whereof we found suche plenty, on a Rockey Iland as we slewe to the nombar of ij. or iij. hundred in the montenance of an howre, presently aftar owr settynge forthe we lost our Canter the whiche lacked iij. or iiij. dayes but as son as owr generall had her agayne, he also gave her over very neare or vndar the same Cape hope whiche is before mentyoned, butt owr generall alwayes thowght or at least woulde so gyve hit owte when he sawe any fowle whether, that Thomas dowghty was occasyon there of, Also here where he gave over this Canter he had agayne some conference with the Contry people vnto whome he gave some tryfles and receyved from one of them a gayne made as neare as I cowld gesse of fyshe bones cutt in round spangles

and wrought vpon womans heare, but very artyficyally. The .xix. of Junn towards night we had syght (not to owr all small comforts) of the pryce, very neare the heyght of porte S. Julyan, whiche standethe in 49-30- to the southewards of the lyne. . . . .

[*One page of more trouble between Drake and Doughty omitted*]

Thus havyng as I aforesayd found agayne our price we herbourd owr selves the next day being the .xx. of June, in a very good herborow, supposed to be the same that magellane called port S. Jullian, For owr men found heare on the mayne a gybett which we supposed to be the place where he dyd execution, The .xxij. of June owr generall went a shore the maygne, and in his company John Thomas, Robert winterhey, olyver the mastar gonner, John bruers, Thomas hood and Thomas drake, and enteringe a land they were forbyden by .ij. or .iij. of the contry people to passe any fardar that waye whiche they reconed not of, this Robert wynterhey havynge in his hand a bowe and arrowes, offered to make a shot of pleaswre in whiche drawght his strynge brake, which they takinge as a profer of warre and seynge this opurtunytie they begun to bend the foarce of theyr bowes agaynst owr men, whom they drove to theyr shiftes very narowly, for they slewe there .ij. of owr men, as namely owr mastar gonner, and the sayde wynterhey, they havynge onely theyr bowes and arrowes which owr men made no accompte of, and owr men had .ij. peces, a bowe and arrowes thre swords and targetts, wherefore I would not wyshe so small reconynge to be made at any tyme of the enemy howe weake so evar his force seme to be, ...

The next day after being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selues agayne in a very good harborough, called by Magellan PORT S. IULIAN, where wee found a gibbet standing vpon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where MAGELLAN did execution vpon some of his disobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went a shore to the maine, and in his companie, IOHN THOMAS and ROBERT WINTERHIE, OLIUER the master gunner, IOHN BREWER, THOMAS HOOD, and THOMAS DRAKE, and entring on land, they presently met with two or three of the country people, and ROBERT WINTERHIE hauing in his hands a bow and arrowes, went about to make a shoot of pleasure, and in his draught his bowstring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes against our company, and droue them to their shifts very narowly.[13]

[13] No statement is made that two men were killed here, although such is contained in the Cooke narrative, from which this is taken. By error "Hood" is printed "Flood" in the text of the 1854 edition of the *World Encompassed*.

[*Here follow some fifteen pages containing an account of the trial, conviction, and execution of Doughty and the subsequent proceedings. Cooke says that the trial took place on the last day of June. A jury was formed with John Winter as foreman. On the second of July, Doughty was executed. On the Sunday following, Drake and the company went ashore and services were held. Cooke says that they were at that time very much oppressed with cold weather, and this, with the spare diet, caused an increase of sickness among the men. Drake put him on shore, where he had to sleep on the ground for a fortnight with nothing but his clothes. On the eleventh of August, the company was ordered on shore again and Drake preached a sermon. The substance of this will be found quoted in the text.*]

In this port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. THOMAS DOUGHTIE, and found them not to be such as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or some other disorder, whereby (without redresse) the successe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the companie was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cause, which were found partly by master DOUGHTIES owne confession, and partly by the euidence of the fact to be true: which when our Generall saw, although his priuate affection to M. DOUGHTIE (as hee then in the presence of vs all sacredly protested) was great, yet the care hee had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her maiestie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as in deed it ought) then the priuate respect of one man, so that the cause being thorowly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the course of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. DOUGHTIE should receiue punishment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he seeing no remedie but patience for himselfe, desired before his death to receiue the communion, which hee did at the hands of M. FLETCHER our Minister, and our Generall himselfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made readie, he hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queens maiestie and our realme, in quiet sort laied his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers speaches to the whole company perswading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage, and for the better confir-

The .xvij. of Awgust owr generall departyd this harbour but a daye or .ij. before his departur he came a boarde the *Elizabethe* and swore very vehemently I know not vpon what occasyon that he would hange to the nombar of xxx. in the flete that had deserved, and ther agayne charged worrall that his case was worse than dowghties and that by gods wonds he had deserved to be hanged, and mastar wyntar qd he, wher is yowr man Vlysses by gods lyfe yf he were my man I would cut of his ears yea by gods wounds I wold hange hym, but wherefore truly I do not knowe, The .xxj. of awgust we entered the streyghts called magellianes streytes, the .xxiiij. of the same we arryved at an Iland where we had greate store of fowles which could not flye of the bygnes of gese, we kylde in lesse then one day above thre thowsand of thes fowles and victualed owr selves thrwghly with them as we thowght these streyghts were full of watar and wodde all the waye and very hy lande of both syds in some places but a leauge in bredthe, in some places .2. in some .3. and some .4., mation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himselfe to receiue the communion as Christian brethren and friends ought to do, which was done in very reuerent sort, and so with good contentment euery man went about his busines.[14]

The 17. day of August we departed the port of S. IULIAN, & the 20. day we fell with the streight or freat of Magellan going into the Southsea, at the Cape or headland whereof, we found the bodie of a dead man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

The 21. day we entred the streights which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were shuttings vp, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often against vs, so that some of the fleete recouering a Cape or point of land, others should be forced to turne backe agayne, and to come to an anker where they could.

In this streight there be many faire harbors, with store of fresh water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anker in, except it be in some narow riuer or corner, or between some rocks, so that if any extreme blasts or contrary winds doe come (whereunto the place is much subiect) it carieth with it no small danger.

The land on both sides is very huge and mountanous, the lower mountains whereof although they be monstrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their heigth, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange maner reaching themselues aboue their fellowes so high, that be-

[14] The essential facts in this account of the trial and execution of Doughty are taken from the long account in the Cooke narrative.

tweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

These mountaines are couered with snow: at both the Southerly and Easterly partes of the streight there are Islands, among which the sea hath his indraught into the streights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This streight is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually, the trees seeme to stoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and sweete herbes doe very fruitfully grow and increase vnder them.

The breadth of the streight is in some place a league, in some other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in some other 4. leagues, but the narowest place hath a league ouer.[15]

The 24. of August we arriued at an Island in the streights, where we found great store of foule which could not flie, of the bignesse of geese, whereof we killed in less than one day 3000, and victualled ourselues throughly therewith.

The 6. day of September we entred the South sea at the Cape or head shore.

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the streight, in which heigth and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fel out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the

The .vj. of septembar we entered the sowthe sea where in all owr beynge we nevar found but contrary winds and extreme tempestes and boysterows wethar, the last of septembar we lost the marygolde,[16] and the .viij. of octobar we lost the generall and put owr selves to herbour in the streytes where we rested harbourd vntill the .j. of novembar, and then for owr retorne I thinke owr Captayne mastar wyntar wyll aunswer who toke the peryll on hym.

John Cooke.

ser fraunses drake knyght, sone to Sir drake vickar of Vpchurche in kent.

[15] The description of the Strait seems to be from some unknown narrative although many of the statements contained in it also occur in the Fletcher MS.

[16] Silva said the *Marigold* disappeared September 28, page 341. It is curious that no mention occurs in the "Famous Voyage" of the loss of this vessel. Between the finish of the Cooke narrative and the beginning of the "Anonymous Narrative" there is no account extant which conforms to that given in the "Famous Voyage." The statement in the first paragraph that Drake was driven two hundred leagues and odd in longitude, that is to say, to the west, is not found elsewhere and must be an error.

clock at night, but neither did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impaire our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the seas continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Baie (which we called the Baie of seuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 55. degrees and a terce:[17] in which heigth wee came to an anker among the Islands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singuler vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Baie, where we found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Island to another to seeke their meate, who entred traffike with vs for such things as they had.

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October[18] three Islands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible in report. Wee had by proofe in this place, as also at the furthermost Islands, that the sunne being at the least 8. degrees from the Tropike of Capricorne, the night was but two howers long, and scant that, so that we perceiued that when the sunne should be in the Tropike, there would be no night at all.[19]

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. WINTER was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished as some of our company feared.[20]

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[17] In the 1600 edition this was changed to "57. degrees and a terce," possibly taken from the Cliffe narrative or from that of Silva, both of which are printed in the same volume.

[18] An evident error for "November."

[19] This sentence was suppressed in the 1600 edition.

[20] This clause is out of place as the reference is evidently to the bay where they lost Winter as related in the second paragraph preceding.

A discourse of Sir Frances Drakes iorney and exploytes after hee had passed ye Straytes of Megellan into Mare de Sur & through the rest of his voyadge afterward till he arrived in England. 1580. anno.

When Frances Drake had passed ye straytes of Magellan, the first land he fell with was an Iland named Mocha, wher hee came to an anckor & hoysing out his bote hee with ten of his company went on shore thincking ther to have taken in fresh water two of the company going far into the Iland were intercepted & cut of by the Indians that inhabite the Iland, who as sone as they saw our men come to ancker thought they would come on land, (as they did indeede) & layd an ambush of about .160. Indians & when our boate was fast on ground & all the men gone on land the ambush brake out & set upon them & before they could recover their bote & get her on flote they hurt all our men very sore with theire arrowes, their names which went on shore were these foloing, Frances Drake; John Bruer; John Marten, Thomas Flud. Tom Bruer great Nele a dane littell Nele a fleming, John Gripe. John Mariner. Gregory Rayment, and Diego. a black

Thus being come into the height of the streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of PERU to lie as the general Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of PERU hath not bene truly hitherto discouered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, beyng set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.[21]

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember,[22] with an Island called LA MOUCHA, where we cast anker, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Island. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with shew of great curtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men a land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) laied violent handes on them, and as we thinke slew them.[23]

Our Generall seeing this, staied here

[21] The whole account of the "great storm" above given is derived from some unknown source and is highly inaccurate judging from such other narratives as give any account of the events between September 6 and November 3. The last clause might possibly have been taken from Fletcher's narrative. In this paragraph "Peru" was changed to "Chile" in the 1600 edition in both cases.

[22] This date was very likely derived from the Fletcher MS, now lost, as the W. E. gives the same date. Silva says they arrived there November 25.

[23] For some reason the compiler of the "Famous Voyage" omitted the interesting details given in the "Anonymous Narrative," and substituted a colorless and uninteresting statement, very likely taken from the Fletcher MS in part at least, and making no mention of the wounding of Drake and the killing of two men.

moore, which was Drakes man, of which company .ij. namely Tom Brwer & Tom Fludd were intercepted by the Indians & there lost, & greate Nele ye dane their guner & diego ye black more died of their wondes,[24] the rest escaped their wondes & were cured, they stayed heere but one day but set sayle toward ye coast of Chile wher ariving they met with an Indian in a canoa nere the shore who thincking them to have bin Spaniardes tould them that behind them at a place called .St. yago there was a Spanish Schip, for which good nves they gave him divers trifles the Indian being ioyfull thereof went on shore and brought them .ij. sheepe & a small quantyty of fish, & so they returned back againe to St yago to seeke the Spanish ship (for they had overshot that Place before they were ware) & when they came thither they founde the same ship & in her .3. negros and viij Spaniardes, they of the ship thincking drakes to have bin Spaniardes welcomed them with a drum & made redy a great buttizo of wyne of Chile to have made them drinck, but when Drakes men were entred, one of them, whose name was Tom Moone, strake ye Spanish pilate with his fist of the face saying abassho pirra, which is to say in English Go downe dogg & then the poore Spaniardes being sore afrayde went downe into the hould of the ship all saving one of them who leping out at the starn of the ship swam on shore & gave warning to them of the town of their coming, when Drake had taken this ship & stowed the men vnder hatches hee tooke her bote and his owne boate and manned them both with his men & no longer, but wayed anker, and set sayle towards the coast of CHILE, and drawyng towards it we met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa,[25] who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and told vs, that at a place called S. IAGO, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of PERU, for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place which is called the port of VALPARIZO.

When we came thither, we found in deed the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negroes, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Buttizio of wine of CHILE to drinke to vs: but as soone as we were entered, one of our company called THOMAS MOONE began to lay about him, and stroke one of the Spaniards, and sayd vnto him, ABAXO PERRO, that is in English, goe downe dog. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short we stowed them vnder hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately lept ouer boord into the sea, and swamme a shore to the towne of S. IAGO, to giue them warning of our arriuall.

They of the town being not aboue 9. housholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which we en-

[24] Diego did not die on this occasion, as Sir Richard Hawkins said that he saw him in England many years later. A marginal note: "Nele died within 2 dayes & Diego nere the Molucas."

[25] Undoubtedly the Bay of Quintero, a very fine bay some twenty miles north of Valparaiso.

went to set vpon the towne of St Yago having not past viij or ix small howses & coming on shore hee found all the people fled & rifled their howses, and brake open a warehowse wherein he found certen wine of Chile which he brought with him into his ship, also hee found there a chappell which he rifled & tooke from thence a chalice of silver . . . & twoo cruets of silver . . . and the altar cloth all which hee tooke away with him & brought them on boord & gave all the spoyle of that chappell to Mr. Fletcher his precher, at his coming on boorde and then hee set all the men of the spanish ship on shore saving one John Grego, a greeke borne, whom hee tooke with him to be his pilate to bring him into the haven of Lyma, This Spanish ship Drake tooke along with him & rifled her & found in her great store of wine of Chile, and about 400.^li.^ waight of gould[29] of Baldivia, which is a Citty and lyeth about .4. leges from St Yago vp into the lande, from whence cometh the best gould of all Perw.

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

The gould of Baldivia was in four forcers three with half round covers black lether & bound over with Iron barrs. one of the four had a flatt cover & was found vnder the stirege roome in a greate broade chest of meale.

Anonymous Narrative

this shipes name was the grande capitayne, so hee carying ye grand captered, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. FLETCHER his minister.[26]

We found also in this towne a warehouse s t o r e d with wine of CHILE, & many boords of Cedar wood,[27] all which wine we brought away with vs, and certaine of the boords to burne for firewood: and so being come aboord, we departed the hauen, hauing first set all the Spaniards on land, sauing one IOHN GREGO a Greeke borne, whom our General caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of LIMA.[28]

When we were at sea, our Generall rifled the ship, and found in her good store of the wine of CHILE, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of BALDIUIA, amounting in value to 37000. duckets of Spanish money and aboue.[29]

So going on our course, we arriued next at a place called COQUIMBO,[30] where our Generall sent 14. of his

[26] This is about the only statement which has found its way into the "Famous Voyage" that could be considered discreditable to Drake.

[27] This mention of cedar boards is one of the few additions to the "Famous Voyage" for which we cannot account.

[28] See note 13, Chapter V.

[29] A noticeable difference occurs here about the value of the gold. It is uncertain what the four hundred pound weight of the "Anonymous Narrative" means, whether pounds of troy ounces or pounds of avoirdupois ounces, but in any case the value would be considerably in excess of 37,000 ducats. See note 47, Chapter XI, for a discussion of the value of Spanish money at this period.

[30] They did not reach Coquimbo, but La Herradura on the other side of the isthmus.

tayne along with him, arived at a place called Coquimbo where thincking to have watered hee sent 14 of his men on land to fetch water but they had not long arived ere there came toward them to have intercepted them 300 horsemen & 200 foote men Spanyardes very bravelye furnished whereby Drakes men were faine to wade into the sea a goode space vnto a rock and lay vnder neth the side thereof from ye spaniard, but one of their men being on that side of the rock next the Spaniard thought to have shot at the spaniardes and a Spanish horsman shot him through the hed with his peece and slue him and they shot divers peeces at Drakes men that lay vnder the rock, but they could not com at them, then at length the bote came on shore vnder the rock & set them on boorde & so saved them from that danger, when they were gone on boord the spaniardes waded to the rock & set drakes man on shore and cut out his hart and cut of his hed & stoock it vppon a speres poynt and caried it away before them, these spaniardes were of a citty called Lacerena, a legwe distant from Coquimbo, when they were departed Drake came with his boate on shore & buried his mans body without a head & so made sayle to depart & at his departure the Spaniardes came to the seaside with a flag of truse but Drake would trust none of them

Memorandum from Appendix No. 2

Memorandum that betwene Coquimbo and Payta Drake went on land & founde there a spaniard and men on land to fetch water: but they were espied by the Spaniards who came with 300. horsemen and 200. footemen, and slew one of our men with a piece, the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came down againe with a flag of truce, but we set sayle and would not trust them.

From hence we went to a certaine port called TANRAPAZA, where being landed, wee found by the sea side a Spaniard lying a sleepe, and had lying by him 13. barres of siluer, which waighed 4000. duckets Spanish, we tooke the siluer and left the man.[31]

[31] This incident appears to have been the same as that related differently in the "Anonymous Narrative," as there is no likelihood that two such similar affairs occurred, nor is there a mention of more than one in the Spanish accounts. When the "Famous Voyage" was reprinted in 1600, there was inserted after this clause, the following, taken from the memorandum from Appendix II:

"Not farre from hence, going on land for fresh water, we met with a Spaniard and an Indian boy driuing 8 *Llamas*, or sheepe of *Peru*, which are as bigge as asses; euery of which sheepe had on his backe 2. bags of leather, each bag containing 50. li. weight of fine siluer: so that bringing both the sheepe and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags 800. weight of siluer."

an Indian boy and found with him eight Indish sheepe laden with .vij. or eight 100 li. weight of fine silver and brought both the sheep and silver away with him on boorde, and he eate the sheepe but hee brought home the silver, these sheep had long neckes like camells and are very great and will bere eche of them .150. lb. weight if they be loded they are smooth bodyed somewhat like a stag in body tom moone riding uppon one of these sheep the sheep turned his mouth toward moone & spued full in his face a very lothsom stincking vomyte.

Anonymous Narrative

but set sayle and bent his course towards a place called Arica. where he found in the haven iij small barckes & rifling them he found in one of them 57 slabs of fine silver

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

At Arica the .57. slabs of silver we found lying open vppon ther wares piled one over another three barrs hye.

Anonymous Narrative

weing about .20. li. weight eche of them, these slabs were about the bignes of a brick batt eche one of them, & one of ye two other barkes was set on fier by one Fuller & one Tom Marckes & so burned to the very water,[32] there were not in those iij barckes one person for they mistrusting no theves were all gone on shore, in this towne of Arica were about .20. howses, which drake would have set vppon if hee had had more company with him, but wanting company of pirates he departed hence having still with him the grand capitaine of St Yago, but within one day after he was gone from this haven of Arica, he cast of the grand capitaine clapping her helme fast on the lee & let her

Here hence we sailed to a place called ARICA, and beyng entred the porte, we found there three small barkes which we rifled, and found in one ofthem 57. wedges of siluer, each of them waighing about 20. pound waight, and euery of these wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a brickbat. In all these 3. barkes we found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone a land to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie houses, which wee would haue ransacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoile of the ships, left the Towne and put off againe to sea and set sayle for LIMA, and by the way met with a small barke, which he boorded, and found in her good store of linnen cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, he let her goe.

[32] No mention of the burning of this ship occurs in the "Famous Voyage" or the W. E., but the statement is amply confirmed from Spanish sources. See Silva, page 344.

drive to seaward without any creature in her; from hence hee sayled toward Lyma & by the waye hee mett a small bark & in her he fond good store of lynen cloth, whereof hee tooke but small quantyty & so let her depart, still foloing on his course toward Lyma, where he arived & entred the haven & found therein about .12. sayle of ships lying fast mored at anckor & thinking themselves safe from all pirates they had caried all theire sayles on shore, these ships he rifled & then found in one of them a chest full of royalls of plate which he brought away with him

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

At Lyma the chest full of royalls of plate was flat, covered with black lether & only locked, it was above ij. foote longe & ½. & ten inches deepe it was as full of them as it could bee thrust.[34]

Anonymous Narrative

he found also in the same ship lynen cloth & silkes whereof hee took good store away to sarve his owne turne & heere hee had nwes of the cacafoga, which was gone towardes Payta after whom he bent his course, at his departure from the haven of Lyma he cut all the cables of the ships there & let them drive to seawardes & so made speede toward Payta, thincking there to have founde the Cacafoga, but she was gone before hee arived there toward Panama whom he still followed amayne, but betwene Payta and cape St. Frances hee met with a barck laden with ropes & tackell for shippes, this ship hee rifled & found in her about 80 li weight of gould & hee tooke out of her greate quantyty of ropes to

To LIMA we came the 13. day of February,[33] and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue sayle of ships lying fast moored at an anker, hauing all their sayles caried on shore, for the masters and merchaunts were here most secure, hauing neuer bene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none such as wee were. Our Generall rifled these shippes, and found in one of them a chest full of roials of plate, and good store of silkes & linnen cloth, and tooke the chest into his owne ship, and good store of the silkes and linnen. In which ship hee had newes of another ship called the CACAFUEGO which was gone towards PAITA, and that the same ship was laden with treasure, whereupon we staied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ships in the hauen we let them driue whither they would, either to sea or to the shore, and with all speed we followed the CACAFUEGO toward PAITA, thinking there to haue found her, but before wee arriued there, she was gone from thence towards PANAMA, whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ships, which he boorded and searched, and found in her 80.li. waight of gold,

[33] This date does not occur in the "Anonymous Narrative" but it is the correct one, whereas in the W. E. it is incorrectly given as February 15, in this respect falling into the same error as Silva in his log, page 345, note 33.

[34] No one else mentions finding any silver in any of the ships at Callao.

store his own ship & so let her go the owner of this ship was a frier[35]

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

The gould in the friers bark was all in round slabs it was thought to bee french crowne gould.

Anonymous Narrative

hee found also in her a greate crucifix of goulde and certaine emeraldes neere as longe as a mans finger, from this robbery folloing still after the cacafoga, hee overtooke her at cape St. Frances whom hee had long wisshed for, in his iorney hee promised that whosoever should overtake her should have his cheine of gould for his labour, this did John drake descry on St. Davis day being the first of March,[36] about viij of the clock[37] in ye afternone and boorded her about vj of the clock & in the boording of her hee shot downe her mison mast, & so entred her and found in her about .80 li weight of gould, & .13. chestes full of royalls of plate, & so mooch silver as did ballas the goulden hinde in her returne into England this ship hee caried with him .3. or .4. dayes,

& then hee vnladed her, & let her departe, the Pylates name was don Francisco, who had two cupps of silve gilt clene over to whom Drake said at his departure as followeth, Seignior pilate you have .ij. cupps & I must needes have one of them, which the pilate yeelded vnto willingly, because he could not chuse when Don Francisco the Spanish pilate departed from drake and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds set in it which he tooke, and some of the cordage also for his owne ship.

From hence we departed still following the CACAFUEGO, and our Generall promised our company that whosoeuer could first descrie her, should haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that IOHN DRAKE goyng vp into the top, descried her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and shotte at her three peeces of ordinaunce, and strake downe her Missen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and precious stones, thirteene chestes full of royals of plate, foure score pound waight of gold, and sixe and twentie tunne of silver.[38] The place where we tooke this prize, was called CAPE FRANCISCO, about 150. leagues from PANAMA.

The Pilots name of this ship was DON FRANCESCO, and amongst other plate that our Generall found in this ship, he found two very faire guilt bowles of siluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall sayd: SEGNIOR Pilot, you haue here two siluer cups, but I must needes haue one of them, which the Pilot because he could not otherwise chuse, yelded

[35] This was a mistake. She belonged to Diaz Bravo.

[36] For some reason the compiler of the "Famous Voyage" neglected to copy this date.

[37] This is an obvious error as in the same sentence the "Anonymous Narrative" states that they boarded the vessel at six o'clock. The "Famous Voyage" has a more nearly correct statement that the vessel was sighted at three o'clock and boarded at six.

[38] This is the only mention of twenty-six tons of silver in any of the accounts. It sometimes appears as twenty tons.

hee said captaine our ship shalbe called no more the cacafoga but ye cacaplata, & your ship shalbe called the cacafo, wherat drake and his men laughed hartely & so let the Spaniardes depart, from hence sayling toward the west hee met with a ship & the owner thereof a spanish gentilman in her which ship was laden with Lynen cloth and fine china silkes, & there were also in her diuers chestes full of fine erthen disshes very finely wrought of fine white Erth brought by the Spanyardes from the contrey of Chyna, which disshes the Spanyardes greatly esteme, of these dishes drake tooke four chestes full from them as also about .20. packes of fine Lynen cloth and good store of taffata and other fine silkes the owner of this ship having very costly apparell ernestly entreated Drake and besought him not to take away from him his apparell, which he promised not to doo & the gentleman gave him a falcon of gold with a greate Emerald in the breste thereof for his favorable dealing with him, drake tooke out of this ship a pilate to cary him into the haven of Gwatulco, and also a proper negro wench called Maria, which was afterward gotten with child betwen the captaine and his men pirates, & sett on a small Iland to take her adventure as shalbe hereafter shewed, Drake having out of this ship taken his pilate sayled to Aguatulca, and suddenly entred the haven the towsmen thincking him to bee a Spanyard, & presently hee hoysed out his boate & set about 20. men on land for he knew by his pilate that there were not above xvij. spaniardes in the towne, and as sone as Drakes men arived on vnto and gaue the other to the steward of our Generals ships.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy sayd thus vnto our Generall, Captaine, our ship shall bee called no more the CACAFUEGO, but the CACAPLATA, and your shippe shall bee called the CACAFUEGO, which pretie speach of the Pilots boy ministred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this CACAFUEGO, he cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West,[39] and not long after met with a ship laden with linnen cloth and fine CHINA dishes of white earth, and great store of CHINA silks, of all which things wee tooke as we listed.

The owner himself of this shippe was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whome our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great emraude in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the shippe he tooke also with him, and so cast the shippe off.

This pilot brought vs to the hauen of GUATULCA, the towne whereof as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in iudgement, he being associate with

[39] It will be noticed that in both the accounts printed here no mention occurs at this point of the stoppage at the Island of Caño. In the "Famous Voyage" a short account of this as well as of the capture of Colchero is placed after the occurrences at Guatulco. No mention is made of taking the two Negroes.

lande being all very well furnisshed, they went to the towne howse where they found a iudge sitting in iudgement being associate with ij. other officers, vppon three negrose that had conspired the burning of the towne, and Drake tooke the prisoners and the iudges and brought them all on shipboord together and set one of the prisoners who was willing to stay in the contry on lande who fled into the woodes to save himselfe but the other twoo negrose hee kept still with him a greate space, when drake had the three principall Spaniardes of the towne, hee cawsed the cheefe iudge to write his letter into ye towne to comand all the townsmen to avoyd that he might safely water there, and also take ye spoyle of the towne, which the spanyardes did presently, & then drakes men rifled ye towne and they found in one howse a great pott of the quantety of a bushell full of royals of plate, which they brought away on boord with them, & heere one of drakes men whose name is Tom Moone, tooke a spanish gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and riflinge him hee found a cheine of gould about him which Moone tooke from him and what ells that hee had woorth the taking & so let him go,[40]

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

Be it remembred that at Agwatulca Drake left his Portingall Pilate on land, who was taken by the spanyardes and caryed to mexico, where hee was racked to make him confes & from Mexico he was conueyed into Spayne in the indias flette in anno 1582 this portingall was taken at the Ile of St yago one of the Iles of the cape de vert on the coast of Gwynea

three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of royals of plate, which we brought to our shippe.

And here one THOMAS MOONE one of our companie, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set a shoare his Portingall Pilot, which he tooke at the Islands of Cape VERDE, out of a shippe of S. MARIE porte of Portingal, and hauing set them a shoare,[41] we departed hence, [and sailed to the Island of "CANON, where our General landed, and brought to shoare his owne ship, and discharged her, mend-

[40] The substantial accuracy of the above account, part of which was copied in the "Famous Voyage," is amply confirmed from Spanish sources.

[41] This short statement about Silva is evidently derived from the memorandum in Appendix II.

out of a ship of St Mary port of Portingall which drake called the prize, the setting this man on shore should have bin recited in the latter end of the first leafe at this marck the first side thereof. for the poor man very unwilling to have bin lefte to ye Spaniard for a praye.[43]

ed, and graued her, and furnished our shippe with water and wood sufficently.][42]

And whiles we were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and founde in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the PHILIPPINAS: we searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place, and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights in the south side, where continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoales, and sands vpon the coast, he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the MOLUCCAES, and

[42] As previously noted, this account of the Island of Caño and the capture of Colchero is out of place, an indication that the compiler had only at hand the "Anonymous Narrative." When Hakluyt reprinted the "Famous Voyage" in 1600 he had discovered the error and attempted to correct it in a very curious manner as explained in the Introduction to this chapter. In the W. E., the story occurs in its proper place.

[43] From this point on there is little evidence that the compiler of the "Famous Voyage" made any use of the "Anonymous Narrative." The latter gives a very much condensed account of the rest of the voyage, and a number of the dates in it seem to be incorrect. It is probable, as elsewhere pointed out, that from this point on, Fletcher's manuscript only was used.

therehence to saile the course of the Portingals by the Cape of BONA SPERANZA.

Upon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way to the MOLUCCAES, and finding himselfe where he nowe was becalmed, he sawe, that of necessitie he must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. We therefore set saile, and sailed in longitude 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of Aprill, till the 3. of June.[44]

The 5. day of June, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire so colde, that our men being greeuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountanous, but lowe plaine land, [& clad, and couered ouer with snowe, so that we drewe backe againe without landing,][45] till we came within 38. degrees towards the line.[46] In which heigth it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same.

In this Baye we ankered, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of networke.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in the middest. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of TABACCO for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making

[44] This last sentence suffered some vicissitudes. In the 1600 edition the words "in longitude" were omitted and in the following sentence "42 degrees" was changed to "43 degrees." In the W. E., a further change took place, and the statement appears as "we sailed 500 leagues in longitude to get a wind: and between that and June 3 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42 degrees of north latitude."

[45] The clause in brackets was omitted in the 1600 edition.

[46] In the W. E. this appears as "38 deg. 30 min."

a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

In the meane time, the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to praier, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored again vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose coming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our General to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked common sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their children, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a general salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and loftie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall AMEN as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons

following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women which daunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our General to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seueral orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of HIOH, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in ye same.

The common sorte of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselues together with their sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery person: and such as pleased their fancie, (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about offred their sacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nailes, whereof issued abundance of bloode. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and staied their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worshippe. They shewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaisters, and ointments agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their diseases. Euery thirde day they brought their sacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderstoode our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not be long absent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure, seemed so greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into sorrow. They intreated vs, that being absent we would remember them, and by stelth prouided a sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie busines being ended, our Generall with his companie trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found heardes of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie.

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a strange kind of Connies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either side a bagge, into the which she gathereth her meate, when she hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their skinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them.

Our Generall called this Countrey,

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NOUA ALBION, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the sea: and the other, because it might haue some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometime was so called.

There is no part of earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or siluer.[47]

At our departure hence our General set vp a monument of our being there, as also of her Maiesties right and title to the same, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poste, whereupon was ingrauen her Maiesties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maiesties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of currant English money vnder the plate, where vnder was also written the name of our Generall.

It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discouer the lande by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

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and here drake watered his ship & departed sayling northwardes till he came to .48. gr. of the septentrionall Latitud still finding a very lardge sea trending toward the north but being afraid to spend long time in seeking for the straite hee turned back againe still keping along the cost as nere land as hee might, vntill hee came to .44. gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where he grounded his ship to trim her, & heere came downe vnto them many of ye contrey people while they wer graving of their ship and had conference with them by synes, in this place drake set vp a greate post and nayled thereon a vj^{d}, which the contreye people woorshipped as if it had bin god also he nayled vppon this post a plate of lead and scratched therein the Queenes name,

and when they had graved & watred theire ship in the latter ende of August they set sayle and bent their course .S.S.W. and had not the sight of land againe till ye latter end of november at which time they had sight of one of the Iles of Molucca, called Trenate where they tooke in about .vj. toon of cloves,

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After we had set saile from hence, we continued without sight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certaine Islands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Islands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in some of them 4. in some 6. and in some also 14. men, bringing with them coquos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollowe within, and cut with great arte, and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glasse as if it were a horne daintily burnished, hauing a prowe, and a sterne of one sorte, yeelding inward circle wise, being of a great heigth, and full of cer-

[47] In the 1600 edition the last part of the clause was changed to read: "Wherein there is not some probable show of gold and silver."

taine white shels for a brauerie, and on each side of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnes, or bignes of the boate.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwaies carrie about them in a cane for the same purpose.

We leauing this Island the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we light vpon diuers others, some whereof made a great shewe of Inhabitants.

We continued our course by the Islands of TAGULADA, ZELON, and ZEWARRA, being subiect to the Portingals,[48] the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Sinnamon.[49]

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Islands of MOLUCCA, which day at night (hauing directed our course to runne with TYDORE) in coasting along the Island of MUTYR,[50] belonging to the King of TERNATE, his Deputie or Viceking seeing vs at sea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with TERNATE, and not with TYDORE, assuring him that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whome if he once dealt, he should finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to TYDORE before he came to TERNATE, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because he held the Portingall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with TERNATE, where the next morning early we came to anker, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king, with a veluet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffike, and exchange of merchandize, whereof he had good store in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time, the Viceking had bene with the King according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffike: whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that he should haue what things he needed, and would require, with peace, and friendship, and more-

[48] In the 1600 edition, "subject to the Portingalls" was changed to "being friends to the Portugals."

[49] I have spent a vast amount of time trying to identify these islands, but without any greater success than to satisfy myself that the first is that now known as Tagulandang, a small island on the south of the Siau Passage between the Celebes Sea and the Molucca Passage. It is possible that Zewarra may be an error for Siago, as the Island of Siaul was then known. This island is on the north side of the Siau Passage only a short distance from Tagulandang.

[50] There appears to be an error here in stating that Drake was coasting along the "Island of Mutyr," which is south of Tidore.

ouer that he would yeelde himselfe, and the right of his Island to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued.[51] In token whereof he sent to our Generall, a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at that present.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose handes he was most friendly and gratiously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Callicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whome being of good age, and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stoode in comely order round about on both sides, without whome sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof 3. or 4. yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries, were the number of 4. score rowers.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sworde, and target, with his dagger beside other weapons, as launces, caleuers, darts, bowes, and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base[52] mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning with great grauitie & fatherly countenances, signifying that ye king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road.

Soone after, the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with maruelous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whome as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.[53]

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of

[51] This account is substantially confirmed by Dueñas. See page 180. There is, however, not the slightest reason to suppose that Babù, the Sultan of Ternate, offered to cede the sovereignty of the island to Queen Elizabeth. Undoubtedly all he promised was to turn over the clove trade to the English in return for aid against the Portuguese, as related by Dueñas.

[52] A "base" was a *verso*, a small cannon. In the 1600 edition it was called a "vase."

[53] I think the statement that Babù went on board Drake's ship is untrue. In the beginning of the next paragraph it is said that the King promised to come aboard, which hardly would have been said if he had previously been on board.

them meale, which they call SAGO,[54] made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruit they call FIGO, with store of cloues.[55]

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceaued of the breach of his promise, the whole companie also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompanie the Kings brother, reseruing the Viceking for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsell. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of TERNATE. There were also two Turks Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in garded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopie, with embossed golde. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called MORO, rising to meete him, he gratiously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very riche: his legs were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shoes, made of CORDOUAN skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of golde, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had sixe very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stoode a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the aire to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and mooue it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued order accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Councell.

This Island is the chiefest of all the Islands of MOLUCCA, and the King hereof is king of 70. Islands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine newe Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eate nor drinke in the day, but in ye night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the

[54] In the 1600 edition this is "sagu."

[55] This is the only mention of trading at the Moluccas. The "Anonymous Narrative" says they took on six tons of cloves.

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fauour of the king receiued all necessarie things that the place could yeelde vs: our General considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best to linger the time any longer, but waying his ankers, set out of the Island, and sailed to a certaine litle Island[56] to the Southwards of SELEBES, where we graued our ships, and continued there in that and other businesses, 26. daies. This Island is throwly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very streight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fierie wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew, and light, as if euery twig or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also here wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignes, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungrie stomacks at a dinner, being also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like Conies.

Anonymous Narrative

and shortly after they were departed hence the saw a small Iland covered with wood whereof they throughly fornished their ship, at theire departure drake lefte behinde him vppon this Iland the twoo negrose which hee tooke at Agwatalca, and likewise the negro wench Maria, shee being gotten with childe in the ship, and now being very great was left heere on this Iland[57] which Drake named the Ile Francisca after the name of one of the ij negrose, & here drake quareled with William Legg taking occasion by that meanes to take from him a wedge of gould weying .29.z^{s} but becawse hee would make some shew of honest deling he called for a chisell & gave the gould a marck, and said he would restore it to him agayne at his arivall in England, or ells hee would geve to Legges wife the valwe therof at his arivall in England,[58]

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When we had ended our busines here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the MOLUCCAES: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Islands, with much difficultie we recouered to the Northward of the Island of SELEBES, where by reason of contrarie windes not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoales which lie off, and among the Islands: whereof we had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For of all other daies vpon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere

[56] The question of the location of this island is discussed on page 188.

[57] This statement is confirmed by John Drake—at least part of it. Nuttall, 53.

[58] The preceding statement about Drake's quarrel with Legge seems to be the only reason why Corbett in Appendix E to Vol. I of his work, attributed the authorship of this narrative to Legge.

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1579, wee ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone of the next day, being in deede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as he had alwaies hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared ourselues most happily of the danger.

We lighted our shippe vpon the rockes, of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, & certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God,) changing from the stare boord to the larboord of the shippe, wee hoised our sailes, and the happie gale droue our shippe off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hartes, for which we gaue God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefite required.

Anonymous Narrative

Thus keeping his course westerly till the eight of January at night .1579. they ran suddenly on a rock where they stuck fast from viij of ye clock at night till iiij the next day in the after noone they being out of all hope of getting of but having in the mene space lighted their ship of .3. toonne of cloves & ij peeces of ordinance and certeine mele and beanes they hoysed all the sayles in their ship, the wind which before came from the starboord side now changing to the larboord side blwe a good gale and drive their ship of the rock on flote againe, wherof they were not a littell ioyfull, but while they stoock fast on this rock thincking there [to] have all perisshed Mr Fletcher their minister made them a sermon & they receved the comvnion all together and then every theefe reconciled him selfe to his fello theefe & so yelded them selves to death thincking it an vnpossible thing to escape the present danger, and then as is aforesaid they were drawne of the rock afloate againe,

Memorandum from Appendix No. II

Memorandum that Drake excomvnicated Fletcher shortly after that they were come of the rock in this manner, viz. hee cavsed him to bee made fast by one of the legges with a . . . . and a staple knocked fast into the hatches in the forecastell of his ship hee called all the company together and then put a lock about one of his legs, and drake sytting cros legged on a chest and a peire of pantoffles in his hand hee said, Frances Fletcher I doo heere excomvnicate the out of ye church of God and from all the benefites & graces therof & I denounce the to the divell and all his angells, and then hee chardged him vppon payne of death not once to come before the mast for if hee did he sware hee should be hanged, and drake cawsed a posy to bee written and bound about Fletchers arme with chardge that if hee tooke it of hee should then bee hanged, the poesy was. FRANCES fLETCHER Y^{e} FALSEST KNAVE THAT LIVETH.

[59] This island cannot be positively identified; it was probably Roma.

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The 8. day of Februarie following, we fell with the fruitful Island of BARATEUE,[59] hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Island are comely in body, and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and curteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry waies, they being most glad of our presence, and very readie to releeue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing something or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece.

With this people linnen cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Island is both riche and fruitfull: rich in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruites be diuers, and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, coquos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sortes: and among all the rest, we had one fruite, in bignes, forme, and huske, like a baye berrie, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruites and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place, (TERNATE onely excepted) wherein we found more comfortes, and better meanes of refreshing.

At our departure from BARATEUE, we set our course for IAUA MAIOR, where arriuing, wee founde great courtesie, and honorable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call RAIAH: as RAIAH DONAW, and RAIAH MANG BANGE, and RAIAH CABUCCAPOLLO, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Of these fiue we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereuppon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the MOLUCCIANS: from the middle downward, they weare a pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colours as they best like.

The MOLUCCIANS hate that their women should be seene of strangers: but these offer them of high curtesie, yea the kings themselues.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swordes and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assemblie: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and childrem, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good,

The Famous Voyage

some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the companie of another.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meanetime they haue readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the ende they are a firme and good bread, of the which with oile, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sortes of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselues, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told vs, that not farre off there were such great ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

Anonymous Narrative

from w h e n c e continwinge theire course still west they came to the Ile of Java, where the contrey people were clothed in lynen garmentes like smockes, of whome they had in traffick .vij. or viij toon of rice and also divers Java daggers & divers other thinges as plantanes, cocus & great canes and very good fresh water and many sugar canes

The Famous Voyage

From IAUA MAIOR we sailed for the Cape of GOOD HOPE, which was the first land we fel withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to SIERRA LEONA, vpon the coast of GUINEA: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intollerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we sawe in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

From thence we continued our course to SIERRA LEONA, on the coast of GUINEA, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no budde to growe. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580, being the third yeere of our departure.

Anonymous Narrative

from whence they bent their course .S.W. toward the cape of bona speranza, where having spent their water they haled into a great bay to the west of cape bonasperanza, they were almost embayed & having spent long tyme & finding no water they were forced to hale out to seaward agayne[60] being gretly distressed for water, & had bin in danger of perisshing by want thereof but that they saved .vj. or vij toon of rayne water which saved the most part of theire lives. & keping on their course toward the northwest they fell with rio grand a river on the coast of gwinea, where they went on land & had great store of lymons and other fruites, and heere they saw iij elefantes and hard the noyse of divers other bestes but saw them not: here they watered and set sayle, bending their course towarde ye norwest and n.n.w. & then they found the wynde sutherly till they came to the lyne & then they found the winde .n.e. & n.e. & by est, they shaping their course .n.n.w. and n. & b.w. till they came to the height of the Sorias[61] where the found the winde westerly which broug them home into Englande,

[60] Here occurs a direct contradiction between the two narratives.

[61] The writer no doubt meant the Azores.

THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED AND ITS SOURCES

THIS book was published in 1628, and contains a portrait of Drake and a map of the world, both engraved by Robert Vaughan. It is noticeable that the map does not contain any trace of Drake's voyage, not even showing New Albion. On the title page the work is said to have been taken from the notes of Francis Fletcher and "divers others his followers in the same," and is "Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of heroick spirits, to benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts." It seems to have been a sort of continuation of *Sir Francis Drake Revived;* most likely both works were issued primarily as a kind of propaganda during the war with Spain which was then in progress. Possibly the publishers thought the time particularly opportune. It does not appear that Drake's nephew, Sir Francis Drake, had anything to do with the publication more than to give it the sanction of his name by writing a short Dedication to the Earl of Warwick. Nevertheless it is frequently referred to as the "authorized" version, meaning, I presume, authorized by Drake's nephew, but the word "authorized" is usually supposed to connote a final and correct statement of events. Actually it is the most untrustworthy of all.

When the work was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society in 1854, extracts from the Fletcher manuscript in the British Museum were inserted in the form of foot-notes, the editor, Vaux, stating that only such had been printed as seemed to vary materially from the text of the *World Encompassed.* The method pursued with this publication cannot be commended. A number of passages were omitted which do not appear in the main text at all, and several others, which the editor did not print for the reason that their substance was presumably incorporated in the text, are found to contain sentences of quite different meaning. Vaux's idea was that as far as the manuscript lasted, which was to the Island of Mocha, it had formed the basis of the published work. This indeed is obvious, it might truly be said that up to that point it is Fletcher's account—with additions and subtractions. Purporting to be published under the auspices of Sir Francis Drake's nephew, Fletcher's

account of the Doughty episode was hardly suitable, so this was entirely eliminated and replaced by another, several pages long, no doubt written by the compiler, and considered as incredible by almost all who have read it. Not only was the Doughty episode changed in this manner but almost everything else in the Fletcher narrative which could be considered derogatory to Drake was also cut out.

Considering the purposes of the book it is not surprising to find, as indeed is acknowledged on the title page, that the work is a compilation from various sources. At the time of publication, which presumably was not much later than its actual make-up, the compiler had at hand, not only the Fletcher manuscript which apparently, and indeed almost certainly, covered the entire voyage, but three publications containing partial accounts: that of Edward Cliffe who returned with Winter, the relation of Nuño da Silva and that of Lopez Vaz, all published by Hakluyt in 1600. There is no evidence that he saw either of the manuscript accounts which went to make up the "Famous Voyage," and indeed, almost all those parts of the "Famous Voyage" derived from the "Anonymous Narrative" were replaced by other entirely different versions, thus affording a very good indication that he did not copy the "Famous Voyage" but took his facts of the latter part of the voyage from manuscript sources. Besides all this, the book contains numerous passages of suspicious origin which probably were not found in any of the accounts of the voyage used. Not to speak of the numerous dissertations upon religion, morals, customs and the weather, many of which have the appearance of being products of the seventeenth century, the itinerary after leaving the Northwest coast contains the names of islands which are not to be found in the "Famous Voyage." Even in the first part of the work, passages occur which were not taken from any of the known sources.

Besides the Fletcher manuscript which forms the principal basis for the first part of the work, the account written by Cliffe was also largely used, especially for that part of the voyage before reaching the coast of Brazil. From that point on, the accounts are somewhat different, although the dates as well as the degrees of latitude given are nearly all taken from Cliffe's account. The killing of the two men by the natives at Port San Julian is related in a somewhat different way, but a curious relationship is shown in the description of these Patagonians. Cliffe says that "these men be

of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I have seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peradventure the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would have come thither so soone to have disproved them in this & divers others of their notorious lies: . . . . " (Hakluyt XI, 157.) The *World Encompassed* says, "Magellane was not altogether deceiued in naming them Giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bignes, and strength of body, as also in the hideousnesse of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giant-like as they were reported, there being some English men as tall as the highest of any that we could see, but peraduenture the Spaniards did not thinke that ever any English men would come thither to reproue them, and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie; . . . . " (W. E., 60.)

From the arrival at the Island of Mocha to the time of leaving Guatulco the account is almost entirely from some unknown source, which perhaps we may be justified in saying was the revised Fletcher account, as a few paragraphs describing events are identical with those in the "Famous Voyage." Generally speaking, however, the *World Encompassed* is much fuller and more detailed. Curiously enough in this part of the narrative the dates given are frequently the same as those in Silva's log and what is still more remarkable, where errors occur in that, they also occur in this. It would almost seem as if the compiler used a copy of the log. That these dates were not obtained from the Fletcher manuscript, now lost, seems probable from the fact that very few are found in the extant first part.

After leaving Guatulco to the time of leaving the Northwest coast, the account is practically the same, often in identical words and sentences as that in the "Famous Voyage," but with abundant padding and perhaps some additions of legitimate origin. After leaving the Northwest coast the two accounts are very similar but there are many differences impossible to explain. Most of these are discussed in other places so it will not be necessary to go into details at this point. The recently discovered manuscript of Francisco de Dueñas, extracts from which, referring to Drake, are printed in Chapters IX and X, furnishes some slight evidence corroborative of the description of Drake's route in the Moluccas as contained in the *World Encompassed*.

On the whole, then, it may be said that the first part of the work is compiled from the Fletcher manuscript and Cliffe's account, and the second from unknown sources, although it is almost certain that a revised version of Fletcher's account was the principal one. Throughout there is a large amount of padding. Who the compiler was we do not know; probably he was the individual who compiled *Sir Francis Drake Revived,* which had been published in 1626.

EDWARD CLIFFE

Edward Cliffe, described in the title as a mariner, wrote an account of part of the voyage. He returned in the *Elizabeth* with John Winter and therefore recounts only events of the expedition which occurred to the time when Winter deserted Drake, October 8, 1578. He then continues with an account of the return voyage of the *Elizabeth.*

The narrative contains much internal evidence that it was written shortly after the return, and that Cliffe either kept a log himself or had access to Winter's log as it contains the dates of almost all the principal occurrences, the courses, latitudes, and depths of water measured by the lead, and even in many places the distances run. It is perhaps the most trustworthy of all those written as far as it goes. It lacks many details given by Fletcher and Cooke, but on the other hand contains many which they do not give. That it was recognized as a valuable document is proven by the use made of it by the compiler of the *World Encompassed,* who took from it many of its most important facts.

The work was first printed by Hakluyt in 1600 in Vol. III of his expanded work, and in 1854 was reprinted in Appendix V of the Hakluyt Society's edition of the *World Encompassed.*

FRANCIS FLETCHER'S NARRATIVE

(B. M., SLOANE MSS, NO. 61)

Francis Fletcher, the chaplain, undoubtedly wrote a full account of the voyage, which in some form must have been available to Hakluyt when the "Famous Voyage" was compiled. It is not certain just when the latter account was published, but in no case could it have been later than 1596. The Fletcher manuscript bears internal evidence that it was not finished until after the return of Cavendish in 1588. "Toucheing Mr. Candish, a gentileman

worthy of immortall fame, for his Rare enterprises and Travailes, I say littel: onely this I observe that he was able to say no more either to proove that that terra australis is a continent or that the passage a streite: then Magilanus himselfe as by the line of his course in the mapp may appeare leadeing imediatly from the Passage by the South cape of America towards the line without anny touch of anny point further to the southward to make anny proofe or tryall. neither could he make anny mention of anny current." The quotation is from my copy of the manuscript and a noticeable difference will be seen between it and that printed on page 90 of the *World Encompassed,* where a period occurs after "streite." The period alters the entire sense of the passage, in fact it makes the following sentence unintelligible. To punctuate the sentence properly the colon or a comma should be placed after "himselfe." Only about half of the original account is now extant in a copy purporting to have been made by Joseph Conyers in 1677. Very little use was made of this text by Hakluyt; the extracts from it which can be identified are so few and unimportant that some doubt really arises whether he ever saw it. Although the second part is lost, it can be affirmed that Hakluyt drew on it very extensively. This is manifest from a comparison of the descriptions, especially of Indians on the Northwest coast, in the "Famous Voyage" with those which occur in the extant text of the first part.

The present manuscript contains much internal evidence that it was not written very much before the publication of the *World Encompassed* in 1628. Fletcher does not specify in the passage just quoted what map he saw, and he may possibly have referred to the Molyneux globe, published in 1592, as no map bearing a date before 1596 showing the route is now extant. It is of course possible that the Hondius broadside was published in 1595 or even earlier, and other maps now lost may have been issued after 1589. A clearer indication that Fletcher rewrote and expanded the work is evident from the many additions to the account in the "Famous Voyage" which are found in the *World Encompassed,* most of which are written in Fletcher's style. The narrative in the existing manuscript is singularly devoid of important facts, page after page being filled with disquistions on religious and other matters entirely irrelevant, although common enough at the time. It bears every evidence of having been written for publication, as otherwise no one would ever have gone to the trouble of putting in it so many stories ex-

traneous to the subject of the book. That Fletcher did not succeed in getting his manuscript published was probably due to the anything but complimentary tone he displayed towards Drake. Although he expressed opinions regarding him which may have been current enough at the time, we can readily believe, on reading what remains of it, that no publisher would have cared to issue the book.

The account, with a few exceptions, is printed in the 1854 edition of the *World Encompassed,* and although I have found some errors in it, they are not of sufficient importance to warrant reprinting the entire narrative. The illustrations, however, are interesting and quite well drawn, and for that reason I have reproduced them in the story of the voyage. Besides these, four others are reproduced, taken from the insets on the Hondius broadside. Unfortunately not one of these four depicts scenes which occurred during that part of the voyage recorded in the Fletcher manuscript, so that we have no indication that any were taken from the manuscript of the second part of the voyage, now lost. In Chapter IV, note 78, it is pointed out that the small views on the Hondius broadside may have been taken from the map of Drake's voyage which in the time of Purchas was still hanging in the gallery at Whitehall. It seems very probable that some or all of the pictures in the Fletcher manuscript were also to be found on that map, and the question arises whether the entire series of pictures had been taken from Fletcher's full manuscript or whether Fletcher had copied those in his manuscript from this map. In other words, did Fletcher or someone else make the pictures? In the Fletcher manuscript it is to be noted that he never states in any place in so many words that he had made the illustrations. All that is usually said is that in the table the figures will be found of such things as are named in the story. In the original manuscript there occurs a passage which is a continuation of what is related on page 42 of the *World Encompassed,* 1854 edition. At the end of the second paragraph a picture of the ostrich following in the table is mentioned, but the picture of the ostrich does not appear. On the contrary, there is a small drawing, reproduced on page 58, containing the following superscription: "This scheame below & that of England at the beginning of the booke being both I suppose of other one scale may serve for a Paterne to the bignes I suppose of other Ilands here described by the transcriber but not with that exactnes as this here & that of England at the beginning is by which the rest may be adjusted which is onely a Caution &

the originall being exactly to a haire with this & that of England therfore this is twise inserted the other of these in the Place being larger than the originall must be considered accordingly." This is very ambiguous. Did Conyers write this or did Fletcher? If Fletcher wrote it, it seems plain that he copied the map, and if Conyers wrote it and speaks of himself as the transcriber, it would appear that he was describing the islands and we might infer in such case that Conyers was the author of some of the numerous interpolations in the manuscript.

In Lady Eliott-Drake's book between pages 50 and 51, there is a plate of two cups which according to the author were presented to Drake by the Queen. On the one on the right, there appears engraved the same scene which will be found on one of the insets in the Hondius map, namely, four boats of the King of Ternate towing Drake's ship into the harbor. Lady Eliott-Drake tells us that the date 1580 (no doubt Old Style as the cup was no doubt given early in 1581) appears in one of the other compartments containing Drake's arms, not shown in the cut. If the drawing had appeared in the second part of Fletcher's original narrative it would follow that that narrative was known in 1581 and must have been written before that date. As it has been shown that the present text at least was not written until after 1588, this cup affords a very clear indication that the drawing was obtained elsewhere.

There is no evidence, aside from the illustrations in his narrative, that Fletcher could draw, but in the accounts of Drake's prisoners there are several references to painters. Zárate (page 376) said that Drake had painters who painted pictures of the coast in their exact colors, and Silva said that Drake kept a book in which he delineated birds, trees and sea lions (page 348) and that he was an adept in painting, having with him a boy (that is, John Drake) who was a great painter. Silva says nothing about Fletcher as it seems likely he would have done if he had known that Fletcher was also making drawings. When we come to examine the pictures in Fletcher's manuscript, we find birds, trees and a sea lion just as Silva said, and from this it seems clear that the sketches in the manuscript were not drawn by Fletcher, but were copied either from Drake's own book of navigation, as suggested by Mrs. Nuttall in her Introduction, xxviii, or more likely from the map in Whitehall to which reference has been made, on which Drake's own pictures had been copied.

I have not been able to find anything more about Francis Fletcher than what he says about himself in his own work. There is, however, in a letter of Bernardino de Mendoza dated June 10, 1579, a reference to a man who must have been Fletcher. Mendoza says that among the ships which left in October to plunder on the way to the Indies was a very small vessel belonging to one of the Queen's Councillors, a tremendous rogue and a terrible Puritan who had just been appointed as one of the commissioners; his sole reason for fitting out the ship was to send in her a minister who spoke Spanish, whose name he had not been able to discover. Now the description fits Walsingham and Fletcher in a general way. Walsingham was an adventurer in Drake's voyage and may have owned the fly-boat, on board which Fletcher certainly was between the Cape Verde Islands and Brazil, and consequently may have left Plymouth in her. A difficulty, however, occurs in the date of the letter, which is calendared as 1579, Drake having left not in October, 1578, but early in November, 1577. I have reason to suppose, however, that the date of the letter—1579—should be 1578, chiefly because it refers to the appointment of Walsingham as commissioner. The only commissioners known to have been appointed during this period were Lord Cobham and Walsingham, who received appointments as such to the Dutch, in May, 1578. It may also be recalled here that the letter in the *Calendar* dated June 10, 1578, was actually dated June 10, 1579, so it seems possible that the dates of the two in some way have become reversed.

That Fletcher spoke Spanish is by no means unlikely, indeed, there is a positive indication of it in his manuscript. After speaking about the use of snow or ice to put in drinks he says that it was of ordinary occurrence in Seville, other places in Spain, and even Russia, and he adds that he knows this not by report or conjecture but of his own knowledge. (W. E., 14.) This affords ample proof that Fletcher had been in Spain, in fact traveled in that country. His work also betrays a very intimate knowledge of history and especially of that of the Roman Church.

THE CLIFFE ACCOUNT

The voyage of M. Iohn Winter into the South sea by the Streight of Magellan, in consort with M. Francis Drake, begun in the yeere 1577. By which Streight also he returned safely into England the second of Iune 1579. contrary to the false reports of the Spaniards which gaue out, that the said passage was not repasseable: Written by Edward Cliffe Mariner,

In the yeere of our Lord 1577, the 19. of September there went out of the riuer of Thamis ouer the lands ende one good and newe ship called the Elizabeth, of 80 tunnes in burthen: in company whereof went also a small pinnesse being 12 tunnes in burthen called the Benedict. The sayd ship with her pinesse arriued at Plimmouth: in which hauen were three ships more, one called the Pellican in burthen 120. tunnes, being Admirall of the fleete: a barke called the Marigold in burthen thirty tunnes, with a flieboat of 50 tunnes. These ships had in them 164 men, and were victualled and furnished with all kind of necessary prouision to make a voyage into the South sea. Wee set sayle the 15 of Nouember, but were put into Falmouth by contrary winds: and afterward were constrained to put backe againe to Plimmouth to repaire the great hurt which diuers of our fleete had sustained in that tempest: and at length the 13 of December wee set forward from thence vpon our voyage.

The fiue and twentie of December we had sight of Cape Cantin: this Cape lyeth in the latitude of 32. degrees and 30. minutes vpon the coast of Barbarie, neere to a towne called Asaphi. The land all along this coast is hie and great mountaines. Sayling from the sayd Cape South-southwest about 18 leagues, wee found a little Island called Mogador an English mile distant from the maine, we sent our boat to sound the depth, and at the returne thereof we vnderstood by our men that the hauen was without danger, hauing fiue fathomes of water fast by the rocks entring in vpon the poynt of the Island: wherefore wee entred in with our whole fleet the 27 of December. The Moores that were on the maine seeing our ships ride there, came from the mountaines to beholde vs: whom our Generall M. Francis Drake espying, shewed to them a white flagge in token of friendship, and sent his boat to shore with one of our men, which not long before had bene captiue in the countrey, and partly understoode their language, to talke with them. When the boate came to shore, the sayd man went on land to them: to whom they shewed many tokens of friendship, casting up their eyes to heauen, and after looking downe vpon the ground, as though they had sworne by heauen and earth, promising peace. That done two of them came aboord to our Generall, and our man stayed on shore for a pledge.

These two Moores, after they had made goed cheere, and receiued certaine gifts of our Generall went to shore againe, and our man came aboord also. But the craftie slaues hauing deuised to betray vs, came the next day along the sea-side with certain camels as though they had brought some merchandize to traffique with vs: to whom our General sent certaine of our men in the boat to learne what they had brought, giuing charge that none of them should goe on land. But the boate being neere the shore one of our men more hastie then wise lept to shore; whom the Moores immediatly tooke by force, and setting him on horsebacke caried him away into the mountaines, so that we saw him no more after that time. In the meane-time wee set up a Pinnesse in the island, whereof wee brought 4 loose

out of England: which being finished, the last of December wee weighed, and came out of the North part of the island, the same way that wee came in: for the South chanel is dangerous, hauing but 8 foote at low water, and is full of rockes. This island standeth in 31 degrees ½ of latitude, being one league in circuite, not inhabited; and hath infinite number of doues vpon it.

The Cliffe Account

At Sea wee met with a contrary winde, so that wee beate off and on, till the 4 of Januarie 1578, at which time a more fauourable winde began to blowe at Northeast, and then wee set our course Southsouthwest, till on the 7 of Januarie wee came as high as Cape de Guer, which standeth in 30 degrees of latitude. Here our new Pinesse tooke 3 Spanish fisher-boates, called Cantars. From thence wee ran Southwest and Southsouthwest, carying the sayd Cantars along with vs, till the 10 of the sayd moneth, at which time wee found our selues in 27 degrees 4 min. being 10 leagues Westsouthwest from Cape Bojador, which lieth on the maine land of Africa. From thence we ran South and by West, vntill the 13 day at noone, at which time wee had sight of Rio del Oro, where our Pinnesse tooke a Portugall carauel. The 15, the Marigold took a carauel about Cape de las Barbas. And thence we ran along the coast being low sandie land, till wee arriued at Cape Blanco. This Cape sheweth it selfe like the corner of a wall upright from the water, to them which come from the Northwardes: where the North pole is eleuated 20 degrees 30 min. And the Crociers being the guards of the South pole, be raised 9 degrees 30 min. The said Crociers be 4 starres, representing the forme of a crosse, and be 30 degrees in latitude from the South pole: and the lowest starre of the sayd Crociers is to be taken, when it is directly vnder the vppermost; and being so taken as many degrees as it wanteth of 30, so

The World Encompassed

Shortly after our putting forth of this harbour, we were met with contrary windes and foule weather, which continued till the fourth of January; yet we still held on to our course, and the third day after fell with cape DeGuerre, in 30 deg. [ ] min., where we lighted on 3 Spanish fishermen called Caunters, whom we tooke with our new pinnace, and carried along with vs till we came to Rio del Oro, iust under the Tropick of Cancer, where with our pinnace also we tooke a caruell. From hence till the fifteenth day, we sailed on towards cape Barbas, where the Marigold took a caruell more, and so onward to cape Blanck, till the next day at night.

This cape lieth in 20 deg. 30 min., shewing itselfe vpright like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the North, hauing, between it and cape Barbas, lowe, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the South Guards, called the Crosiers, 9 deg. 30 min. above the horizon. Within the cape we tooke one Spanish ship more riding at anchor (all her men being fled ashoare in the boate saue two), which, with all the rest we had formerly taken, we carried into the harbor, 3 leagues within the cape.

[*Digression here about fish and people of the country.*]

many you are to the Northwards of the Equinoctial: and as many degrees as be more then 30, so many degrees you are to the Southwards of the Equinoctial. And if you finde it to be iust 30 then you be directly vnder the line.

Within the sayd Cape Blanco wee tooke one ship more, all the men being fled away, saue two. We brought this ship with all the rest which wee had taken before, into our harbour, 5 leagues within the Cape, where we washed and trimmed our ships, and went to sea againe the 22 of Januarie, leauing all the Spaniards there with their ships, sauing one Cantar, for which our Generall gaue them the Benedict. In which course wee ran continually to the Southwest, vntill the 26 day, when wee found the North pole raysed 15 degrees 15 min. hauing the winde Northeast or East-northeast, which is common on that coast. For it doeth blow for the most part continually from the shore: and we kept the sayd course, vntill wee came neere the island Bonauista, within 2 leagues off the shore; so that wee haled off againe Northwest, the space of one houre, and then ran Southwest againe, till day light the 27 of Januarie: from which time wee ran South-southwest, vntill 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we approched neere the island of Mayo, being high and hilly land, sauing that the North part of the island stretcheth out it selfe, a league into the sea very lowe. Wee came to anker vnder the West part of this island the 28 day of Januarie, and stayed there vntill the 30 of the same. During which time, our General appointed M. Iohn Winter and M. Thomas Doughtie, to goe ouer to the East part of the island with 70 men, to get some fresh victuals. And as wee marched through the island, about the middest thereof, we found one house hauing a garden

And hauing washed and trimd our ships, and discharged all our Spanish prises, excepting one Caunter (for which we gaue to the owner one of our owne ships, viz., the Christopher), and one caruell, formerly bound to Saint Iago, which we caused to acompanie vs hither, where shee also was discharged: after six dayes abode here, we departed, directing our course for the Ilands of Cape Verde, where (if any where) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our generall intended from thence to runne a long course (euen to the coast of Brasill) without touch of land. And now, hauing the winde constant at North-East and East North-East, which is vsuall about those parts, because it bloweth almost continually from the shoare, January the 27, we coasted Bonavista, and the next day after, we came to anchor vnder the Wester part (towards Saint Iago) of the island Maio, it lyeth in 15 deg.00. high land, sauing that the North-west part stretched out into the sea, the space of a league very low, and is inhabited by subiects to the king of Portugall.

[*Here follows, from the bottom of page 17 to the bottom of page 26, some account of the different Cape Verde Islands, which seems to be a mixture of the Cliffe account and that of Fletcher.*]

belonging to it, in which wee found ripe grapes, also ripe gourds, and melons, in the most dead time of our Winter. Wee found also a tree which beareth the fruite Cocos, which is bigger then a mans head, hauing within the vtter coate, which is about 3 inches thicke, a certaine nut as bigge as two fists, and hath within a white substance, cleauing fast to the shell, which is halfe an inche thick, very pleasant to taste, and within that a certaine hollownesse or voyde place, wherein is contained a pure and pleasant water in taste, and as some thinke, marueilous comfortable. As we passed through this island the inhabitants fledde into the mountaines, so that we could haue no talke with them.

But we vnderstood by the Portugals which came with vs, that they were but seruants to those of S. Iago, to keepe their cattell and goates, which bee very plentifull in this island: but we found them so wilde, that we could take none sauing some yong kiddes; wherefore wee returned backe againe to our shippes. The Portugals had salted their Welles neere to the sea, so that we could not water.

Then our Generall commanded euery man aboord: afterward we weighed, and ranne ouer to Sant Iago the same night, being 10 leagues distant from thence: which seemed to bee a fruitefull island and well peopled. For wee sawe 3 townes on the shore: two of which shot at vs, as we passed along. Our General made a shot at one of them againe. And sayling along the shore, at the South part of the island, wee tooke a Portugal shippe laden with wine and other commodities. This island hath 15 degrees in latitude.

From hence wee ran Southsouthwest to the isle of Fogo, so called, because it casteth continually flames of fire and smoake out of the top thereof, all the whole island being one high mountaine. Two leagues West from the isle

of Fogo, is another island called Braua, where the sea is aboue 120 fathoms deepe neere to the shore, so that we could not anker for the depth of the sea, by reason whereof we were constrained to depart without water. Here the Generall discharged the Portugals, giuing vnto them our Pinnesse which we built at Mogador: with wine, breade, and fish, and so dismissed them the first of Februarie, taking one of there companie along with him, called Nonnez de Silua. The 2 of February wee set off from Braua, and directed our course Southsoutheast, running so vntill the 9 of February, being within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial: at which time, wee had the ayre troubled with thunder and lightning, notwithstanding calme with extreme heate, and diuers times great showers of raine.

The 17 day wee were right vnder the line, which is the most feruent place of the burnt Zone: where in the middest of February we susteined such heat, with often thunder and lightnings, that wee did sweate for the most part continually, as though wee had bene in a stoue, or hote-house. Here we saw flying fishes in great abundance, some a foote long, some lesse. Their fynnes wherewith they flye be as long as their bodies. They be greatly pursued by the Dolphine and Bonitoes, whom as soone as the flying fishes espie, immediatly they mount out of the sea in great numbers, and fly as long as their fynnes continue moyst: and when they bee dry, they fall downe into the sea againe. And here is to bee noted, that after we came within 4 degrees of the Equinoctial, vntill we were so much past it, no day did passe without great store of raine.

From hence wee directed our course towards the Southsouthwest vntill the 5 of Aprill: at which time, wee had a very sweet smell from the land.

. . . Here we dismissed the Portugalles taken neere Saint Iago, and gaue to them in exchange of their old ship, our new pinnace built at Mogadore; with wine, bread, and fish for their prouision, and so sent them away, Febr. 1.

Hauing thus visited, as is declared, the Ilands of Cape Verde, and prouided fresh water as we could, the second of Febr. we departed thence, directing our course towards the straights, so to passe into the South sea; in which course we sayled 63 dayes without sight of land (passing the line equinoctiall the 17 day of the same moneth) till we fell with the coast of Brasill, the fift of April following.

The Cliffe Account

The same day at noone wee sounded, and found the sea to be 32 fathomes deepe, the ground being soft oaze: and shortly after we had but 28 fathomes, being 31 degrees and 30 min. beyond the Equinoctial, towarde the South pole: and wee had sight of the land about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone the same day. This land is very lowe neere the sea; and hie mountaines vp within the countrie.

From hence we ran towardes the Southsouthwest, vntill the 14 of Aprill; when wee found a little island, lying neere the maine land of Cape Sant Marie, by which is the enterance into the riuer of Plate, being in 35 degrees of Southerly latitude. From this island wee ran 7 or 8 leagues along the maine, where we came to an anker vnder a Cape, which our General called Cape Ioy. Here euery ship tooke in fresh water. Then we departed, and ran about 15 leagues towards the Westsouthwest, where we found a deepe bay. In the bottome of this bay is a long rocke, not far from the maine: which rocke so breaketh the force of the sea, that shippes may ride commodiously vnder the same for Southerly windes. Hither came all our fleete to anker, the 19 of Aprill, and roade there vntill the 20 day at night. Here wee killed some seales. And from thence wee ran about 20 leagues, where we found the water very much troubled and fresh, and wee ran in so farre that we had but 3 fathomes water. Here wee tooke in fresh water, and ranne ouer to the Southward, and fell with the land which lyeth on the South part of the riuer of Plate, the 27 day. This land lyeth Southsouthwest and Northnortheast, and is shold 3 or 4 leagues into the sea. Here our fly-boat lost our companie in the night.

From hence we ran toward the Southwest, hauing much foule weather and contrary windes, vntill the 12 of May; and then wee sounded and had 28 fathomes, with blacke sande and small stones, and had sight of the land the same morning about 10 of the clocke. This land is 47 degrees in latitude. Our Generall named this land, Cape Hope. We came to anker there, about 3 leagues from the shore the same night. The next morning our General, went to the maine in a boate: by meanes whereof hee had bene in great danger, if the Marigold had not weighed, and ran in with the shore, and so tooke vp the boate and men: for there arose such foule weather, with a thicke myst and a Southeast winde, that they were not able to recouer their shippes againe which rode without: which were forced to weigh and runne to sea. The Prize weighed the 13 at night, and ran to the Southwards: the other stayed vntill the 14 in the morning and then ran to sea, not being able to ride.

In the meane time while the Marigold rode vnder the shore, our Generall with certaine of his men went on land, where they sawe two naked men, sauing that they had a certaine skinne wrapt about their shoulders and rowles upon their heades. To whom our General shewed a white cloth, in signe of friendship, who with certaine gestures of their bodies and handes, shewed the like to him againe, speaking likewise and making a noyse, which our men could not vnderstand, but they would in no case come neere our men. Our Generall went the next day to the same place againe: but hee had no sight of the foresaid men or any other. Howbeit hee found certaine foules, as Ostriches, and other sea foules, which the sayd men had newly killed, and laid them on an heape together, as though they had done that for our men of purpose. There was also a certaine bagge with litle stones of diuers colours, which together with the victuals our General brought

aboord, and then weighed, and same to sea the 15 of the sayd moneth: where all the rest of the fleet mette with him, saue the Prize, and the fly-boat. The 16 day wee ran into a bay to the Southwardes of Cape Hope, where we roade al that night. The next morning our Generall weighed, & ran without the cape to the Northwardes, & sent the Elizabeth towards the South to looke for the Prize: leauing the Marigold and the Canter to search if in the bay they could finde any fit harbor for our ships. The same day being the 14 of May, our General met with the fly-boat (which lost vs the 27 of April) and brought her into saide bay. The 18 in the morning we had word from the ships, that they had found a safe harbour and we weighed and ran in, the same day being Whitsunday. The Elizabeth weighed & put forth again to sea, the 20 day, to looke for the Prize, and not finding her came in the next day. In the meane time our General discharged the fly-boat, and ran her vpon the maine, where we broke her vp for fire-wood. In the meane while there came about 30 of the countrey people downe to the sea side: and when they were within 100 pases of our men, they set themselues in array very orderly casting their companie into the forme of a ring, euery man hauing his bow and arrowes: who when they had pight a staffe on the ground, with certeine glasses, beads, and other trifles) returned backe. Then the countrey people came and tooke them and afterward approched neerer to our men, shewing themselues very pleasant, insomuch that M. Winter daunced with them. They were exceedingly delighted with the sound of the trumpet, and vialles. They be of a meane stature, wel limmed, and of a duskish, tawnie, or browne colour. Some of them hauing their faces spotted with diuers colours, as red, white, and blacke. Their apparel is a certaine skuine (wherein they wrap themselues) not reaching so low as to couer their priuy members, all the rest of their bodies be naked, sauing that they weare certaine roules vpon their heads, whose ends hang ouer their shoulders. Euery one beareth his bow, being an ell in length, and arrowes made of reeds, hauing heads, framed very strangly & cunningly of a flint stone. They be much giuen to mirth and iollity, and are very sly, and ready to steale any thing that comes within their reach: for one of them snatched our Generals cap from his head (as he stouped) being of skarlet with a golden band: yet he would suffer no man to hurt any of them. They eate rawe flesh, for we found seales bones, the raw flesh whereof they had gnawen with their teeth like dogs. In this bay we watered, and victualed with seales: for there is such plentie that we slew aboue 200 in the space of one houre vpon a litle island.

The 3 of June we departed from thence, and being at sea we were put backe againe to Cape Hope, where we discharged our Canter and let her float in the sea. Afterward wee ran to the 50 degree of the South pole, where wee met with the winde Southerly, and so turned backe againe to the Northward. And as we ran along the shore, we met with our Prize the 19 of June, which we lost the 13 of May. The day following we found a harbour, into the which we entred with all our fleet the same day. This port is 49 degrees and an halfe in latitude, and I suppose it to be the same which Magellan named Port S. Iulian: for we found a gybbet on an hil, whereupon they were executed that did conspire against Magellan, and certaine bones also of their dead bodies. The 22 of this moneth our Generall going to shore vpon the maine with 7 or 8 of his men, met with 3 of the Patagons hauing bowes and arrowes, who came neere to our men making them signes to depart. Whereupon a gentleman being there present, and hauing a bowe and arrowes, made a shot to the end to shew them the force our bowes, with the

which shot his string broke: whereupon the Patagons presumed to encounter them, directing their arrowes first at our M. Gunner, who had a caliuer ready bent to shot at them but it would not take fire: and as he leuelled his peece one of them shot him through the brest, and out at the backe, wherewith he fell downe starke dead. Also the gentleman that shot the arrow was so wounded that hee dyed the 2 day after and with the other was buryed in a litle island lying in the said port. Our men left the slaine man on shore till night, and then fetched him in a boat. In the meane time the Patagons had stript him of all his clothes, and viewed his body laying his clothes vnder his head, and so left him untouched, sauing that they had stucke the English arrow in his left eye. These men be of no such stature as the Spaniardes report, being but of the height of English men: for I haue seene men in England taller then I could see any of them. But peraduenture the Spaniard did not thinke that any English men would haue come thither so soone to haue disproued them in this & diuers others of their notorious lies: wherefore they presumed more boldly to abuse the world. The last of June M. Thomas Doughty was brought to his answere, was accused, and conuicted of certaine articles, and by M. Drake condemned. He was beheaded the 2 of July 1578, whose body was buried in the said island, neer to them which were slaine. We wintered in this port 2 moneths, during which time we had such weather as is commonly in England in the depth of winter, or rather colder. After we had trimmed vp our ships, and made prouision of fewell and fresh water, we departed thence with 3 ships the 17 of August about noone. And the 20 of the said moneth we seazed Cape Victorie, by the which Cape is the way into the South sea, called The streights of Magellan, the first discouerer thereof. Wee found the mouth of the streights to be 52 degrees ½ Southward of Equinoctial. In this streight, we found the sea to have no such current as some do imagine, (following the course of the primum mobile from East to West) but to eb and flow as ordinarily as vpon other coasts, rising 5 fathoms vpright. The flood riseth out of the East ocean, and stretcheth it selfe so far into the streights, that it meeteth the flood of the South sea neere about the midst of the streights, where it bendeth like an elbow, tending to the West-north-west into the South Sea, whereas the East part from the mouth of the streights to this elbow lyeth South-west and by West, or South-west to 53 degrees and one-third. 30 leagues within the streights there be 3 islands. To the greatest our general gaue the name of Elizabeth: to the 2 Bartholomew, because we found it on S. Bartholomews day: the 3 he named S. Georges island. Here we staied one day & victualled our selues with a kinde of foule which is plentifull in that isle, and whose flesh is not farre vnlike a fat goose here in England: they haue no wings, but short pineons which serue their turne in swimming. Their colour is somewhat blacke mixt with white spots vnder their belly, and about their necke. They walke so vpright, that a farre off man would take them to be litle children. If a man aproch any thing neere them, they run into holes in the ground (which be not very deepe) whereof the island is full. So that to take them, we had staues with hookes fast to the ends, wherewith some of our men pulled them out, and others being ready with cudgels did knocke them on the head, for they bite so cruellie with their crooked bils, that none of vs was able to handle them aliue. The land on both parts is very high: but especially toward the South sea, monstrous high hils and craggy rocks do exalt themselues, whose tops be all hoary with snowe, in the moneths of August, September, and October. Notwithstanding the lower partes of the hilles are replenished and beautified with impenetrable thicke woods

of strange and vnknown trees, flourishing all the yere long. Here we made prouision of fewel and fresh water, and passed by Cape Defeado into the South sea the 6 of September. And running along towards the North-west about 70 leagues, the winde turned directly against vs, with great extremitie of foule weather, as raine, haile, snow, and thicke fogs which continued so more then 3 weeks, that we could beare no saile, at which time we were driuen 57 degr. to the south pole. The 15 of September the moone was there ecclipsed, & began to be darkned presently after the setting of the sunne, about 6 of the clocke at night, being then Equinoctial vernal in that countrey. The said ecclipse happened the 16 day in the morning before one of the clocke in England, which is about sixe houres difference, agreeing to one quarter of the world, from the Meridian of England towards the West. The last of September being a very foule night, and the seas sore growne, we left the Marigold, the Generals shippe and the Elizabeth running to the East-ward to get the shore, whereof we had sight, the 7 of October, falling into a very dangerous bay full of rocks: and there we lost company of M. Drake the same night. The next day very hardly escaping the danger of the rocks, we put into the streights againe, where we ankered in an open bay for the space of 2 dayes, and made great fiers on the shore, to the end that if M. Drake should come into the streights, hee might finde vs. After wee went into a sound, where we stayed for the space of 3 weekes and named it The port of Health, for the most part of our men being very sicke with long watching, wet, cold and cuill diet did here (God be thanked) wonderfully recouer their health in short space. Here we had very great muscles (some being 20 inches long) very pleasant meate, and many of them full of seed-pearles.

We came out of this harbour the first of Nouember, giuing ouer our voiage by M. Winters compulsion (full sore against the mariners minds) who alleged, he stood in dispaire, as well to haue winds to serue his turne for Peru, as also of M. Drakes safetie. So we came backe againe through the streights to S. Georges Island, where we tooke of the foules before named, and after departed.

JOHN STOW

JOHN STOW, who was born in 1525 and died only in 1605, was therefore a contemporary of Drake. He probably was acquainted with him, but so far as I have seen, nowhere says so.

In 1580, he published his *Chronicles* to the year 1580, and this was reprinted in 1592. In this second edition his account of Drake's voyage around the world was first printed but by reason of its brevity it is of very little value; he does not even mention the capture of the treasure ship. An examination of it indicates that he obtained his information for the first part of the voyage from John Cooke's narrative, which according to Vaux is in his handwriting, and it is probable that for the second part he took the few facts given from some other not now known. The dates in the second part differ from those in the "Anonymous Narrative" and do not entirely agree with those of the "Famous Voyage" or the *World Encompassed*.

The account is noteworthy as presenting us with a statement different from any others about Drake's movements on the Northwest coast of America. He says that Drake passed north to 47° thinking to have come home that way, but having been obliged to abandon his intention on account of fog and cold wind, went back to 38° on the 10th of June, and stayed there to grave and trim his ship until July 25.

As it is frequently referred to and not very accessible, it is hereafter reprinted in full from the 1635 edition, the text of which is the same as that first printed in 1592 except for differences in spelling.

In 1615, Edmond Howes published a continuation of Stow's chronicle in which, on folios 807 and 808 appeared a chapter entitled: "The life and death of Sir Francis Drake."

FRANCIS DRAKE HIS VOYAGE ROUND ABOUT THE WORLD

Also this yere master Francis Drake returned into England, hauing sailed round about the world (as is affirmed) thus it was begun: on the 13. of Decemb. in the yere of Christ. 1577; hee set saile from Plimoth with a fleet of fiue ships, (to wit, the Pelicane admiral, the Marigold, the Elizabeth, barke Benedict, and a pinnace) he fel with the cape Canbine, on the coast of Barbary the 25. of the same moneth, & so coasting along, the 27. of Decemb. found an Iland called Moghador, lying

one mile distant from the main, in this Iland the general erected a pinnace, which hee had with three other brought ready framed out of England, which being finished, he departed the last of December. On the 17. of January he arriued at cape Blanke, & left the same on the 22. of that moneth, and on the 27 fell with cape de verde: on the 30. of January, he fel with an Iland called S. Iago, hauing put off cape de Verde, in the beginning of February, they saw no more land until the 6. of Aprill. 1578. that they fell with the coast of Brazill, in the latitude of 33. degrees beyond the line, and with much adoe, entred the riuer of Plate: from whence departing, hee fell with the strait of Magelan, the 20. of August, and passed through with three ships only, hauing cast off the other two as impediments, where, after they had bin tossed many dayes to and fro, in the night, the first of October the Marigold, wherein Master Iohn Thomas was Captaine, parted from the Generall, and was no more heard of. And shortly after, the other wherein Master Iohn Winter was Captaine parted also, who hauing lost his company came home again through the straites. The golden Hinde (or Pelicane I thinke) held on her course to Chily, Lima, Coquimbo, Arica, Panama, & so all along the backe side of America to the lineward, and passed the line the first day of March, and the 16. of March being on land at the Ile of Canoes, hee passed foorth northward till he came to the latitude of forty seauen, thinking to haue come that way home: but being constrained by fogs and cold windes to forsake his purpose, came backeward to the lineward the tenth of June 1579. and stayed in the latitude of thirty eight to graue and trim his ship, untill the fiue and twenty of July, and from thence setting his course Southwest he fell the third of October with an Ile 8. degrees from the line Northward, and the 4. of Nouember he fell with Trenate one of the Iles of Moluca, where being curteously entertained of the King, he tooke in certaine tuns of cloues, and came homeward to a little Iland, where he stayed to trim his ship, 26. dayes, where he furnished himselfe with wood, and erected a smiths forge, for to make such yron worke as was needfull for the repairing of his ship: & from thence the 12. of December he went toward Malaca, but not able to continue his course westward for the wind, was constrained to recouer the North of the Iles of Selebees: after this the ninth of January, comming towards Jana Maior, they ran themselues vpon ground, and stucke fast twenty houres, not looking but for death, but escaping the danger, they continued their course still West, and came to Java-Maior aforenamed, and there touching, they bent their course Southwest, to the cape of Bona Speranca then after they kept their course Northwest, and fell with the coast of Ginea, from thence bending their course, North Northwest, they came to the line, and then shaping their course North and by West, they came to the height of Azores, where finding the wind Westerly, they came home into England in the yeere 1580. And in the yeere next following, to wit, 1581. on the 4. of Aprill, her Maiestie dining at Deepeford in Kent, after dinner entred the ship which Captaine Drake had so hapily guided round about the world, and being there, a bridge that her Maiesty had passed ouer brake, being vpon the same more then 200. persons, and no man hurt by the fall, and there shee did make Captaine Drake Knight, in the same ship, for reward of his seruice, his armes were giuen him, the world in a ship, which ship by her Maiesties commandement is lodged in a docke at Depford, for a monument to all posterity of that famous and worthy exployt, whereof a worshipfull Gentleman Master William Borough in his preface to a booke

intituled, a discourse of the variation of the compasse, or magnetical needle, hath these words: So now at length (saith he) our countriman Sir Francis Drake, for valorous attempt, prudent proceeding, and fortunate performing his voyage about the world, is not only become equall to any of them that liue, but in fame far surpassing.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

Francis Drake, sonne of Edmond Drake, of Twittocke in Devonshire Sayler, which sayd Francis was the eldest of twelue brethren, brought vp vnder his kinsman Sir Iohn Hawkins: at eighteene yeeres of age, he was made Purser of a ship to Biscay: at twenty yeres of age, he went to Guynea: at 22. yeares of age, made Captaine of the Judith, at Saint Iohn de Vloa, in the Bay of Mexico: within short space after, hee went twice into the Indies, presently vpon that, he went againe, tooke Nombre de Dios, with the Kings Treasure, he went twenty dayes iourney ouer land, toward the South Sea, where he surprised diuers Forts, immediatly after his returne thence he furnished at his owne propper charge, three friggots with men, and munition, and serued voluntary in Ireland vnder Walter Earle of Essex: where he did excellent seruice, both by Sea, and land, at the winning of diuers strong Forts.

After the death of the sayd Earle of Essex, he returned into England, and was entertained by Sir Christoper Hatton, then Vice-Chamberlaine to the Queene, and a Priuie Councellor of State, by whose meanes, hee became well knowne vnto her Maiestie.

Then with fiue shippes, and two barkes hee went to the straights of Megallan: but passed through, only with two ships: viz the Elizabeth which presently returned backe againe through the straights, and the Pelican, which afterward being in the South Sea, hee called the Hinde, wherein hee himselfe was imbarked: hee then passed through the South Seas, by the Moluccoes, and East Indies: where amongst other things of strange note, you shall vnderstand that from Jaua Maior, he neuer touched nor watred in any place vntill he came to Serya, Leona in Guynea vpon the coast of Affrica, nor after that, vntill he arriued at Plimmouth about the end of the yere, 1580, being very richly fraught with golde, siluer, silke, Pearles, and precious stones.

The newes of this his great wealth, so farre fetcht was maruellous strange, and of all men held impossible, and incredible, but both prouing true, it fortuned, that many misliked it, and reproched him: besides all this, there were others that deuised and diuulged, all possible disgraces against Drake, and his followers, terming him the Master theefe of the vnknowne world, yet neuerthelesse, the people generally with exceeding admiration applauded his wonderful long aduentures, and rich prize, chiefely for some reasons following.

The Queene not yet perswaded, to accept and approue his vnknowne purchase: pawsed a while, and heard euery opinion, which at that time were many: the principall points whereof, were: that if this action of Drake should be iustified: it would call in question, the late Pyracy of Captaine Christmasse: the staying of the Spanish Kings Treasure, by Martin Frobusher: hinder Commerce: breake the league: raise reproch: breede warre with the house of Burgondy, and cause imbergo of the English Ships, and goods in Spaine. Wherevnto answer was made, that it was neither prize, nor Piracy, nor Ciuill pollicy, to cast so much

Treasure out of due possession: neither could any Prince, or priuate subiect rightly challenge it: nor by it any offence committed, or intended to any Christian Prince or state.

And that it was very necessary, to retaine it, as well, for further tryall of the Spanish malice, shewed to the English Merchants in Spaine: as for the descrying of secret enemies at home, against both which, it would proue a present remedy: as also, that if warres ensued, which the Spaniards long threatned; then the sayd Treasure of it selfe, would fully defray the charge of seauen yeeres Warres, preuent, and saue the Common Subiect from Taxes, Loanes, Priuy Seales, Subsidies, and fifteenes, and giue them good aduantage, against a daring aduersary, the which sayd opinion strongly preuailed.

Yet Captaine Drake, all this while being therewithall and by his friends much encouraged, rested doubtfull of the euent, vntill the day that the Queenes Maiestie came aborde his Weather-beaten Barke: where being as highly graced as his heart could wish, with Knightly honour, Princely commendations, and encouragement: forthwith visited his friends in Court, Towne, and Countrie, his name, and fame, became admirable in all places, the people swarming dayly in the streets, to behold him, vowing hatred to all that durst mislike him.

Bookes, pictures, and ballads, were published in his praise, his Opinion, and Judgement, concerning Marine affaires, stoode currant.

In the yeere one Thousand fiue hundred eighty and fiue, hee was Generall by Sea, and Land, and that yeere hee Conquered foure strong Indian Cities, that is to say Saint Domingo, Carthagina, Saint Yago, and Saint Augustino.

He surprised the delicate Ile of Bayon, raced diuers Fortes, and returned with great spoyles.

In the yere, one thousand fiue hundred eightie seuen, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and diuers Merchants ships, he went into the bay of Cadiz, and into the mouth of the riuer of Lisbone, where hee surprized, and raced many Fortes, Sunke, tooke and burnt an hundred sayle of Spanish shippes, diuers of them being prepared for inuasion of England, the yeere ensuing, hee brought thence great store of Ordinance, and brought from the Islandes the great Carracke, called the Saint Philip, which was the first Carracke, that euer came into England.

The first Carracke that euer came into England. [In the margin.]

In the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and eight, he was vice-admiral of the whole Nauie by Commission, against the inuincible Spanish Armado, his former fortune continuing with him, he tooke one of their great Gallions, and in her Don Pedro de Valdes, A renowned Spanish Commander, after that being accompanied with the Earle of Northumberland, and diuers other Lords, whose names I haue forgot, hee shewed great valour vpon the sayd great Spanish Armado.

In the yeere one thousand fiue hundred eightie nine, hee was Admirall of the great Nauie, wherein was contained the most resolute Souldiours, and skilfullest Mariners that euer went out of England, beeing specially prouided, for the reestablishing of Don Antonio late King of Portugall, and for requitall of the Spanish bold attempt vpon England, the yeere before: in which expedition albeit they fayled of the maine purpose, either for inuasion of the King or replanting of Don Antonio, yet they entred into diuers parts of his Terretories, and spoyled many of his ships, and Gallies.

In the yeere one thousand fiue hundred nintie and fiue, he was ioynt Admirall

with Sir Iohn Hawkins, of a great fleete for the Indies where hee dyed neere Porta Bella, and beeing Coffined, was cast into the Sea, some suppose he was poysoned, others Imagine he died of Melancholly, seeing his fortunes crost by his friends, and preuented by his enemies, hee brought a Riuer to Plimmouth, of three foote deepe, and sixe foote wide, which Riuer in a right line, from the Town to the head thereof, is eight miles, but in turning and winding, to come from the head to the Towne, is two and twenty miles.

He was more skilfull in all poyntes of Nauigation, then any that euer was before his time, in his time, or since his death, he was also of a perfect memory, great Obseruation, Eloquent by Nature, Skilfull in Artillery, Expert and apt to let blood, and giue Physicke vnto his people according to the Climats, hee was Low of stature, of strong limbs, broade Breasted, round headed, brown hayre, full Bearded, his eyes round, Large and cleare, well fauoured, fayre, and of a cheerefull countenance.

His name was a terrour to the French, Spaniard, Portugal, and Indians, many Princes of Italy, Germany, and others, as well enemies as friends in his life time desired his Picture. He was the second that euer went through the straights of Magellan, and the first that euer went round about the world: he was married vnto two wiues both yong, yet he himselfe and ten of his brethren dyed without Issue, hee made his youngest brother Thomas his heire who was with him in most and chiefest of his Imployments, in briefe he was as famous in Europe, and America, as Tamberlaine in Asia, and Affrica.

In his imperfections hee was { Ambitious for Honor. / Unconstant in amity. / Greatly affected to Popularity.

He was fifty & fiue yeeres old when he dyed. [In the margin.]

A DECLARATION OF THE TRVE CAVSES OF THE GREAT TROVBLES, PRESVPPOSED TO BE INTENDED AGAINST THE REALME OF ENGLAND.

THIS rare pamphlet, bearing the date 1582 and without place of issue, was probably surreptitiously printed on the continent. A copy is in the Huntington Library. It is worth reading, as it gives a picture of English policy and politicians of the day quite different from that painted by English historians. A great deal of space is devoted to a virulent attack on many of Elizabeth's Councillors more particularly on William Cecil, Lord Burghley, for whom the author seems to have had a special aversion. Many things are said in it which will not be found elsewhere, but taking into consideration the animus with which the work was written, we may conclude, probably justly, that many of them are not true. Among other remarkable statements, is one to the effect that Cecil started the rebellion against the King of Spain in the Netherlands. The author even asserts that Drake was sent to the West Indies in 1572 to get treasure with which to aid the Dutch rebels. On that occasion he says Drake surprised the pack trains but could not carry away the silver, killed six or seven merchants in Cruces and burned the warehouses containing goods of the value of 200,000 ducats.

There is a curious story about the expedition of Drake and Don Antonio to Portugal in 1589. The author says that Drake promised the Queen to bring back the King of Spain, "to kiss her pantoufle or some other woeful lamentation," but when the fleet returned to Plymouth, the women who had lost their husbands in the expedition, set on Drake and Don Antonio with sticks and forced them to defend themselves "by force of legges." In another place it is stated that it was certain that no matter what the pretences were, every western voyage of the English for many years past had only one object—to rob the King of Spain or his subjects. This sounds very much like Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and it is not at all unlikely that he had some hand in writing the pamphlet.

There is a reference to Thomas Cavendish's letter to the Lord Chamberlain as being in print, and an "account of the pirate" which

must be a reference to the "Famous Voyage" as the author took from that what little information he gives about Drake's expedition. The only noticeable change is that the "sixe and twentie tunne" of silver stated therein to have been found in the *Cacafuego* becomes "20 tonne." Probably the author did not notice the "sixe" before the "twenty."

After giving an account of Drake's exploits in 1572, the author continues on page 25:

And so he retyred home again towards England, where (not longe after that he had given such good proof of his dexteritie) it was determyned that he should be employed againe, as being the fittist man to atchiue an enterprize of stealing. And therefore with shippes well furnished and provided for his purpose he was sent forth to attend & lie in waite for more of the Kinges and his Subjects treasure. And on the Southe Seas on the back-syde of America, where no pirates had bene before him, and therefore the lesse prouision made to withstand them, then he and his company, met with a ship in the porte of Valparizo, wherein were but 8. Spaniards, who taking the English for freindes, receyved them on board, where being once entered, they couragiously tooke out of it 37. thousand ducats in gold. And at another place called Taurapaza, they boldly ventred on shore vnto a Spaniard that lay a sleepe, and had lying besyde him the value of 4. thousand ducats in 13 wedges of siluer: all which they ouercame & caried away, curteously leauing the Spaniard as thei found him. They ryfled also 12. shipes that lay at ancker, in the hauen of Lyma, and cutting all the ropes & cables, let them drive vnto the seas. And in another ship called the Cagafuego, they found pretious stones, iewels, 80 pound waight of gold, & 20 tonne of siluer: wherof hauing put themselues in possession, after some smaller pilferres, and sacking of the town of Guatulco, M Drake and his company, returned from this very hot and hardy seruice & to the end, brought all his treasure into England. Where he has so well welcome, and so liberall in the deuision of shares to some Courtiers that nothwistanding the gallowes claimed his interest, it near gat so great a brauado, for in very desight of Wapping, he was at Detford rewarded with the honor of knighthoode, and in the same ship, wherewith he had bene abrode a rouing.

And although some poor pirate or other has been cast away upon Wapping shore, yet was there seldom or never restitution. Only the ones who stole too little suffer & even Drake was much disgraced when he returned home with small booty.

THOMAS BLUNDEVILLE

IN 1594, Blundeville wrote an elaborate treatise, or or perhaps better said six treatises, for the furtherance of the art of navigation, with the following title: *M. Blvndevile His Exercises, containing sixe Treatises.* One of the treatises is entitled: "A plaine description of Mercator his two Globes. . . . . Whereunto is added a briefe description of the two great Globes lately set foorth by M. Molinaxe: and of Sir Frances Drake his first voyage into the Indies." In this Blundeville has given an account of Drake's and Cavendish's voyages around the world which is but a description of their routes as laid down on the Molyneux globe, published in 1592, from which he must have calculated the courses run and the number of leagues traveled. As his account of Drake's voyage only contains very few facts which he could not have obtained from the line on the globe, he merely interpreted a cartographic document which we can examine for ourselves. The sole question to be considered is whether in doing so he adhered strictly to the meaning intended by the maker of the globe as he purports to have done or whether he borrowed statements from some other source of presumably superior authority. It is plain that Molyneux, when he drew the red line of Drake's route on his globe, either copied it from some other map or took the details from some account of his voyage. Even in the first case some original narrative must have been the source. Now in many respects the red line fits the facts set out in the "Famous Voyage" better than any other although not conforming very strictly to those. A notable difference occurs on the Northwest coast where Drake's route is shown as extending north from about 42½° to 48° and then back again to nearly the same point. This does not accord with any known narrative nor in any probability with the facts. Blundeville says that Drake sailed north to Cape Mendocino in 40° and thence still north to a certain bay in 46° in the "west part of Quivira, which he named Nuova Albion" and then came back again to Cape Mendocino from whence he sailed southeast to the Moluccas. He thus moved Cape Mendocino south from 42½° or 43° to 40° and did not carry Drake so far north as Molyneux by two degrees. No document before 1594 is known which places that cape as low as 40°, and it might therefore be justly concluded that

Blundeville had made a mistake in reading the line on the globe, although he followed Molyneux in describing the voyage as extending from that cape to the north and then back again. Unfortunately, no statement about the discovery and naming of Cape Mendocino has been found, but it is possible that some one had said that it was located in 40°. The Ortelius maps of 1587, the first to show it at all, place it much higher, one in 45° and the other in nearly 55°.

Blundeville is frequently cited as authority that Drake went north to search for a strait, but what he says is that from the bay in 46° "Sir Frances himselfe (as I haue heard) was of very good will to haue sailed still more Northward, hoping to find passage through the narrow sea Anian."

As his book is very rare and his account has never been published, it is herewith inserted in full from folios 242 to 244 of the original edition of 1594. After explaining that the voyage of Drake is marked out on the terrestrial globe by a red line and that of Cavendish by a blue line, he proceeds:

In the great terrestriall Globe lately put foorth by M. Sanderson and by M. Molineux, the voyage aswel of Sir Fr. Drake, as of M. Th. Candish is set downe, & shewed by helpe of two lines, the one red, & the other blew, whereof the red line procéeding first from Plymouth, doth shew what course Sir Frances obserued in all his voyage, aswell outward as homeward, and the blewe line procéeding also from Plymouth, sheweth in like maner the voyage of Master Candish, and in that Globe is also set downe how farre Sir Martin Furbosher discouered towards the North parts. But first I wil describe vnto you the voyage of Sir Fr. Drake that wrothie Knight & most Noble Neptune, according as that red line directeth in ye said Globe.

First parting from Plymouth he sayled with a North Northeast winde to an Ile called Mogodore, vpon the coast of Marocco, which place is not named in M. Molineux his Globe, and that place hauing in North Latitude 32. degrées, is distant from Plymouth according to that course, which the redde line sheweth 780. leagues. In this Ile he built a little Pinnis or shallop, and from thence he sayled to Cape Dalguere which is further Southward, and hauing in North Latitude 30. degrées, is distant from Mogodore about 40. leagues, and from thence hee sailed to the Iles Canariae, which are somewhat more Westward, and hauing 27. degrées in North Latitude, are distant from the Cape Dalguere about 100. leagues, and from thence he sayled to Capo Blanco, which is more Westernly, and hauing in North Latitude 21. degrées, is distant from the Canaries 120. leagues and somewhat more, and from thence he sayled to the Iles of Capo Verde, which hauing in North Latitude about 14. degrées, are distant from Capo Blanco about 140. leagues. And from thence to the great Cape of S. Augustine, which hauing in South Latitude about 8. deg. is distant from the Canaries 500. leagues, and from thence he sayled more Westernly vnto ye mouth of the Riuer called Rio de Platta, which hauing

in South Latitude 36. degrées, is distant from Cape Saint Augustine 740. leagues, and from thence to the Port Saint Iuliano, hauing in South Latitude about 50. degrées, whereas one Doughtie was executed for conspiracie, and this Port is distant from Rio de Platta 380. leagues. And from thence he sayled to the Cape Virgine Maria, which hauing in South Latitude 52. degrées 3′o. is distant from Port S. Iulian 50. leagues, and from thence stréeking in betwixt the Ile, whose Northeast Cape is called the Ile of the name of Jesus, and the Port Famine, he entred into the straight Magellane, which hauing in South Latitude 53. degrées 3′o. is distant from the Cape Virgine Maria 50. leagues, and from thence he passed through the Magellane straights to the Cape de Sancto spirito, which is a Cape of the South land, hauing in South Latitude 52. degrées 2′o. and is distant from Cape Virgine Maria about 150. leagues, from thence he sailed somewhat Westernly about 20. leagues, & there fetching a turne about certain Ilands called Las Anegadas, he tooke his course Northward alongst the West coast of America vnto ye Ile Lima, which hauing in South Latitude 12. degrées, is distant from the Ilands called Las anegadas 800. leagues, and from thence he sayled still Northward vnto Cape Guija, which hauing in South Latitude 1. degrée 3′o. is distant from the Ile Lima 160. leagues, from thence still Northward he sailed to Cape S. Francesco, which hauing in North Latitude 1. degrée 30. minutes, is distant from Cape Guija 140. leagues, from thence he sayled stil Northernly to the Cape Mondecino, which is in the land called Quiuira, and this Cape hauing in North Latitude 40. degrées is distant by that course from S. Francesco 1740. leagues, from thence he sayled still Northward vnto a certaine Bay in the West part of Quiuira, which he named Noua Albion (that is to say) new Englande hauing in North Latitude 46. degrées. And this was the furthest part of his voyage outward, in which voyage hee sayled in all 6050. leagues, and from this Bay Sir Frances himselfe (as I haue heard) was of very good will to haue sailed still more Northward, hoping to find passage through the narrow sea Anian, which sea is not set downe by Master Molineux in his Terrestriall Globe as a straight, but rather as a maine Sea, bearing in bredth 400. leagues, and so from thence to haue taken his course Northeast, and so to returne by the Iles Crocklande and Groynlande into England, but his Mariners finding the coast of Noua Albion to be very cold, had no good will to sayle any further Northward, wherefore Sir Frances was faine to come backe againe Southward to Mondecino, which (as hath béene said before) is distant from the foresaide Bay of Noua Albion 140. leagues. From thence he sayled in a manner right Southeast to the Iles Moluccas and touched at the Iles Terenate, Tidori, Machian, and Motill, which are nigh vnto the Ile Gilolo, which is right vnder the Equinoctiall, amongest which Iles he remayned a certaine time, of which Ilands the Ile called Terenate hauing about one degrée of North Latitude, is distant by that course from the Cape Mondecino 1180. leagues, and from thence hee sayled Southwest vntill he came to the West end of the Ile Iaua maior, which hauing in South Latitude nine degrées 30. minutes, is distant from the Ile Terenate by that course 530. leagues, and from thence he sayled still Southwest to the Cape di Buona Speranza, which hauing in South Latitude 35. degrées, is distant from Iaua maior 1630. leagues, then from Capo di Buona Speranza he making his course Northwest, sailed to an Iland called Serra Liona, which is vpon the coast of Afrique, and hauing in North Latitude 7 degr. 3′o. is distant from Capo di Buona Speranza 1090. leagues, then from thence he sailed towards the

Iles of Capo verde vntil he came to the 12. degrée of North Latitude right vnder the first Meridian, which point is distant from the Iland Serra Liona according to that course 300. leagues, & from thence he sayled Northward nigh to the Iles called Azores on the West side therof, which hauing of North Latitude 40. degr. are distant by that course from ye Iles of Capo verde 600. leagues from whence he directed his course Northeast to Plimouth, which hauing in North Latitude 51. degr. is distant by that course from the Azores 490. leagues, so as in his returne from Noua Albion to Plymouth he sayled in all 5960. leagues, which if you adde to the number of leagues of his outward voyage before set downe, which is 6050. leagues, you shall finde the totall summe of the leagues to be 12010. leagues, which is almost twice so much as the compasse of the whole world, which if you measure vpon the Globe by the Equinoctiall line containing 360. degrées, and doe allow for euery degrée thereof 60. Italian miles, you shall finde the number of such miles to amount to 21600. miles, which by allowing thrée miles to a league doe make no more but 7200. leagues. But if it might please Sir Frances to write a perfect Diarie of his whole voyage, shewing howe much he sayled in a day, and what watring places he found, and where hee touched, and how long he rested in any place, and what good Ports and Hauens he found, and what anchorage good or badde, and what maner of people, what trade of liuing, and what kinde of building and gouernement they vsed, in what aire they liued, and whether the ground were fertile or barren, dry or well watered with floods and fountaines, what mountaines, what mines, what woods or forrests, what beastes, fowles, or fishes, fruites, hearbes, plants, or other commodities he founde therein, and in what manner of seas he sayled, and what windes and currents were most rife in euery place: Also what rockes, sandes, sholdes, and all other places of daunger and perill, and by what markes such places are to be shunned. And finally what Moone doth make a full sea in euery Port where he arriued, and what windes doe alter any tide or Current, and all other necessary accidents most méete for sea men to know. In thus doing the saide Sir Frances I say should greatly profite his countrie men, and thereby deserue immortall fame, of all which things, I doubt not but that he hath alreadie written, and will publish the same when he shall thinke most méete.

JOHN DAVIS

JOHN DAVIS, usually known as Davis the Navigator, was one of the most famous seamen of his times. He accompanied Thomas Cavendish on his last voyage in 1591 and in the course of that unfortunate expedition, passed three times through the Strait of Magellan. Shortly afterwards he also made three voyages to the northwest in search of the Northwest Passage. In 1595 he published in London the *Worldes Hydrographical Discription*, and in this work he still expresses the opinion that the Northwest Passage really existed and writes that he thought it a matter of the greatest interest to England to find it in order to carry on trade with India and China. His arguments were largely the same as those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

In this book he includes a short account of Drake's voyage, largely devoted to the Strait of Magellan of which he had personal knowledge. At the end he merely adds that Drake coasted the western shore of America to 48° and then shaped his course towards Asia. In the copy of this book in the Huntington Library in the margin opposite to the "forty eight degrees" is a manuscript notation "but 43 degs" in what seems to be the same handwriting as that at the end of the book, "Reed be me. N. Hughes 1595—november."

The full account follows:

Then succeded Syr Francis Drake in his famous and euer renowned voyage about the world, who departing from Plimouth directed his course for the straightes of Magillane, which place was also reported to be most dangerous by reason of the continuall violent and vnresistable currant that was reported to haue continuall passage into the straightes, so that once entring therein there was no more hope remayning of returne, besides the perill of shelves, straightnes of see passage, and vncertayne wyndinges of the same, all which bread dread in the highest degree, the distance and dangers considered. So that before his reuealing of the same the matter was in question, whether there were such a passage or no, or whether Magillane did passe the same, if there was such a man so named, but Syr Frauncis Drake, considering the great benefit that might arise by his voyage through that passage, and the notable discoueries that might be thereby perfourmed, regarded not these dastardly affections of the idle multitude, but considering with iudgement that in nature there cold be no such perpetuitie of violence where the occian is in no sorte straighted, proceeded with discreet prouision, and so departing from England ariued vnto the same, and with good

successe (through Gods most fauorable mercy passed through) wherein his resolution hath deserued euerlasting commendations. For the place in viewe is dangerous and verye vnpleasing, and in the execution to passe Nothing may seeme more doubtful, for 14. leagues west within the cape of Saint Maria lyeth the first straight, where it floweth and ebbeth with violent swiftnes, the straight not half a mile broad, the first fall into which straight is verye dangerous, and doubtfull. This straight lasteth in his narrownes, 3. leages, then falling into another sea 8. leages broad and 8. leages through there lyeth the second straight, due west South West from the firste, which course being vnknowne it is no small perill in finding this second straightes, and that agayne is not a myle broad and continueth the bredth 3. or 4. leages Southwest, with violent swiftnes of flowing and reflowing, and there agayne he falleth into an other Sea, through which due, South South west, lyeth the cape froward, and his straight (so rightly named in the true nature of his peruersnes, for be the wind neuer so fauorable, at that cape it will be directly agaynst you, with violent and dangerous flaughes) where there are three places probable to continue the passage. But the true straight lyeth from this cape West Nor West, where the land is very high all couered with snowe, and full of dangerous counterwindes, that beate with violence from those huge mountaines, from which cape the straight is neuer broder then 2. leages and in many places not halfe a mile, without hope of ancorage the channell beeing shore deepe more then tow hundreth fadomes, and so continueth to the South sea forty leages only to bee releued in little dangerous coues, with many turnings and chang of courses, how perilous then was this passage to Syr Frauncis Drake, to whom at that time no parte therof was knowne. And being without reliefe of ancorage was inforced to follow his course in the hell darke nights, and in all the fury of tempestious stormes. I am the bolder to make this particuler relation in the praise of his perfect constancy and magnanemitye of spirite, because I haue thrise passed the same straights & haue felt the most bitter & mercyles fury thereof. But now knowing the place as I doe (for I haue described euery creke therin) I know it to be a voyage of as great certaynty, pleasure, and ease, as any whatsoeuer that beareth but ¼ the distaunce from England that these straightes doe. And this straight is founde to be 1200. leages from any parte of Africa so that truely it is manifest that these two landes are by no small distance separated.

And after that Syr Frauncis was entred into the South sea he coasted all the Westerne shores of America untill he came into the Septentrionall latitude of forty eight degrees being on the backe syde of newfound land. And from thence shaping his course towardes Asia found by his trauells that the Ills of Molucca are distant from America more then two hundreth leages.

WILLIAM CAMDEN

WILLIAM CAMDEN published in 1615 in London the first volume of his *Annales Rervm Anglicarvm, et Hibernicarvm, regnante Elizabetha, ad Annvm Salvtis M.D. LXXXIX.* He began to write this work probably about 1596 or 1597 just before Lord Burghley's death and it was practically completed some time before publication.

In 1624 a translation into French was issued in London and from this Abraham Darcie made the first English version which he published in 1625. In this will be found the account of Drake's voyage around the world, included in a general account of his life down to 1589. That this was written before 1600 is manifest from the fact that Camden did not use Hakluyt's revised version of the "Famous Voyage" but the original one of 1589. Camden, who had been born in 1551, was evidently well acquainted with Drake as he obtained from him about all the information concerning his early life which is known to us. He did not assert that he also obtained from him his account of the voyage around the world which, as a matter of fact, he made up from the "Anonymous Narrative," supplementing this with a few facts from the "Famous Voyage" and a few from unknown sources, such as the statement about Magellan's clouds at the time of the eclipse, which he must have taken from Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage as none of those of Drake's voyage mentions them.

Between his account of Drake's attempt on Nombre de Dios and his voyage around the world he inserted the story of John Oxenham, and at the end of this he gives us his version of the reason for Drake's voyage as follows: "Drake, not knowing what was become of Oxenham, that he might get into the South Sea, which hee still meditated upon, and try his fortune there, departs from Plimouth the thirteenth of December." From this it seems that Camden's idea was that Drake had a longing to sail in the South Sea, and in another place he tells us he bound himself to this with a religious vow.

Camden has also been quoted as an authority that Drake was looking for a strait. The clause reads as follows: "Drake then tooke his way toward the north, in the latitude of 42 degrees to discover in that part if there were any straight by which he might find a

nerer way to return; but discerninge darke and thicke cloudes, extremity of cold and open cliffes covered thicke with snow, hee landed at the thirty-eighth degree, and having found a commodious Rode, remained there a certain time." This condensed statement, extracted from the "Famous Voyage," might convey the idea that Camden thought Drake had gone north to see if there was any strait there, but if so, after all, it would only be his opinion, and in reality affords no evidence that Drake had any such object in view. Purchas, Vol. XVI, 113 *et seq.*, published a brief history of Sir Francis Drake's voyage made up from Camden's account and the discourse of Lopez Vaz.

The account in full from Darcie's *The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth,* 417-429, follows:

About this time, Francis Drake returned into England, abounding with riches, but more illustrious and exceeding in glory, hauing sayled about the terrestriall Globe with happy successe, being (if not the first that had aspired to this glory) yet the first next Magellan, who dyed in the middest of his course. This Drake (that I may report no more than what I haue heard from himselfe) was borne of meane parentage in the County of Deuonshire; at his Baptisme, Francis Russell, afterwards Earle of Bedford, was his Godfather. Whilest he was but yet an Infant, his Father embracing the Protestant Religion, was by vertue of the Law of Sixe Articles, made by King HENRY the Eighth against the Protestants, called in question: whereupon he left his native soyle, and passed into Kent. King HENRY the Eighth being deceased, hee obtained a place amongst them of the Fleet-Royall, to reade Prayer; a short time after, he was chosen Deacon, & being made Vicar of Vpnore, vpon the Riuer Medway, (where the Nauy lay at Road) he was constrained by pouerty to place his sonne with a neighbouring Pylote, who, by daily exercise, hardened him to the Saylors labours in a little Barke, wherewith hee sayled vp and downe the Coast, guided Ships in and out of Harbours, and sometimes transported Merchandize into France and Zeland. This young man, being diligent and plyable, gaue such testimony of his care and diligence to the old Pylote, that he dying issuelesse, in his Will bequeathed, as a Legacy, the Barke to him, wherewith Drake hauing gathered a pretty some of money, and receiuing intelligence that Iohn Hawkins made preparation of certaine Ships at Plimouth, for the voyage of America, which was called the New-World, he made sale of his Barke, and, accompanied with certaine braue and able Mariners, he left Kent, and ioyned his labours and fortunes with Hawkins, in the yeere 1567, but with vnfortunate successe. For the English being (as is related) surprized by the Spaniards, in the Port of Saint Iohn de Vllua, hee, with the losse of all his meanes, hardly escaped. Fiue yeeres after, (that is to say, in the yeere 1572) hauing gathered together a sufficient summe of money by his traffique and Pyracy, with an intent to recouer his losses which he had receiued by the Spaniards, (which a Preacher of the Nauy easily perswaded him to be lawfull) he made a voyage the second time into America, with a Ship of Warre called the Dragon, with two other small

Ships, without the knowledge of any but his Companions, where hee surprized a Towne, called Nombre de Dios, in the passage to the Ile Dariene, which he presently lost. Then, receiuing intelligence by the fugitiue Negro's, (which are called Cimarons) that certaine Mule-driuers were to transport a great quantity of Gold and Siluer to Panama) hee set vpon them, and pillaged them vpon the way, carrying the Gold into his Ships, but the Siluer, because he could not commodiously transport it ouer the Mountaines, he left it, and buried part thereof in the ground: after that, hee burned a large Store-house of Merchandize, called the CROSSE, vpon the Riuer Chirague: And as he sometimes made excursions vpon the neighbouring places, he discouered from the top of high mountaines, the South Sea; hereupon, he was so inflamed with a desire of glory and wealth, that hee burned with an earnest longing to sayle into those parts; and in the same place, falling vpon his knees, he heartily implored the Divine assistance to enable him, that he might one day arriue in those Seas, and discouer the secrets of them; and to this, he bound himselfe with a religious vow. From that time forward, was his minde night and day troubled, and as it were excited and pricked forward with goads, to performe and acquite himselfe of this Vow.

Now, beeing abundantly rich, silently reuolued these thoughts in his minde; Iohn Oxenham, who in the former voyages had beene a Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke vnder him, hauing by his valour obtained the name of Captaine among the Saylors, to tread in the foot-steps of his Masters fortune, in taking the Mules loaden with wealth, and to sayle the Australe, or Meridian-Sea, he, in the yeere 1563. [1573] begun to sayle in those places, with a Ship onely and equipage of seuentie men, where, being arriued, hee communicated his designe to the Negro's, and learning out that those Mule-driuers, who vsed to transport riches to Panama, were conueyed with armed men, brought his Ship to Land, hiding her vnder thicke bowes in place secure, causing likewise his greatest Cannons to be brought ashoare, with victuals and prouision; afterwards, he and his people, with tenne Negro's, who were their Guides in that Countrey, came to a Riuer which ends in the Meridian-Sea, and there cut Trees wherewith they built a small Ship, with which he traded in the Iland called Margaret, which abounds in Pearles, situated in the same Sea, and not farre off: in which hauing stayed tenne daies for the Ships comming from Perou, he tooke one which carried sixty pound weight of Gold; and another, with an hundred pound weight of Siluer, and in those Ships hee returned into the said Riuer. This Prize being soone diuulged by those Spaniards which Iohn Oxenham had released, and set on shoare, Iohan. Ortega, a Spaniard, forthwith pursued him with an hundred men, and finding that there was three waies to enter the Riuer, hee stayed a time, not knowing which to take, but at last he plainely discouered Oxenhams trace, by reason of the number of feathers of such Fowles and Hens as the English had eaten, which were swimming vpon the water; and following them, he found the Gold among the bushes and thickets, and the English in discord and strife about the bootie; who neuerthelesse prouiding to their common necessity, fell vpon the Spaniards, who were in greater number: for the most part of the English were killed, and the rest were taken, among which, Iohn Oxenham, who was brought to LIMA, and there examined whether he were entred into the King of Spaines Dominions, with Queene ELIZABETH'S leaue and permission, or no? and not able to satisfie them with any answere, hee was most lamentably put to death, and cruelly executed as a Pyrat and common

enemy of humane kinde, with the Pylot, and others: and thus his worthy enterprize was preuented, which was both great and memorable.

Drake, not knowing what was become of Oxenham, that he might get into the South Sea, which hee still meditated vpon, and try his fortune there, departs from Plimouth the thirteenth of December 1577. with fiue ships, and one hundred sixtie three men, of which number there were scarce two who knew his designe, or whither they were bound, and arriued on the fiue and twentieth at Canten, a Cape or Promontory in Barbary: then, hauing refreshed themselves at Maio, a very pleasant Iland, and abounding with sweet Grapes, at San-Iacobina, they tooke a Portugal laden with Wine, and hauing set the Mariners a-shoare, carryed the vessell, with N. la Forest the Pylote, away with them, to serue them for a watch and skout upon the Coasts of Brasil, which were well knowne vnto him. From thence he passed to the Ile of Folgo, which casteth out sulphurous flames: and from thence to la Braue, vnder which the Mariners assure vs that the Sea is very high. And as he came vnder the Equinoctiall, prouiding for the health of his people, causeth euery one of them to be let blood, and after hauing bin long becalmed, and endured much Lightening and Thunder, he found he had made very little or no way in three weekes, and been 55. daies without seeing any Land, vntill in the end he discouered the Countrie of Brasill.

The 26. of Aprill, being entered the riuer of Plate, they saw an infinite number of Sea-calues, and from thence being brought to Saint Iulians, they found a Gibbet standing there, which (as it is thought) Magellan set vp, when he was forced thereabouts, to punish some sedicious persons. Where Mr. Iohn Doughtey, a wise and valiant Gentleman, and of chiefe command vnder Drake, was condemned by the verdict of twelue men, according to the English custome, and beheaded, after he had receiued the Communion with Drake himselfe. The most impartiall of all the Company, did iudge, that he had indeed carried himselfe a little sediciously, and that Drake, hauing an eye not so much vpon such as might surpasse him in Sea-faring renowne, as vpon those which were like to equall him, did rid his hands of him as of a Competitor. Others, presuming to haue more knowledge of his intentions, affirme, that Leicester had commanded him to make him away, vnder some pretext or other, in reuenge that he did auerre oftentimes, that he had made away my Lord of Essex by his deuices.

The 20. of August, hauing no more then three Shippes, (for he had cast off the other two at Sea, which were the lesser, after hee had taken in the men, and what else was ought worth) he came to the straight of Magellan, which is a Sea full of Ilands, and circled in with high Mountaines, the Element being full of Snow, and the wether very cold, past it, the sixth of September, and entred into the South Sea, which is called Peacible, or Still, which he found neuerthelesse much troubled, and his Fleet through the vehemencie of the Tempest, carried about an hundred Leagues into the Ocean and separated: At the same time they saw an Eclipse of the Moone, the fifteenth of September, at sixe of the Clocke at night. I speake this in fauour of Mathematicians, against that which others doe report. They saw also that part of the heauen next the South Pole, adorned with very few starres, and of farre lesser magnitude then those in our Hemisphere, and not aboue the third part of the greatnesse of ours. And that the two little Cloudes, which are of the colour of the Milke-way, which we call the little Cloudes of Magellan, are not farre distant from the Pole.

Of these Ships which the wind had thus hurried away, the one, in which Captaine Iohn Winter commanded, plying vp the straights of Magellan againe, returned safely into England, and is the first that euer passed that way. Drake, who was then driuen alone by this tempest with his Ship, vnto 55. degrees to the West, and hardly could recouer the breadth of the straights, ran along the Coast, and, contrary to that which is figured in the Maps, he found that these Lands fetch a great compasse about, before they trend vp into the East.

Being come the last of Nouember to the Ile of Mouscha, he sent his Mariners ashore for fresh water, two of which were taken and detayned by the Inhabitants. Being departed from thence, he meets with an Indian, who was fishing in his Canoe, who thinking that his men had bin Spaniards, told them, that at Villa Parizo, in the Roade, there was a great Spanish Ship laden, and brought them thither. The Spanish Mariners, which were but eight, and two Negroes, seeing the English ariue, and taking them for Spaniards, began to beate vp their Drummes, and drawing of their Wines of Chillie, to inuite them to drinke. But the English boording them, put them all vnder hatches, rifle the next Towne, called Saint Iacobin, and the Chappell also, the spoile whereof was for Mr. Fletcher, Minister to the Fleet: Afterwards they put all the men of their Prize on shore, except the Pilot, being a Grecian, and carrying both the Ship and him away, they found therein foure hundred waight of Gold of Baldiue, so called by the name of the place, because it is truely refined.

After that, Francis Drake landed at Taurapaze, where he found a Spaniard fast asleepe vpon the Sea side, and neere vnto him two great Barres of massie Siluer, to the value of foure thousand Ducats, which hee caused to bee carried away, without so much as awakening the man. Then being entred into the Hauen of Aricae, he found there three ships, without Master or Sailors; and within, 57. ingots of siluer, each of them weighing twenty pound waight, besides other marchandise. From thence hee sailed to Lima, and meets with twelue ships in the Roade, whose Tackling and Armes had been brought ashore: There was in them a great deale of Silke, and a little coffer full of coined money, but there was not so much as a Boy left to looke to them, so great they accounted the security of that Coast, for the distance of places, and also because the nauigation was vnknowne, no feare they had of Pirates. And indeed, no man from Magellan euer sailed those Seas before Drake, but onely the Spaniards, who haue built there all such Ships and Nauie as are there. Drake, hauing committed those Ships to the Ocean, hee made haste with all sailes spred, after another sumptuous Ship, very rich, called The Caco Fogue; whereof he had notice, was departed from Lima, & bound for Panama; but he first meeting with a small ship, from which he got 80. pound weight of Gold, a Crucifix of pure gold, diuers Emeralds of the length of a finger, and some Munition: The first day of March he ouertooke this Caco Fogue, and after he had beaten downe with a Cannon shot the fore-Mast, boords her, and takes it, finds therein, besides many precious stones, 80. pound waight more of gold, 13. coffers full of coyned money, and his ballast was pure siluer: all which he caused to be brought ashore, and leauing the said Ship, the Pilot, who was within, gaue Drake this pleasant farewell: We will exchange names of our Ships: Call yours, Cacofogue; and ours, Cacoplate: which is to say, yours shall be named Shite-fire, and ours Shite-siluer. Since that time he met with no rich prize. So omitting the relation of those ships of China, of the golden Eagle, of those

faire Negroes which the Spaniard gaue him for sparing his ship, and the pillage of a little Village called Aguatulcum; I will speake of his returne.

Drake esteemed himselfe abundantly rich, and indifferently well satisfied of the particular wrong which he had receiued of the Spaniards in S. Iohn of Vllua, thinkes now of his returne, and because it seemed to him full of eminent perils, to repasse through the straights of Magellan, aswell by reason of the raging Tempests vsuall there, as of diuers Shelfs and Rockes vnknowne, and likewise fearing lest the Spaniards should there watch for his comming backe, as indeed Francis of Toledo, Vice-Roy of Peruia, had to that end sent thither Peter Sermiente with two ships of Warre, as also to fortifie the straights of that Sea, if any were; Drake then tooke his way toward the North, at the latitude of 42. Degrees, to discouer in that part if there were any straight, by which he might find a neerer way to returne; But discerning nothing but darke and thicke cloudes, extremity of cold and open Cliffes couered thicke with snow, hee landed at the 38. Degree, and hauing found a commodious Rode, remained there a certaine time. The inhabitants of that Countrie were naked, merry, lusty, iumping, leaping, and dancing perpetually, sacrificing, and showing by signe and words, that they would elect Francis Drake for their King: neither could it be coniectured that euer the Spaniard had bin there, or so farre in that Countrie: Drake named that very countrey, being fat and good, full of Deeres and Conies, The new Albion; Causing a great Poste to be there erected, vpon which there was ingrauen an Inscription, which shewed the yeere of our Lord, the name of Queene ELIZABETH, and their landing there, and vnderneath a piece of siluer of Queene ELIZABETHS Coine was nailed to the said Poste.

Afterwards hauing weighed Anchor, in the moneth of Nouember, he arriued in the Ilands of the Mollucques, where the King of the Ile of Ternata receiued him graciously, and from thence, sayling vpon that sea full of Rockes and Ilands, his ship was, the ninth day of Ianuary, driuen to the top of a Rocke couered with water, where it remained in great danger seuen and twenty houres, and was accounted no better then lost, by all the men of the ship, who fell deuoutly vpon their knees, praying hartily vnto the Lord, expecting hourely to perish, with all the aboundance of riches heaped vp together with so much paine: But after they had hoysted their Sprit-Sayle, and cast into the Sea 8. Peeces of Ordnance, and diuers marchandizes, a fauourable wind rose, (as sent of God) which bore the ship aside, and withdrew it from aboue the Rocke.

After this, he landed at Iava major, greatly afflicted with the Poxe, which the Inhabitants doe cure, sitting in the heate of the sunne, to drie vp the poysonous and malignant humor. Where hauing tryed the humanity of the little King of the Countrey, he tooke his way towards the Cape of Bona esperance, which was celebrated as very remarkable, by the Mariners, which had formerly seene it. He landed vpon that coast to take in water, but found no fountaine there: if he had not in time prouided of water, when it rained, they had all beene in great distresse for sweet water. At last, he tooke in some at Riogrand, from whence hee finished his iourney into England, with a fauourable wind, which brought his Ship the ninth of Nouember, 1580. safe into the Hauen of Plimouth, where he tooke shipping, after his being abroad about the space of three yeeres: during which time he worthily sayled round about the Earth, to the admiration and laudable applause of all people, and without purchasing blame for any other things, than for his

putting to death Doughty, & for leauing at the mercy of the Spaniards, that Portugal Ship by him taken at the mouth of Africa, neere vnto Aquatulqua, and for hauing most inhumanely exposed in an Iland, that Negro or Black-more-Maide, who had beene gotten with Child in his Ship.

Queene ELIZABETH receiued him graciously, with all clemency, caused his riches to be sequestred and in readinesse, whensoeuer the Spaniard should re-claime them: Her Maiesty commanded likewise, that for a perpetuall memory to haue so happily circuited round about the whole Earth, his Ship should be drawne from the water, and put aside neere Deptford vpon Thames, where to this houre the body thereof is seene; and after the Queenes feasting therein, shee consecrated it with great ceremonie, pompe, and magnificence, eternally to be remembred; and her Maiesty forthwith honoured Drake with the dignity of Knighthood. As these things were performed, a slight Bridge, made of Boords, by which people went vp into the Ship, was broken downe by the Multitude, and about a hundred persons fell with it; they neuertheless receiued no harme at all: insomuch, that the Ship seemed to haue been built in a happy coniunction of the Planets. That very day, against the great Mast of the said Ship, many verses, composed to the praise & honour of Sir Francis Drake, were fastned, and fixed; among which, these in Latin were written by a Scholler of the Colledge of Winchester:

Plus Vltra, Herculeis inscribas, columnis, Drace,
Et magno, dicas, Herucle maior ero.

Escri DRACCes deux mots sur les piliers du Temple
Qui fut sacré iadis à Hercule guerrier,
PLVS OVLTRE, & quelque grand qu'ait esté son laurier
Di que le tien doibt estre & plus grand & plus ample.

DRAKE, on the Herculean columnes these words write,
Thou farther wentst then any mortall wight.
Though Hercules for trauell did excell,
From him and others thou didst beare the bell.

DRACE, pererrati quem nouit terminus orbis,
Quemq; simul mundi vidit vterq; Polus.
Sitaceant homines, faciunt te sydera notum.
Sol nescit comitis non memor esse fui.

Drac qui as parcouru tous les quartiers du monde,
Et les Poles as veu, Quand les gens manqueront
A chanter tes vertus, les Astres le feront.
Le Soleil n'oublira celuy qui le seconde.

Braue DRAKE, that round about the world didst saile,
And viewedst all the Poles, when men shall faile
Thee to commend, the starres will do't the Sunne
Will not forget how with him thou didst run.

Dignaratis quae stet radiantibus inclyta stellis,
Supremo coeli vertice digna ratis.

CE NAVIRE qui rend à tous hommes notoire
La gloire d'vn grand Chef, merite que les Dieux
Mettent autour de luy des Astres radieux,
Et au plus hault du Ciel estre éclatant de gloire.

THAT SHIP whose good successe did make thy name
To be resounded by the trump of of Fame:
Merits to be beset with Stars diuine,
Instead of waues, and in the Skie to shine.

Nothing anger'd worse Sir Francis Drake, than to see the Nobles and the chiefest of the Court, refuse that Gold and Siluer which he presented them withall, as if hee had not lawfully come by it. The Commons neuerthelesse applauded him with all praise and admiration, esteeming, he had purchased no lesse glory in aduancing the limits of the English, their honor and reputation, than of their Empire.

Bernard Mendoze, then Ambassadour for Spaine, in England, murmuring at it, and, as not well pleased, demands vehemently of the Queene the things taken. But he was answered:

That the Spaniards had procured vnto themselues that euil through their iniustice towards the English, in hindering, against the right of Nations, their Negotiations; That Sir Francis Drake was alwaies ready to answere the Law, if by iust inditements, and certaine testimonies they could conuict him, to haue committed any thing against equity. That to no end but to giue satisfaction to their King, the riches he brought in were sequestred, though her Maiesty had spent (against the Rebels which Spaine had moued and instigated in Ireland and England against her,) more money than Drake was worth. Moreouer, that her Maiestie could finde no reason why Spaine should hinder her Subiects, and those of other Princes, from sayling to the Indies: that shee could not be perswaded that they were his owne, although the Pope had ne'r so much giuen them to him: that shee acknowledged no such Prerogatiue in the Pope, much lesse the least authority, as to oblige Princes, who owe him no obedience at all, vnder his to power inuest & put the Spaniard, as in fee and possession of that New-World; also, that shee could not see how he could deriue the least right, but by those descents and landing here and there of his Subiects, who built there small cottages to inhabit, and named the Promontorie; Things neuerthelesse that can purchase no propriety. So that by vertue of such donation of other mens goods, which in equitie is nothing worth, and of this proprietie that is meerly imaginary, hee cannot iustly hinder other Princes to negotiate in those Regions; but they, without infringing any waies the Lawes of Nations, may lawfully bring in Colonies in those parts that are not yet inhabited by the King of Spaines Subiects, sith Prescription without possession, is of no validity euen as to sayle vpon the mayne Ocean, that the vse of the Sea as of the Ayre is common to all, and that publique necessitie permits not it should be possessed; that there is nor people, no particular, that can challenge or pretend any other right therein.

Neuerthelesse, since this, great summes of money were pay'd backe to Piedro Sebure, a Spaniard, who styled himselfe Attourney, for the recouery of the Gold and Siluer, though hee could shew no such Letter of procuration or receits. And it was discouered (but too late) that he made no retribution at all to particulars, but spent it against Queene ELIZABETH, vpon the Spaniards, who maintained the warre of Flanders.

SIR WILLIAM MONSON

Sir William Monson, one of the most distinguished naval officers of his time, was born in 1569 and died in 1643. During his long life and long service he must have accumulated a vast quantity of documents and retained copies of opinions and reports which he had rendered at different times. About 1640 or 1641 he wrote up his observations on the naval history of his time to which he added copies taken from documents in his own personal archives. The work was known in manuscript form but was never published in full until 1704, when it appeared as: *Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts*, forming pages 163 to 560 besides six of title and preliminaries, of Vol. III of Churchill's collection of voyages. An excerpt had been published in 1682 under the title, *A True and Exact Account of the Wars with Spain in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

The work is a perfect mine of information regarding naval affairs in the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the reigns of James and Charles, containing facts which would be difficult to find elsewhere.

As early as 1585 Monson was an officer in the navy and a captain by 1589. From 1585 on he sailed with most of the expeditions sent out by the Queen against the Spanish fleet or for the purpose of annoying the King of Spain, and even with a few private ones such as those set forth by his friend the Earl of Cumberland. He does not seem to have taken part in any with Drake, although he gives extremely interesting information regarding some in which Drake was engaged. After giving a resumé of Magellan's voyage around the world and succeeding Spanish voyages he proceeds to discuss those of Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, prefacing these with a curious note:

> From this Year, till the Year 1577. the attempt of the Streights lay dead, not any one seeking to Enterprize it, till Sir Francis Drake had it in agitation, and perform'd it with as great a Resolution, to the general Honour of our Nation. It was after this, and in the Year 1586. begun and perform'd by Mr. Candish. The time of his Departure from England, his Days of Sailing, the space he was abroad, and the time of his Return, shall appear in a brief Repetition I have made by way of Journal, with some Addition of Sir Francis Drake himself, which is the next that follows.

The additions referred to must have been to Drake's voyage and not to that of Cavendish as would be naturally inferred from the text. If so, it would be interesting to know what these were. The words would seem to indicate that Monson had written them before Drake died, but this is very unlikely. The other explanation would be that Monson had copied, or at least extracted his story from, some account to which Drake had made some additions and this appears to be the more reasonable one as there is nothing to show that this part of the book at least, was written before 1640.

He devoted the Introduction to Sir Francis' voyage about the world to some examination of his career and a comparison of his perfections with his imperfections. In the course of this he says, "but lastly, and principally, that after so many Miseries and Extremities he endur'd, and almost two Years spent in unpractis'd Seas, when reason would have bid him sought home for his Rest, he left his known Course, and ventur'd upon and unknown Sea in 48 Degrees, which Sea or Passage we know had been often attempted by our Seas, but never discover'd." An examination of his account of the voyage shows most extraordinary errors, most of which no doubt arose from careless reading of his manuscript when the book was printed. What few dates are correctly given, or nearly so, seem to have been taken from the *World Encompassed*, and of the places mentioned some are to be found in that book and one at least, in the "Famous Voyage." The mention of the earthquake at Caño March 16 is a further indication that he used the *World Encompassed* as that story is only found in that narrative. We know that he made use of Hakluyt's *Voyages* as he refers to that book elsewhere in the course of his work. His account of the voyage follows:

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

Sir Francis Drake departed from Plimouth with 5 Ships and a Pinnace on the 13th of December, 1577. The 25th he fell in with the Coast of Barbary; the 29th of December with the Isle of Mayo and Cape Verd; the 13th of March he pass'd the Equinoctian Line; the 5th of April he fell in with Brazil, and in 30 Degrees, and so to the River of Plate, where he lost the Company of two of his Ships, but meeting them again, took out their Provisions and cast them off.

The 29th of May they came to St. Julian's Port, where the People were extraordinary tall of Stature, and Magellan term'd them Giants; this was the Place where Mr. Douty was executed the 7th of July, 1578. and in the same Island where Magellan executed his Mutiniers, as I have shew'd before. The 20th of August he fell in with the Streights of Magellan; the 25th of September he pass'd them; the 25th of November he came to Macho, a Port in Peru, in 30 Degrees, where he had

appointed a Meeting if the Ships had lost Company, but Captain Winter was return'd home after he had pass'd the Streights. The 25th of December he came to St. Jacob; the 29th to Cippo, where the Spaniards arm'd 300 Men against them.

In February he arriv'd in Chile; the 15th at Lima; the 16th of March at Acaculco, where he felt a terrible Earthquake in his Ship. From the 16th of April till the 5th of June, he sail'd without seeing Land, and arriv'd in 48 Degrees, thinking to find a Passage into our Seas, which Land he nam'd Albion; the People were courteous, and took his Men for Gods; they live in great extremity of Cold and Want: Here they trim'd their Ship, and departed the 25th of July, 1579. standing his Course for the Molucco's.

The 29th of September he fell in with certain Islands, where he met with the worst-condition'd People of all his Voyage; the 19th of October he came to Mendiona, where he Water'd; then to the Islands Tagolada and Saron the first of November; the 4th he had sight of the Molucco's, and coming to Ternate, was kindly and civilly us'd by the King: the 10th of December to Celebes, and here his Ship struck upon a Rock, but was most miraculously preserv'd; he came near to Beratin, where he was refresh'd, but found the People cruel. The 16th of March he came to Java Major, thinking to go from thence to Malaca, but Necessity forc'd him to direct his Course homeward. The 25th of March, 1580. he departed from Java. The 15th of June he pass'd the Cape of Good Hope, having 57 Men, and but three Buts of Water. The 12th of July he came under the Line; the 16th he fell in with the Coast of Guinea, and there Water'd; the 22d of August into the height of the Canaries; the 11th of September into the height of Tercera; the 24th in sight of Silly; the 25th to Plimouth, where we was well welcom'd, and his Ship afterwards carri'd to Deptford, where she lies to this day for a Monument, and himself Knighted in her, as he worthily deserv'd.

GEORGE FORTESCUE

IN 1642 in Cambridge, Thomas Fuller published his *Holy State*. Chapter 22 of Book II contains an account of the life of Sir Francis Drake which would not be noticed here except for the fact that in his account of the voyage around the world there are several references in the margin to a manuscript of George Fortescue who accompanied Drake on the voyage, and from which Fuller evidently extracted a few notes. The extracts are of no importance and only one conveys any information not to be found in other narratives. The King of Ternate told them, Fuller says, evidently quoting from Fortescue, that "they and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed not in Gods made of stocks and stones as did the Portugalls." Most of the quotations are attributed to Camden and Hakluyt, that is, the "Famous Voyage."

Fuller states that after passing the Strait of Magellan they "came to the southermost land at the height of 55½ latitudes."

JOHN DRAKE

JOHN DRAKE, the young cousin of Francis Drake, who accompanied him on his expedition, later took part in the Fenton expedition, and after various vicissitudes was captured by the Spaniards and carried to the town of Santa Fe in the Argentine, where he was examined and made a deposition, March 24, 1584. Juan Perez, who officiated as interpreter on this occasion, was the same man who had been captured by Fenton and whose interesting account of his experiences is printed hereafter. He recognized Drake, with whom he seems to have become very well acquainted while a prisoner, and thus the authorities became aware of the fact that John Drake accompanied Francis Drake on his voyage around the world, and therefore questioned him about it. Drake was carried to Lima and on the 8th, 9th and 10th of January, 1587, made another deposition. A copy of an abridgement of his deposition of 1584, probably contemporary, is in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island. A translation of it was published in May, 1889, in Vol. VIII of the *Western Antiquary.*

Both depositions have been printed, together with translations by Lady Eliott-Drake, as Appendices I and II to her book, *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake.* Parts of both were translated by Mrs. Nuttall from copies of the originals which still exist in the *Archivo General de las Indias* in Seville in the *legajo* of papers relating to Drake, 2-5-2/21, in *New Light on Drake.* In the second deposition, Drake gave an account of his family, and recounted his experiences after returning to England with Francis Drake, and during the Fenton expedition. These parts were not published by Mrs. Nuttall, although some extracts regarding the family were included in an introductory note; consequently the translation of Lady Eliott-Drake is preferable. As Drake was a young man, his memory must have been good, and therefore his accounts are entitled to credit. He claimed to be a good Catholic at the time he took the oath as such, and could hardly have had any motive for misrepresentation. It is to be noted that he did not know his age, an indication that he had had very little or no education. In his deposition, January 8, 1587, he said he was twenty-two or twenty-

three years of age, but later, in the same deposition, he said that when he started out with Captain Francis (that is, November, 1577) he was fourteen or fifteen years old. He accompanied Francis Drake from the beginning to the end of his voyage, and his evidence is of some value although marked by an almost entire absence of dates, which is perhaps not to be wondered at, considering that the depositions were taken some years after the occurrences, and he had apparently no memoranda with which to refresh his memory. In a general way it may be stated that he confirmed the account of Cooke and the "Anonymous Narrative." For the specific cases, the reader is referred to the Notes to the narrative of the voyage.

The two differ somewhat, and in some essential particulars. As both have been several times printed and are therefore easily available, I have not reprinted them, but instead, have translated the one published by Antonio de Herrera in the second volume of his *Historia General del Mundo,* published in Valladolid in 1606. This account, which occurs in Book 9, Chap. 13, is copied almost literally from Drake's first deposition. There are a few notable blunders, and in a few cases Herrera has the facts out of their proper order. There are also a few additions to the narrative proper, taken from other sources. He had at hand, no doubt, most of the official documents contained in the *legajo* of Drake papers in the archives in Seville, and there is one pretty certain indication that he even saw Drake's second deposition. (See Note 20 to his account.) There are two important differences. Leaving Guatulco (Herrera has it Acapulco) he says: "They sailed towards the northwest and northeast two months until he reached a latitude of 45° or a little more, with the purpose of seeking the strait which has been referred to." The original, however, mentions 48° four different times, so it could hardly be a blunder of Herrera to state that 45° and "algo mas" was the most northern point reached. It is possible of course, that he made the change so as not to carry the expedition higher than he thought Drake had gone. Farther on, in speaking of Ternate, Herrera says that on that island where they bartered for cloves and ginger, the King wished to kill Drake. Drake mentions the bartering for cloves and ginger, but says nothing about the King wishing to kill Francis Drake, in either deposition.

Herrera, after Drake, refers to the largest and best island as having been named New Albion by Drake but he does not say that it was in California. Neither did Drake in his first deposition, and

it is only in the second, made in 1587, that he spoke of going to the "Californias" in 48°. This use of the term "Californias" at that period is very curious, as in common Spanish parlance the term when used, only applied to the lower end of the peninsula. In contemporary Spanish literature, written or printed, the Northwest coast is never, to my knowledge, referred to as California, but always as New Spain.

Herrera's account was utilized by Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola in his *Conquista de las islas Malucas,* published in Madrid three years later. Argensola also had at his command the report of Francisco de Dueñas, reprinted hereafter, but apparently did not see the letter of the Governor of the Philippines, Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, of which an extract is given in Chapter IX, of June, 1586, which gives a very much different account of Dueñas' visit to the Moluccas from that written by Dueñas himself. Many of the incidents of the voyage among the islands related by Drake, not to be found in any of the other accounts, are confirmed by Dueñas.

ANTONIO DE HERRERA'S ACCOUNT OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE

The English animated the rebels in Flanders in order to keep the Catholic King in trouble, basing this on a rule of state which today is used by those who place it before conscience, namely, that for their own conservation it is appropriate to keep their neighbors in trouble. In order that this should not be done in one place only, as usual, pirates went forth from England. Now commenced his fame as a great corsair, Francis Drake, gentleman, native of the province of Devon, who, from the affair which John Hawkins had in San Juan de Ulua in the year 1568,[1] with the gold with which at that time he ran off, having armed certain ships, offered to go with them to the South Sea entering by the Strait of Magellan. He promised that besides the captures which he would make because of the carelessness with which the Spaniards navigated that sea he would sail north as far as he could in search of the strait which the cosmographers have been so insistent exists, and having found it would return that way to England.

Drake left the port of Plymouth with four ships,[2] the *Capitana* of 120 tons, all armed at the cost of the Queen, John Hawkins and others, and Francis Drake himself. He carried two hundred men[3] of war and ten young gentlemen to learn

[1] This is a reference to Herrera's account of the Hawkins expedition which is published in Vol. I, Chap. 18 of Book 16. He there states that during the fight in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua Hawkins ordered Drake to go aboard the ship *Frances* taking a good part of the gold which had been received in trade and to wait for him outside the port, but Drake did not do as ordered, but went to England and giving out the news that Hawkins was lost, ran off with the gold which he had, saying that he had divided it among the sailors. This, he said, was his beginning and although the Queen kept him a prisoner three months, on urgent entreaty she pardoned him and so the matter rested. I do not think that Herrera originated this story as it will be found in certain English authors of the time. It is a curious fact that when John Hawkins returned he published an account of his voyage and never once mentioned Drake's name.

[2] Drake said that there were five ships.

[3] Drake said 160 men.

the art of navigation. They were so well armed with artillery that each one carried eighteen bronze pieces.[4] At the first step he arrived at Cape Bojador on the coast of Africa where he stopped six days repairing his ships. The Moors captured two men. From there he continued to Cape Blanco and from a Portuguese vessel took fish and four quintals of biscuit. He then arrived at the Cape Verde Islands, and from another Portuguese ship he took wine, cloth, hollands, and other things, and took along the ship which was of one hundred tons burden, together with the pilot called Silva who was versed in the navigation of the coast of Brazil. He then took his course to the Rio de la Plata, where he happily arrived without touching land and went up the river until he found the water fresh. At the end of six days, having then taken water and wood, he sailed out of the river and went to the Bay of San Juan[5] but was a month in arriving, sailing always towards the south in the open sea without seeing either people or ships. In a storm the Portuguese ship sank without anybody escaping. In the Bay of San Julian he wintered several months, some say two and some more, and here he broke up a ship on account of the need of fire wood, as it was very cold, on account of which several men died. Besides the fact that the bay is in 50°, the land is exposed and subject to very cold winds on account of the great amount of snow in the sierras. In this bay the people wished to mutiny under urging by a gentleman named John Auter, who wished to run off with the fleet, but Francis Drake was so vigilant that he took him prisoner and shortly cut off his head, thus saving himself from danger. There also appeared at this bay eight Indians of such great stature that the largest Englishman in the fleet (who was very tall) lacked a cubit of being as tall. They carried bows, not very large but very strong, and wishing to have a test with the Indians, because the English are good archers, an Indian fearlessly shot an arrow at the large Englishman and killed him. The others fired some arrows and killed two other Englishmen and then ran with such speed that they could not be caught, so it is no fable what is said about the giants of that country.[6]

When it appeared that the north winds were blowing, for which they had been waiting to enter the Strait, they sailed with three ships and were fifteen days in arriving there, always traveling towards the south. They were five days in going from the entrance of the Strait to the first narrows on account of calms and the currents, although the distance was not more than ten leagues. At the entrance of the Strait they found ten fathoms of water, and from there on, thirty and forty, and in other places sixty and one hundred and even more up to the end of the Strait. In the place of the greatest narrowness they did not find any bottom. They saw no people although they discovered smoke.

In going out into the South Sea they encountered a storm which lasted forty days[7] and during it lost two ships. One, the *Almiranta,* returned to England by the same Strait; the third went down with all on board. Francis Drake with the

[4] Drake's account of the artillery is quite different.

[5] Drake, by mistake, calls this the Bay of San Julian.

[6] This account of the Indian fight does not appear in Drake's first deposition although he says there were seven or eight Indians and two Englishmen killed. The rest of the story has some resemblance to the one he told in his second deposition.

[7] Drake does not mention forty days nor any other number; Herrera obtained his statement from San Juan de Anton's deposition.

Capitana turned back towards the south in the wide sea until he reached 50° from where he returned to the South Sea by the way which he had been carried by the storm and continued his voyage to the coast of Chile. On this account it is affirmed that the part on the south side is not mainland. The *Almiranta* arrived at England, having touched in the port of San Vicente on the coast of Brazil where they would not give the crew permission to go on shore and trade.[8] The Queen ordered the Captain to be arrested, and when Francis Drake returned, they wished to hang him because he had deserted, but on account of his wishes [Drake's] they did not do so.

Francis Drake went on shore on the coast about twenty leagues beyond the Strait, and saw some Indians of medium size who did not await his coming. From there he passed to the Island of Mocha on the coast, about three hundred leagues from the Strait. In this island he remained a day and a night without taking water or wood. He had no more than fifty men, and the Indians killed two of these and wounded him in the face because they fight on that island with long pikes and bows. From the Island of Mocha he went to Valparaiso, and an Indian who was fishing showed him where there was a ship in which he found a quantity of wine and food, some gold, and eleven men. Nine of these he put on shore, and two he carried with him, as well as the ship, which was one of 120 tons. Ten leagues before Coquimbo he landed to take water but horsemen who came out prevented it and killed an Englishman. Ten leagues farther on he took two Spaniards and four bars of silver and six llamas. In the port of Arica he found two ships from which he took forty bars of silver and some food, and carried off a Fleming he found aboard. In another port, ten leagues farther on, he took another ship and with the three which he had, he went in the direction of Lima, and having arrived at Callao, passed in between the island and the mainland,[9] piloted by a Portuguese whom he took in a bark six leagues at sea. This was freighted with silk and other merchandise and because he guided him he took nothing from him.

Francis Drake, with the three ships[10] entered Callao at ten o'clock at night and found thirteen[11] ships, cut their cables and took six of them. In five he found nothing but food. The other which was of 130 tons just arrived from Panama with a cargo of silk and doublets, he carried with him. At break of day he sailed from Callao. The Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, informed of the news the same night, went down from the city of Los Reyes and with the greatest diligence dispatched two ships after the Corsair. Although on board these there were honorable men, through fear they returned, and Don Francisco de Toledo for this punished many of them.[12]

Shortly, Francis Drake took another ship loaded with food and took out of her a pilot who carried him to the port of Paita where he had news that a ship from Lima of eighty tons with a great quantity of silver had passed there. He hurried up to overtake her but did not do so because the ships in the South Sea are very

[8] This statement is derived from another source. Cliffe, who says this happened at Tanay, gives a somewhat different version. W. E., 282.

[9] The statement that the ships passed between the island and the mainland must have been known from official sources. Drake mentions it in the second deposition only.

[10] Drake does not say that he had the three ships with him, nor was it the fact.

[11] I do not know where Herrera obtained this figure.

[12] Herrera must have condensed this statement regarding the Viceroy's proceedings from the official documents.

swift sailers, much more so than any others in the world, but those on board the ship, discovering Francis Drake, stopped, thinking it was a ship from Lima.[13] Having reached her, Drake ordered them to lower her sails, and as they were without arms and careless, they surrendered without resistance, and he found the silver which he was looking for. This was near Punta de San Francisco. Already he had left the other ships, and another which he took a short distance beyond. As a Negro said that she had gold on board he threatened to hang the master if he did not reveal it, but as he affirmed that it was not true, Drake ordered the Negro whipped.

The following day he fell in with another ship, in which he found some silver and a little gold. He took from her flour and hams, and the plate of the Captain was divided among his men.[14]

He then went in the direction of New Spain, and at some islands near Nicaragua he found a ship loaded with corn, and as the Indians were on the defensive, having taken water and wood, he went on along the coast of Acapulco and fell in with a ship which was bound for Lima, in which he found Don Francisco de Zárate. He took her as she made no defense, and also a Fleming and six bales of cloth and silk, and many round loaves of bread and good biscuit. Francis Drake treated Don Francisco de Zárate well, took from him a Negress and let him go. In the port of Acapulco[15] he found a ship of one hundred tons burden loaded with linen, and took from her four bales and some nails. Here he remained two days. He took two Spaniards but soon turned them loose and also the Portuguese pilot, Silva, whom he had taken in Cape Verde, and with his own people only, the Negress and three Negroes, he sailed towards the northwest and the northeast[16] two months, encountering great storms and a sky obscured with many fogs, until he reached a latitude of somewhat more than 45°,[17] with the purpose of seeking the strait which has been referred to.[18]

Francis Drake, on this journey, saw five or six islands of good land. He called one San Bartolome, one San Jaime,[19] and another which seemed to be the largest and the best, Nueva Albion. Here he remained a month and a half, repairing the

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[13] Not in Drake's account. Herrera is a little mixed here; the eighty-ton ship was the one referred to at the end of the paragraph, the master of which Drake threatened to hang. Drake said there were two friars on this ship but he nowhere says that the ship belonged to them as stated in Mrs. Nuttall's note, No. 5 on page 29 of her book.

[14] Drake, after speaking of taking the silver and gold from the *Cacafuego*, and some flour and hams, says "Y que de la baxilla que traia el capitan Francisco repartio entre la gente del dicho navio." This clause is susceptible of the meaning attributed to it by Mrs. Nuttall on page 30 that it was *his* table service which he divided among the crew of the *Cacafuego*, but I think it much more likely that the passage refers to the table service that the captured ship carried, and that he divided this among his own crew. My interpretation is borne out by what Herrera says "la baxilla de plata del Capitan repartio a su gente." Herrera never speaks of Drake as the "Capitan" but always by his own name so it is clear that he thought that Drake meant the captain of the ship.

[15] This should be Guatulco.

[16] The text of the Drake account is plainly north-northeast and not north-northwest as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, page 31.

[17] Drake says 48°.

[18] The last part of this sentence is an interpolation as no such statement occurs in Drake's narrative.

[19] The preceding part of this sentence is found in the Drake account but is omitted in Mrs. Nuttall's translation. See page 31 of her book.

two ships[20] which he had with him. From here he went to the Ladrones Islands in 9° where he killed twenty Indians because they attacked him with one hundred canoes in order to take his ships. Steering towards the south and the southwest he went to an island which is in 7°, where he took water and wood, and sailing to the southwest, arrived in twenty days at the Moluccas. In the island of Ternate, where he traded for cloves and ginger, the King wished to kill him.[21] He found a Portuguese ship but did not touch her. He passed thence to Greater Java where he exchanged cloth for food consisting of cassava, bananas and chickens.

He then passed to another island which is in 4° on this side of the Equator towards our pole, where on account of bad weather he remained a month and a half. As the island was uninhabited, he left on it the Negress and two Negroes, with fire, rice and seeds, so they could make a settlement, although what most moved him to this was that they should not eat his victuals.[22] Without landing, he went to the Cape of Good Hope in two months and a half, and found it in 36°.[23] He reconnoitered Angola[24] in Guinea but did not anchor because it was not a good port and the wind was contrary. Afterwards he went to Sierra Leone in much distress for lack of water. It was a marvel that he could take it there because the winds are always northeast.[25] Now he only had one ship, and he stopped there five days cleaning her, and taking on water and wood, having liberated themselves from the great thirst which they had passed through. At the Cape of Good Hope they only had three pipes of water and a half of one of wine, and when they arrived at Sierra Leone no more than a half a pint of water was given to three persons. They were forty-eight in number[26] all told, and all would have perished if they had been three days longer in arriving. From Sierra Leone, without touching land or seeing a ship, they went to England to the port of Plymouth from whence they had sailed, and there all the gold and silver was discharged and carried to London.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza, ambassador of the Catholic King, being informed of the arrival of Francis Drake and of the treasure which he had, estimated at a million, made some very lively official demands on the Queen to order it restored, and to punish the Corsair, because in robbing the vassals of the Spanish King, he had violated the public peace. The Queen answered that she would take the treasure for herself in satisfaction of the damages caused her by the war in Ireland which had been brought on by the connivance of the Catholic King, and with this the Corsair would be punished. With all this she gave him some part of it, and also to the sailors, although it is to be presumed that what had been hidden was no little. On this account and on many others, Don Bernardino de Mendoza left England on this occasion.

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[20] In the first deposition Drake speaks of only having one ship in New Albion, but in the second deposition he says Drake had two, one of which he left when he sailed away. This is about the only certain evidence in Herrera's account that he had seen John Drake's second deposition as that is the only narrative of which I have any knowledge which contains that statement.

[21] I refer to this statement elsewhere. Herrera seems to have his account badly mixed here and all reference to the ship running on a rock is omitted as it is in Drake's deposition, but Drake made a supplementary statement in which he referred to it.

[22] The last part of this statement is entirely gratuitous, although probably true.

[23] Drake said 35° and 36°.

[24] "Angola" is an interpolation of Herrera's.

[25] This sentence is also an interpolation of Herrera.

[26] Drake said fifty-nine, one having died. He added this no doubt to account for the sixty which he said they numbered at Ternate.

NUÑO DA SILVA

THE accounts given at different times by Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot, form the earliest and in some respects the most satisfactory records of the voyage from the Cape Verde Islands to Guatulco. Beyond doubt, he is the safest authority to follow for the occurrences during this part of the voyage, because, in the first place, his accounts are the earliest written of which we have any record, and in the second place, they have not suffered any editing. Besides his depositions, there is what purports to be his log, which was discovered by Mrs. Nuttall in the A. G. I. in Seville. It may well be doubted, however, that this is the original log as it has more the appearance of being a memorandum, made up by him from a log, whether his own or that of the ship cannot now be known. That several dates are incorrectly given in it is a good indication that it is not the original; besides, it has no resemblance whatever to a ship's log which does not omit any day, no matter how stormy it may be, and in which at least some reference to the prevailing winds is always put down. There are so many gaps in it that it would appear that Silva, in copying some log, had omitted all that he thought of no importance. The occurrence with the document of a few sheets with fuller details indicates that they may be the remnants of an original one. However, as none kept by Drake is in existence so far as known, this memorandum of Silva, or log, if it is preferred to call it such, is of the greatest value, even, although being inaccurate in one or two essential points, some doubt might be cast on the reliability of the rest of it.

The various depositions he gave contain very few dates, an indication that he did not have the log by him at such times with which to refresh his memory. Hardly any possible motive can be imagined for concealing it, as the log contains little information, beyond these, not to be ascertained or inferred from his various depositions. What probably occurred was that his papers, and consequently his log, were sequestrated at the time of his arrest and he had to rely upon his memory for the accounts he gave. Some support is given to this theory by the notations attached to the document at the time it was returned to him.

On the whole, Silva told a pretty straight story in all his depo-

sitions, and no doubt was telling the truth according to his lights. Indeed, he could hardly have had any reason for doing otherwise. Nevertheless, it is to be noticed that all the depositions he made, and the log as well, begin with a statement that he was captured January 19 off the Island of Santiago. This is entirely at variance with the English accounts wherein the day is given as January 30. It appears that Silva was either eleven days too early in his record or Cooke and Cliffe that many too late. If the latter were mistaken, then their preceding itineraries are also wrong as they both agree substantially in presenting a consecutive series of events up to January 30. Silva, therefore, must have been in error, and if the so-called log was really his log, the error is inexplicable. The difference of eleven days is just one day more than the ten days which were added at the time of the change to the Gregorian Calendar, made shortly after, but there is nothing to show that the dates in the English accounts have been changed to "New Style" because where we have other corroborative evidence later in the voyage we find them to be "Old Style."

A statement will be found in the log under the entry of March that on the 10th of that month they were in a bay in 13° and during that month Drake ran along the coast of Brazil, and in his deposition of May 23, he also referred to this bay where he said Drake was afraid to take water on account of the galleys which were usually there. These are positive statements, yet in his deposition of May 20, made only three days before the latter, he distinctly stated that they sighted land April 1 in 30° without having made any previous mention of having seen the coast. None of the English accounts mentions seeing land before April 5 unless we might infer from Fletcher's that they sighted it about March 8 from his statement that they were out of sight of land thirty-four days, that is, from the time of leaving Brava (W. E., 27). Later on in the narrative, however, he says it was fifty-four days (*Ibid.*, 31), so it seems likely that the first figure is a clerical error. As the town of Bahia is in 13° and the Portuguese did at that time keep some naval force there, there may be some truth in Silva's statements. Perhaps a solution of the difficulty may lie in the fact that although Drake was in the bay in 13° he did not actually sight land, and having determined his position by the lead, turned more towards the south and followed the coast out of sight of land, keeping his position by means of the soundings marked on Silva's chart just as Silva says he did.

There are also in his depositions naturally some mistakes in dates as presumably he was answering from memory, and in the log there are a number which can be determined by comparison with contemporary Spanish official accounts. There are also certain other points in which he may have been mistaken, but generally speaking, he confirms the statements made by John Cooke and those in the "Anonymous Narrative," even such as were omitted from the "Famous Voyage" when the latter was copied by the compiler, although in some cases he gives more detailed information. His account of what happened during the great storm is the only intelligible one left. It is to be noted that nowhere does he speak of Drake taking possession of any island, an omission for which it is difficult to account if such actually took place. It may be said, however, that there is very little evidence that Drake went through any such performance.

Drake carried him as far as Guatulco, although he could hardly have been of much service to him after passing Brazil, indeed in his log it is stated that Drake intended to put him ashore and give him his ship at Espiritu Santo and held a council to pass on the matter. Presumably the council gave an adverse opinion as neither he nor his ship was released. Much has been made of an assertion by Fletcher that Silva willingly went with Drake (W. E., 26). The statement will have to stand for what it is worth as I have found nothing to corroborate it nor on the contrary to disprove it. Like most prisoners, he seems to have accepted the inevitable with some degree of complacency and did the best he could to extract some advantage from a disagreeable predicament. Drake no doubt treated him well and in return Silva gave him what information he had which might be of use to Drake. Obstinacy was apparently not one of his characteristics, nor that of any of the other pilots whom Drake captured except Colchero.

Mrs. Nuttall advances the opinion that after he had been sent to Spain in 1582 he might have gone to England and settled at Plymouth (*Op. cit.*, 396). This is a mere supposition, but there is some evidence that he might have gone to England, where the compiler of the *World Encompassed* may have consulted his log as the dates given in that work, from the day of arrival at the Island of Mocha to that of leaving Guatulco, are almost identical with those in the log, and what is still more remarkable, where errors occur in one the same occur in the other.

In view of the fact that all the known accounts given by Silva are translated by Mrs. Nuttall in her book, one even having been printed in an English translation by Hakluyt as early as 1600, and as there is naturally a great deal of duplication in the different documents, I have not deemed it necessary to print any of them separately. In order to put together all the information which he gave, I have made up a composite account which will be found to contain everything essential regarding that part of the voyage of which he had personal knowledge. As his accounts vary somewhat in details, the most important differences between them are set out in the foot-notes. All irrelevant matter has been omitted as not pertinent to this investigation.

For ease in reference I have designated the different accounts as follows:

A. His deposition made at Guatulco in April, 1579.
B. His deposition before the Viceroy, May 20, 1579.
C. His deposition made before the Inquisition, May 23, 1579.
D. His deposition made before the Inquisition, May 21, 1580.
E. The log.
F. Information he gave San Juan de Anton.

The statements taken from A, B and F are from my own translations of photostat copies of the documents in legajo 2-5-2/21 in the Archives in Seville; from C, they are taken from my translation of a typewritten copy of the document in the Archives of Mexico, while those from D and E are taken from the translations of Mrs. Nuttall, it having unfortunately proved impossible to locate the log in the Archives.

I am a married citizen of the town of Guya,[1] in the district of the city of Oporto, and a native of Lisbon, a son of Alvaro Yañez, a seaman, and of Gohana da Silva, his wife, by whom I was brought up until I reached the age of eight years. Then my uncle, Dom Fernando, a pilot, took me to Brazil where I remained in his company and made voyages in the fleet of the King of Portugal until I was twenty years of age and a sailor. My uncle having died, I continued on the Portugal-Brazil course as a sailor, then as a pilot, and finally as captain and pilot combined, of merchant vessels. In the month of November, 1577, I sailed from Oporto for the Island of La Palma as pilot of a vessel to load wines for Brazil. Having loaded the ship, continuing on my voyage by the Cape Verde Islands, January 19 as I was entering the port of Santiago for water and about to cast anchor, I saw approaching on the windward side six ships[2] of an English corsair,

[1] One of the manuscripts has Gaya. I do not know which is correct. As Silva was Portuguese his name no doubt was *da* Silva, although in all the Spanish documents it is written *de* Silva.

[2] A, "seven ships."

one of which he had captured. The fort on the island fired four shots at them without effect. He captured my ship, took my men out of her, except a few boys and useless men, and the same day went to the Island of Brava, taking the ship with him. January 21, he put all my crew in a boat and sent them ashore. He then put forty or fifty Englishmen aboard my ship, laden as she was with merchandise, and took me along because he knew I was a pilot acquainted with the Brazilian coast. Drake took from me my astrolabe, my navigation chart which embraced, however, only the Atlantic Ocean as far as the Rio de la Plata on the west and the Cape of Good Hope on the east, and my book of instructions. He also took the charts of my master and boatswain and divided them among his officers. He caused a chart of the coast of Brazil to be translated into English from the Portuguese, and as we went along the coast he kept on verifying it down to 24° which is as far as the Portuguese charts reach.

After taking on water, Drake sailed for the coast of Brazil, taking a southeast by south course to February 8. While en route he took out twenty pipes of wine, clothing, etc., from my ship. On February 20, we crossed the Line. March 10, we reached the coast of Brazil and entered a bay in 13°.[3] We did not land to take water as Drake was afraid of the galleys which might be there. Sometime in March, a council was held on board to see whether they should put me on land at Espiritu Santo and give me my ship. Continuing our voyage south from 13°, Drake kept making soundings until we reached 39°. The coast is very low and we saw little of it until we sighted land April 5, at 30°. April 12, we again sighted land at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata in 34° 40′ and the following day arrived at the river. On the 14th we started up the river after fresh water and continued sailing up at night. On the 18th, we came to anchor eight leagues up the river and caught some seals. On the 22nd, we went up the river twenty-five leagues where we took water for two ships, on the 23rd started on the return by the south side, and on the 25th sailed out of the estuary of the river southeast. During our stay in the river we only had two days of good weather.

On the 27th we saw land in 39° and anchored near some reefs of rocks,[4] and here Drake ran the two smallest ships ashore[5] and went on with five. May 1 we sailed from this port and shortly after the ship on which I was sailing became separated by a storm from the other ships and did not find them until thirty-six days later, five or six leagues before reaching the bay in 49° of South latitude, called Abra de Islas on a map Drake carried. The English, however, called it Port San Julian. We anchored on May 10 in 47° and Drake went on shore on the 13th when the Indians took his cap. From the 14th[6] to the 17th we continued hugging the coast until we reached 48½° where a rock was seen six leagues out at sea. Here, on the 20th, we anchored, and from that day to the end of the month cut timber, and then again put to sea in a northwest wind.

From the end of May until the 19th of June,[7] we sailed about with a north-

[3] B, "April first in 30°."

[4] A, "31°," no doubt a clerical error.

[5] Silva seems to have this incident misplaced.

[6] This was the day the *Mary*, on which Silva was journeying, became separated from the others.

[7] It is not certain whether the itinerary he gave for May 14 to June 19 is that of the *Mary* or the rest of the fleet, but as no one else mentions cutting the timber from May 20 to June 1, it seems likely he here referred to the *Mary*.

west wind but on that day came back to the coast, where we anchored on the 20th in a bay at a small sandy island near the mainland about two leagues from the entrance and so close to the land that it could be reached with an harquebus shot. On Sunday, the 22nd, Drake with twelve men set out to ascend the river. In order to get water, he landed with four men armed with harquebuses, one with a bow and another with a sword and shield. Four[8] Indians came up to the boat, to whom the Englishmen gave bread and wine. The Indians then departed up a hill and one of them cried out, "Magellanes, esta he minha Terra."[9] Drake's men followed the Indians who finally turned back and killed two of them with arrows, one an Englishman and the other a Fleming, and the rest came back and saved themselves in the boat. These Indians were dressed in skins except that their legs and arms were bare from the knees and elbows down. They carried bows and arrows and were large and well-formed people, strong and tall.

On the 30th of the month[10] sentence was passed on a very principal gentleman named Doughty and on the second of July his head was cut off. When Drake beheaded this gentleman, Doughty challenged him to show what authority he had to do so. Thereupon Drake assembled all the men, and placing himself in an elevated position, took out some papers which he kissed and put on his head, and then read in a loud voice. Having done this, he showed them to the others and they all saw them and looked at them and said that the papers were those of her by whose authority this was being done and the voyage was being made. After the head had been cut off, Drake took it up and showed it to them and then threw it from him saying, "Viva la Reina de Inglaterra."[11]

At this port two of the vessels were broken up in order to use them for fuel to cook our food and keep ourselves warm as the country was extremely cold. It snowed most of the time we were there and the sun was seen only a few times. Many of the men died. At the foot of the mountains, morning and evening, fires were seen. Drake calked the three vessels from top to bottom, and having transferred me to his ship we sailed from there August 17. While there a constant wind had prevailed until that day when it changed to the north.

On the 20th we reached the Strait, the mouth of which is in 52°, having run along the coast south-southwest, about a league and a half from the land. On the 22nd we came to anchor near the mouth and waited a league and a half outside on account of contrary winds. We finally got a favorable wind from the east-northeast, and a favorable current and passed in on the 23rd. We saw Indian fires, and on the 24th reached a group of three islands about twenty-five leagues from the entrance.[12] All three vessels anchored at the island farthest south in fifteen or twenty fathoms of water. Here the men killed some two thousand seals and ducks, which made no noticeable difference, however, in their number. The birds are very fat, have no fishy flavor and the smallest weigh ten or twelve pounds. On the 26th[13] we again set sail, and on the 27th had to come to anchor on the

[8] Other accounts say two or three.

[9] (Magellan, this is my country.) F, "On a stone was found an inscription 'Magallanes,'" really much more likely than his other story.

[10] Both Cooke and Cliffe confirm the date.

[11] The account of Doughty's execution is from D. Cooke tells a similar story.

[12] C. In another place in the same document the space for the number is blank.

[13] In C it is said they only remained at the islands from noon to the following morning, consequently they may not have anchored until the 25th.

north side near the point of the mainland where we took in water again. We continued going forward by tacking but on the 29th had to anchor again on the other side of the point. On the following day, we again set sail and September 1, came to anchor between some islands and the south shore in a large bay, the mouth of which is closed by a small island. This bay is the best anchoring place in the Strait. It has a depth of ten or twelve fathoms and as the water is still it would be a good careening place. September 2, we sailed again and came to anchor on the 4th in a cove on the south shore. Here four Indians in a canoe were found. They were like those of New Spain, with long hair and no beards and wearing skins which reached to their elbows and knees. Opposite this in the Strait are three small islands which cannot be recognized as such until one has actually passed them. At this point the outlet of the Strait is not visible and Drake became much perturbed thinking that the two points to be seen closed it. He himself started south in a boat looking for an exit, but not finding one, came back very hurriedly, dined and sent some men in a boat to the north. These discovered the opening and in the afternoon we set sail. On the 5th we came to the wide mouth of the Strait, having passed the narrows of only half a league in width almost ten or twelve leagues before the end, and with the wind astern and an open sea we sailed out into the South Sea on September 6.

When half way through the Strait Drake cut down a tree, and carried aboard the trunk, which was fifteen or twenty handbreadths long and so thick that two men could not gird it about by a cubit, and put it in the hold saying that he was going to take it home to the Queen of England as a sign that he had passed through the Strait.

Although we saw no more Indians in the Strait than the four referred to, many smokes were visible on the north side but none were seen on the south side. The high mountains are forested with very large trees except that the summits are covered with snow and ice. The weather was better than at Abra de Islas as there were only heavy showers of hail, soon over. In the Strait no food is to be found except seals and shellfish, the bottom is clear and everywhere the Strait is very deep. It is about 110 leagues long.[14]

Once in the South Sea we took a northwest course and on the 9th [or the 7th] we encountered a northwest storm which drove us west-southwest [or southeast] for ten or twelve days with few sails up.[15] As the wind became very much stronger we lay to under bare poles until the last of September. On the 28th we lost the *Maragota* of fifty tons, the smallest of the three. October 1, the wind having become better, we set sail in a northeasterly direction, on the 3rd changed the course to north, and on the 7th made land in 51° where we anchored for an hour in forty fathoms of water, but the *Elizabeth* did not anchor. Here the wind fell northwest so we again had to go out to sea west-southwest, and on the morning of the 8th the *Elizabeth* was not to be seen. On the 13th we again approached the coast, and on the 14th came to anchor at 54½° in fifty fathoms, three leagues

[14] Practically the entire account of passing the Strait is from C.

[15] B, "Northwest for three days when they encountered a northwest wind (not northeast as translated by Hakluyt), which drove them west-southwest." E, "7th, the wind from the prow we going south-east with a strong northwest wind." F, "Having disembogued from the Strait . . . . they had taken water in 44°" (not 41° as translated by Hakluyt). "Going out to sea a storm struck them during which they were forty days under bare masts."

from land. The 15th we again made sail and came to anchor among some islands where a landing was made the next day and a little water obtained.

Forced by the wind to set sail on the 17th [that is, driven southeast, probably], on the 18th we again anchored among some islands where we stayed until the 23rd, taking in wood and water and parleying with the natives after landing with difficulty. On that day the cable parted, so we hoisted sail again and on the 24th came to an island in 57°, where we anchored about a stone's throw from land in twenty fathoms of water. Some men went ashore each day, wood was taken on the 26th, and the wind having changed, coming from the south, we set sail on the 28th towards the north and on the 30th saw a small, low island where the following day a landing was made and a lot of birds and seals were obtained.

November 1, sail was made on a northwest course on which we continued until the 5th, when the course was changed to northeast. On the 7th we headed out to sea, and from the 8th to the 14th we sailed on a northwest course, and then this was changed to one to the north. On this[16] we continued until the 25th when we came to anchor off an island in 39° about a quarter of a league from land in twelve fathoms of water. On the 16th an observation was taken showing us to be in 45½°.

On arriving at this island [Mocha], Drake went ashore in a boat with eleven men, parleyed with the natives and traded for a couple of sheep and some maize, soon returning as it was late. The next day, he put on shore two men with barrels to get water, but the Indians who were in ambush captured them. Drake was in the boat with nine harquebusiers and archers, and the Indians coming up to them so assailed them with stones and arrows that all ten of them were hurt. The Captain received an arrow in the face and another in the head, so they had to turn back without being able to retaliate on the Indians. These came so near the boat that they seized four oars. One of the wounded men died.[17]

The same day, the 26th, we again set sail, running along the coast with a south wind, and on the 3rd of December put into a haven at 32½° where we anchored and captured an Indian who was out fishing in a canoe. Some linen, knives and other trifles were given to him and he was then sent ashore. Soon another Indian came on board. He spoke Spanish and was called Felipe. He told Drake that there was a ship six leagues behind, in the port of Santiago in 32½° so on the following day we turned back to that port with the Indian as a guide and December 6[18] captured the ship of Juan Griego, which was laden with timber, 1770 jars of wine, and much gold. There were fifteen or sixteen Spaniards and Negroes on board. On the 7th the English went on shore and plundered the houses and the church, taking from the former some sacks of flour and whatever else was found, and taking from the latter the ornaments, the chalice, the bell, the vestments and a missal, which were immediately destroyed.

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[16] F, "Having sailed twelve days to the north-northeast and not finding land, he tacked in a northeast direction and twenty-four days afterward arrived at the river of Valdivia." This is from the B text of San Juan de Anton's deposition, and must have been the course actually pursued. Drake could never have reached Chile on a north course as stated in Silva's log. The reference to Valdivia is found in other stories told by Drake's prisoners on Silva's authority, but he never in his log or any of his depositions mentioned seeing the river.

[17] F, "Killed two men."

[18] Here occurs the first demonstrable error in Silva's log, the correct date being December 5.

On the 8th[19] some men on horseback were seen and we departed, taking with us the ship, Juan Griego the pilot, and another man whom Drake found on the ship, and sailed along the coast, close to land. On the 9th[20] we put ashore the Indian named Felipe, and on the 11th were off land in 30° near six islands. On the 12th we came to anchor off land in 30° where there were some salt pans. The 13th some men went ashore for water as we had none, but although we remained on the 14th they did not land for fear of the Indians. This was the point where it had been arranged for the vessels to meet and await each other if by chance they should become separated for any reason. On the 15th we sailed four leagues, on the 16th lay to, and on the 17th sailed two leagues, and on the 18th, after sailing four leagues, came to anchor opposite a good port in 30°. We anchored in six fathoms within a harquebus shot of land. The next morning, the 19th, twelve men went ashore and took in six pots of fresh water from a river there, and they also took two large pigs and many small ones. About two o'clock in the afternoon while these men were taking water they were surprised by about five hundred Spaniards of whom 250 were horsemen.[21] These succeeded in capturing one man and killed him, but the rest escaped in their boat. The 20th we set sail with both ships. On the 21st, ten leagues farther on, we came to an island where a lot of birds were found, and some water, but because some horsemen were seen we departed without waiting to take more.

Thirty leagues farther on, we came to anchor on the 22nd[22] in a good harbor in a deserted and uninhabited neighborhood. On the 23rd the timber to build a pinnace, which had been brought from England ready framed, was unloaded.[23] On New Year's Day the Captain gave a great feast. On the 3rd of January, Drake began to calk the pinnace and on the 4th he went ashore to cut out the topsails, taking me along. On the 6th the boat went ashore but did not land for fear of meeting warlike natives, as some had been seen. On the 7th six Indian spies were seen and at night we saw Spaniards who shot two harquebuses at us. On the 8th I observed the sun and calculated the latitude to be 29° 10′ and on the 9th the pinnace which had been built on shore was launched.[24] January 10, Drake, taking with him fifteen men and Juan Griego as boatswain in the pinnace, in which he placed a small muzzle-loading gun, started south to look for his lost ships and also to take water. They did not find the ships and did not go on shore because they saw people, so they returned on the 12th, after having gone twenty leagues. While Drake was away ballast was taken out on the 11th in order to get at the guns which were under it, and on the 12th they were brought up. On the 13th six pipes of tar were thrown away, deck room was made for the wine which had been taken, and from the 14th to the 18th the ship was careened and tarred and her sides, deck and bottom greased, all the ordnance having been previously removed from her.[25]

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[19] Another error in the log.

[20] Another error in the log. It was the 7th.

[21] F, "Four hundred men on foot and horseback who killed two men."

[22] A, "23rd."

[23] F, At Morro Moreno, but at this point in Anton's deposition and later there is no certainty that his information was from Silva.

[24] This statement seems erroneous from what he said two or three sentences before. John Drake said she was built on the *Capitana*. Nuttall, 45.

[25] Almost all the preceding details of the stay at Bahia Salada are from E.

We set sail on Monday, the 19th, taking along the Santiago ship. The pinnace followed the shore so closely that a man could be seen walking on it. On the 22nd we came to anchor about a gunshot from land at a small island where four Indian fishermen in two canoes were found, who told us that on the mainland there was fresh water, but as there did not appear to be much of it and it was half a league from shore, the next day we set sail, going slowly along the coast, having left the Indians with their canoes. The next day or the one following, we saw some huts and Drake went on shore in the pinnace where he found three Indians and a quantity of fish packed ready for shipment, which, together with the Indians, he brought on board.[26]

Continuing, February 2, in the morning, Drake took a fishing boat and four Indians and carried it along, tying it on behind, but next night the Indians in the boat untied it and made off with it.[27] February 4, Drake went on shore in the pinnace because he saw some houses in a ravine and discovered two Spaniards in one of them. Here he found three thousand pesos of silver and seven llamas and some hens, all of which he took with whatever else there was, together with one of the men, a Corsican, the owner of the silver.

February 6,[28] we cast anchor in the port of Arica where Drake took two small ships. In one, on which a few men were found, there were thirty-seven bars of silver,[29] and in the other, on which there was no one, two or three hundred *botijas* of Spanish wine, some oil, wax and Spanish goods. Drake started to go ashore with sixty harquebusiers and archers in two boats he had found in the harbor, but perceiving some horsemen he returned, bringing along a Negro he found on board one of the ships.

February 7, we set out with one of the ships, the other, which contained the wax and one hundred jars of wine having been set on fire by one of the crew, not by orders of Drake.[30] On the 8th, we went along the coast about a league and a half from shore and Drake with the pinnace went ahead near land with oars and sail, looking for a ship of which he had heard. After going some forty-five leagues, next day the ship was found near shore with sails set, but she only had two pots of water in her, as about two hours before our arrival, news had arrived of a pirate and they had discharged out of her eight hundred[31] bars of silver belonging to the King. There were many Indian archers and Spaniards on shore so they did not go on land. The people shouted at him, calling him a thief and saying he had lost the prize by two hours.[32]

We left there the night of the 9th taking the ship with us, and next day found an empty ship and another which had nothing in her but two hundred jars of wine. Here Drake cast off, with all sails set, the ships that he was taking along, namely, the one from Santiago, the one from Arica and the one just taken, and went on with only his own and the pinnace, and of all the men captured, kept only the Negro and two men. With the south wind we went along until we reached an island called San Gallan.

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[26] This sentence from B.
[27] Also from B.
[28] Another error in the log, it was the 5th.
[29] F, "Forty odd bars."
[30] F, "Sent to the bottom."
[31] F, "500 bars."
[32] From C.

On the 13th,[33] in the morning, we saw three ships about seven or eight leagues from Callao, but as two were close to land Drake did not approach them so as not to attract notice. He boarded the third and took out of her the owner and a Levantine sailor. That night, two or three hours after sundown, we sailed into the harbor of Callao and found seventeen[34] ships there. Going around among them with a pinnace and a boat, Drake asked for the ship that had the seven hundred bars of silver on board, which one of the prisoners just taken had told us had been brought down from Lima to send to Panama, but receiving answer that it was on land, he cut the cables of all and the masts of two of the largest ones and let them drift.

About this time, a ship arrived from Panama loaded with Spanish merchandise and anchored close by the English ship while Drake was searching the others for the silver. As soon as she had anchored, a boat came from shore to search her, but as it was night they postponed this until morning, and coming up to the English ship they asked what ship that was, whereupon one of the Spanish prisoners, by order of the Captain, answered saying that it was the ship of Miguel Angel coming from Chile. When those in the boat heard this they sent a man on board, who when he stepped on deck lighted on one of the guns, and immediately stepped back again into the boat and made off, as he was frightened because the Spanish ships on the coast at that time carried no large guns. When those on the ship from Panama heard this,[35] they cut their cables and put out to sea, thinking the vessel must be a pirate. The English, seeing this, followed her with some men in the pinnace and when close by bade her lower her sails which those on board refused to do, and with a harquebus shot killed one of the Englishmen. These then returned to their own ship which at once set sail after the other, and soon overtook her. As soon as those on board saw this they hoisted out their boat and leaping into it rowed to land, leaving the ship with all the goods, which the English took, and we then sailed away on our course.

The next day, in the morning, we saw a small sailboat which we took to be a spy, and about eleven o'clock perceived two large ships coming out, which made Drake think that they were coming to fight with him, so he cast off the ship he had just captured, having taken the silk out of her, and thrown the rest of her cargo into the sea. He left in her Juan Griego and the two men he had taken just before reaching Callao, keeping only the Fleming[36] and a Negro. Sailing forward under full sail we soon lost sight of the ships from Callao which made for the ship we had just turned loose. A few days afterward we met a ship bound for Lima laden with native products and inquired for the ship with the silver. The pilot said he had not passed her, but the others said they had done so three days before. Drake took from her a silver jug and a platter.[37]

Continuing along close to the coast, on the morning of the 20th the Captain, with the pinnace, took a ship bound for Lima at the Puerto de Españoles [Paita]. She was laden with Spanish merchandise but Drake took out of her only the bread, some hens and a hog, and the pilot, an old man, letting her go a short distance from the port. Here he heard that the ship of which he was in search had

[33] A, C. The correct date. The log, "February 15."
[34] A, 19; B, 17; E, 14.
[35] What he meant no doubt was that they heard the shouting.
[36] Nicolas Jorje.
[37] Only in B.

departed only two days previously. During the night Drake took a ship bound for Lima, laden with a cargo of Spanish clothing, from which he took only a Negro. On the 28th[38] he took a ship which was bound for Panama laden with cables and tackle, fish and other food, intended for the ships at Panama which were going to the Philippines. He took from her forty bars of silver and some gold—how much I do not know—besides what tackle he wanted, some of the victuals and other material. They hanged a half-breed Negro boy for not giving up two small bars of gold which it was said he had taken. There were two Dominican friars on this ship but these were sent ashore.

Towards noon on the 1st of March we spied the ship laden with silver, called the *Cacafuego,* four leagues to seaward. As Drake's ship was sailing somewhat ahead they hung out behind by some cables some Spanish pots filled with water in order not to go so fast. The Spanish ship, thinking that it was one of the ships which sailed along the coast, made toward us and came close. Drake ordered them to lower her sails, but on their refusal to do so, he shot her mizzenmast away with a gun, and the master being wounded by an arrow, the ship soon surrendered. They then took her and sailed farther out to sea with her until the third day, when having lost sight of land, they began to rob her, taking out the goods and removing the same into their own ship. There were thirteen hundred bars of silver, fourteen chests filled with silver reals, and some gold. How much there was altogether I do not know, but the passengers said that there was a large quantity and that three hundred bars of silver belonged to the King, the rest to private individuals. On the 6th,[39] at night, Drake let the ship go, putting in her the three pilots whom he had brought along, and then took a course towards Nombre de Dios and Nicaragua, not daring to enter Panama after having captured so good a prize.

On the 15th[40] land was sighted which turned out to be a small island called the Isla de Pinos, two leagues from the mainland, and here we anchored on the 18th, close to shore, in a small bay between the island and the mainland, in five fathoms of water. On the 20th[41] a frigate passed close by, which they captured with the pinnace and brought alongside the ship. She was loaded with sarsaparilla, pots of lard, honey and maize. On board were two pilots who had been sent by the Viceroy of New Spain to Panama. Drake took the sarsaparilla out of her and put it on shore, and then took all of the guns out of his own ship and put them aboard her so that he might calk his ship. Having done this we then took in a provision of wood and fresh water, and on the 24th[42] sailed west. Two days later Drake put the Spanish sailors in the pinnace and let them go, but took with him the ship and one of the pilots named Colchero with the letters, papers and maps which he had with him. Among the letters were those from the King of Spain to the Governor of China. These Drake prized highly, saying he would take them to his Queen. Among the maps were the sea cards by which the voyage was to be made. This pilot was acquainted with the China route and Drake consulted with him about matters concerning navigation.

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[38] B. The correct date. A, the 27th. E, the 26th.

[39] B and C. In E it is said they released her on the fifth day at night.

[40] E, "sighted land, 16th entered the harbor and took water, 18th anchored." B, "March 13," the day before or after."

[41] B, the 21st.

[42] B, the 23rd or 24th.

We then continued along the coast of New Spain, passing by Realejo on account of contrary weather, and on the 30th were in 12° of latitude, April 2 in 13° 20′, and on the 3rd, in the afternoon, sighted a vessel out at sea about two leagues from land. On the 4th, early in the morning, we were close on her and captured her while most of her crew were asleep. The men on board were brought to the ship, among whom was Don Francisco de Zárate, a cousin of the Duke of Medina. We continued on our course with this vessel and took out of her some provisions, twenty-eight packages belonging to two passengers, a Negress, and three water casks. Three days later[43] Drake turned her loose, leaving in her the China pilot and all the others who had been taken except one sailor whom we took along to show us where fresh water could be found.

Continuing on our course, as we were passing the port of Guatulco, on the 13th of April, we saw a ship at anchor inside and in consequence went in and anchored. Drake immediately seized the ship and sent on shore forty or fifty men who plundered the town and profaned the church. They seized the bell, the supplies of the church, the altar ornaments, two chalices and a monstrance and lamp of silver. They seized the Vicar and two other men—laymen—but after he had obtained water he released them. The men also seized biscuit, chickens, bacon, clothing and money. From the ship in the harbor he took what Spanish and native clothing he wanted and then cut off her bowsprit and topsails. On the 16th,[44] an hour after nightfall, Drake put me into the ship in the port whose captain was Juan Gomez without having previously shown any intention of leaving me anywhere during the voyage, and without giving me anything in payment for what had been taken from me. A few hours later he set sail, taking his course towards the west.

From Guatulco he took twenty-five kegs of water besides some earthen jugs filled with water, altogether only sufficient to last fifty days. He also took many chests of flour, which he had seized upon the coast of Peru and some brought from his own country, besides another keg of flour and one hundred leather covered boxes of biscuit, as well as a quantity of maize. He carried very little meat and fish, not more than sufficient for thirty days, but had some oil and four kegs of wine. While in Guatulco Drake took out a map and pointed out on it how he had to return by a strait which is in 66° and that if he did not find it, then by way of China.

Francis Drake is about thirty-eight years old, two years more or less, short, thick-set, and robust. He is of good appearance, with a red beard and a ruddy complexion. He has an arrow mark on his right cheek which is not apparent unless one looks very carefully, and in a leg he has a ball from an harquebus which he received in the Indies. He is the son and relative of seamen, particularly of John Hawkins in whose company he went about for a long time. Drake has with him a brother named Thomas Drake, a sailor like the others. He is twenty-two years old with a scanty reddish beard, a white complexion, short and broad-shouldered and is a good seaman. Altogether Drake brought out of England 270 men, of some of whom he made more account than of others, seating at his table the master, the pilot and the doctor. He read the psalms and preached. As many

[43] Really the 6th.

[44] See a note on page 269 of Mrs. Nuttall's book where it is stated that in B the text reads April 26. My photostat copy of the manuscript has April 16 plainly.

men died of cold in passing the Strait, he took less than eighty-eight[45] men out of Guatulco, eight of whom were boys.[46] Among the men were Frenchmen, Scotchmen, Biscayans and Flemings.

The *Capitana* was larger than the other vessels, being of about 220 tons, while of the two which disappeared after passing the Strait, the larger was of 150 and the smaller eighty tons. Both are thought to be lost. Drake's ship is very stout and very strong, with double sheathings, one finished as well as the other, making her adapted for warfare. She is a French ship, well-fitted with good masts, tackle and good sails and is a good sailer, answering the helm well. She is neither new nor is her bottom covered with lead.[47] She has seven port-holes on a side and within there are eighteen guns, seven on a side and four in the bow. Three of these are bronze and the rest of cast-iron; besides these there are all kinds of munitions of war in abundance as none has been used. She carries a forge for making spikes and men to work it. She is staunch when sailing with the wind astern if it is not very strong, but in a sea which makes her labor she makes no little water whether sailing with the wind astern or with the wind on the beam. Withal, she is a ship fit to make a couple of voyages from Portugal to Brazil.

He carries three books of navigation, one in French, one in English, and another, the account of Magellan's voyage, in a language I do not know. He carries a book in which he writes his log and paints birds, trees and seals. He is diligent in painting and carries along a boy, a relative of his who is a great painter; shut up in his cabin they were always painting. He has a map of the world made in Portugal but by whom I do not know, and some other maps which he said had been made in England. The first thing he did when he captured a vessel was to seize the charts, astrolabes and mariner's compasses which he broke and cast into the sea.

He told all those he captured in the South Sea, after having robbed the rich ship, that he came in the service of the Queen whose instructions[48] he carried by which to govern himself, and that further he came with another purpose[49] than to capture ships. On the bronze gun which he had in the launch there was engraved the round world with the Arctic Pole on it in an oblique manner,[50] and he said that these were his arms which the Queen had given him, ordering him to make the round of the world. He is a very skilful mariner, and relying on his knowledge he undertook this voyage. He told Don Francisco de Zárate that if the King would give the English license to trade in the Indies of the North Sea, they would be peaceable, but if not they would come and plunder in both seas.

I understand that Drake had a plan to enter the port of Acapulco and burn

[45] Not *eighty* as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, page 302 from the text of C.

[46] From C. A has "A little over eighty fighting men," practically the same, allowing for the eight boys.

[47] Spanish, *emplomado*, lead frequently being used at that time for sheathing vessels.

[48] Spanish, *papeles*.

[49] Spanish, *otra*. In Mrs. Nuttall's translation on page 317 there occurs a false and misleading translation of this word as "greater." In the Introduction, page xxxv, the translation is correctly made as "another," but in brackets appears her interpretation "for something more," which in her opinion is equivalent to "greater."

[50] Mrs. Nuttall, page 318, translates the very ambiguous Spanish as follows: "The globe of tha world with a north star on it passing over." This makes about as little sense as my translation. According to Diaz Bravo, who also saw the design, there were both a north and south star on it.

the King's ship of which he had heard, but I do not know whether now he will enter Acapulco or not. In Guatulco seamen who ought to know what they are talking about say that if he does not, it will be because he will have taken outside of it the galleon which is expected from the Islands.[51] I think he will go on following the coast in search of the strait, and when he does not find it will go home by way of China. Many times he told me and some Spaniards whom he captured that he had to return by the Strait of the Bacallaos which he came to discover, and that if he did not find a passage that way he had to go by way of China. I believed this because if he had the intention of returning by the Strait of Magellan by which he came, there was no necessity to come as he did by the coast of New Spain, nor would he have taken the timber in the Strait to carry to the Queen if he had expected to return that way. He said that by August, 1579, he had to be back in his own country.

Between Lima and Panama is Cape San Francisco and from there to Chile you can take the same route as the ships do from Lima, namely, go out into the ocean as far as the Solomon Islands, and from thence tack to Chile from whence one could get out by the Strait of Magellan. This route Drake knew very well by information from all the pilots whom he captured, as he left no stone unturned to thoroughly inform himself. To Peru [from Chile] you travel along the coast and the Englishman did not take this route because he left behind him all the country aroused and there was no occasion to return to seek his enemies. If he went out into the open sea he knew from all the pilots he had taken that he would find much calm weather as they had experienced. If in the South Sea there were winds like those in the Sea of Spain there is no doubt that he would have returned by the Strait of Magellan.

I can tell the King, if he will so order me, how the Strait of Magellan can be closed with great ease by means of a fort which would cost but little and which could draw its supplies from Peru. This plan, however, would only serve in case Drake does not discover another strait by which he may leave, because if he did, it would prove impossible to close this South Sea. However, I am certain there is no other strait. There are neither maps nor descriptions of it. This Englishman is hunting for it in a pure spirit of boastfulness of his cleverness.

Drake signed in my presence two letters of safe conduct, one of which he gave, I believe, to San Juan de Anton and the other to Don Francisco de Zárate. Of the names mentioned in these, I only knew Thomas who was in the smallest ship of the three which passed the Strait. This man had served as captain on a ship sailing to Guinea and to China, knew that country very well, and spoke the Spanish language. Winter was the son of the Lord High Admiral of England and was captain of the *Almiranta*. There was another retainer of the Queen but he died off the coast of Chile.

[51] This statement is quite unintelligible. Manila ships did not arrive in Acapulco in April or May, but seldom after the 1st of March and usually in November or December.

NICOLAS JORJE

IN THE city of Panama on the 28th of March, 1579, for the said judicial inquiry by the royal tribunal appeared as a witness Nicolas Jorje, a Fleming native of Ansuyque, who having been sworn in the prescribed manner above referred to and having been questioned, said:

I was in the port of Arica in Peru on the 5th of February in the ship of Felipe Corso. In the port there was anchored another ship which had come from Lima with a cargo of merchandise amounting to about three hundred *botijas* of wine. At the hour of vespers, there came into the port a ship manned by Englishmen, the Captain of which was an Englishman called "Francisco Draque." She carried many guns, harquebuses and other arms. There was with her another ship which I saw, one the Englishmen had captured in the port of Santiago. She was loaded with wine for Arica. The Englishman also had a launch with armed men aboard. He at once took possession of the ship in which I was, putting his men on board of her and seized thirty-five bars of silver produced by the amalgamation process[1] which was therein and a chest of small silver coin which seemed to me to amount to about five hundred pesos, belonging to some men who had come down from Potosi. He took possession of this ship and the other one which was with him he burned,[2] after having taken out the wine which was on board and put it on board the ship on which I was. The Corsair remained there until the following morning, when he made sail taking with him the ship with the Chilean wine and the one which he took in Arica in which I was. He took me by force and against my will, and many times he manifested an intention to kill me, as is well known, because he said that I deceived him in not having told him that there was a ship in the port of Arequipa with a quantity of silver on board.

Proceeding towards the port of Arequipa, before arriving there, the Englishman sent the launch to hunt for the port and this came back with the ship which they had found there in Chule. I saw how the Englishman in the launch who brought out this ship told the Captain that they had found her empty, bearing evidence of having been loaded and unloaded in the port, and that she must have had much silver on board as there were many people on shore so that the men on the launch had not dared to go to land where the ship's boat was. In consequence they had taken the empty ship and brought it away. From this the Englishman understood that some advice had been received at the port of Arequipa from Arica. He therefore took steps to get along faster towards Lima by leaving at sea about eight leagues out of sight of land[3] the three ships which he had with him, namely, the one he had taken at Chile, the one at Arica and

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[1] Spanish, *plata de azogue*. There were two kinds of silver, this, produced by amalgamation in the so-called patio process, and that by smelting, usually called *plata de fuego* or *plata de fundicion*.

[2] From the following sentence it will be seen that this statement is incorrect.

[3] Not "eight leagues off the coast in sight of land," as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 136. Land would not be in sight eight leagues off the coast.

another in the port of Arequipa. This was off the valley of Camana between Arequipa and Lima, but before he did this, he took out of them wine and other things but left in them much of the wine and much of the timber. He hoisted the sails on the masts and left them sailing on without anybody on board. I do not know what happened to them. So the Englishman came to Lima, and I with him. It seems to me that he has seventy-one or seventy-two men, one more or less, because I secretly counted them. I think thirty of these are men fit for war but the rest are fit for very little.[4]

Before arriving at Lima he fell in with a bark bound for Los Valles nearby which belonged to a man named Francisco de Trujillo, a citizen of Lima, and the Captain, with whom I am acquainted, was named Gaspar Martin. From this man the English Captain inquired if there was any gold or silver on the ships which were in the port of Callao. The said Captain said that in the ship of Miguel Angel, which was ready to sail for Tierra Firme,[5] there was a quantity of silver as well as in the ship of Andres Muriel. He also told him of the ship of San Juan de Anton which had left Lima a few days before for Tierra Firme and Panama loaded with much silver and that she was going to take on flour in some ports. I remember that I did not hear Gaspar Martin say this, but Captain Francis, the Englishman, told me that Martin had given him the information.

Captain Francis came into the port of Callao with his ship about ten o'clock at night, but I do not remember what day of the month it was. I saw the Captain himself go in the launch and search the ships to see if they had any silver. I did not go with him because he left me in the ship. When they returned I found out that they had cut the cables of the ships and that they had found nothing to plunder. He took the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Bautista and I saw that they took from this many goods. It was the ship which at that moment had arrived at Panama loaded with merchandise, and he carried her away with him although at the time he took her they killed an Englishman. He carried her four or five leagues out to sea where he afterwards left her with three men and some Negroes[6] who were in her. Two or three hours after this I heard them saying on board the English ship that it looked as if two ships were coming out of Lima but the Englishman said that they were not. I saw that he put on all sail as if in flight and I saw the two ships and thought that if they were following us they would reach us.

Near the coast of Malabrigo they fell in with a ship traveling towards Lima loaded with merchandise and products of the country. From this he took many things which were thrown into the sea and also took a sailor named Domingo Martin, from whom he inquired about the ship of San Juan de Anton, which was the one which had much silver on board. When he found that she had passed by only a short time before he continued in pursuit and left the ship. From there he went to the port of Paita where he captured a vessel and took her out to sea and then turned her loose. He took from her a pilot named Custodio Rodriguez. The next day he captured the ship of Gonzalo Alvarez en route to Lima loaded with

[4] This seems to be the smallest estimate made by any of Drake's captives of the number of men aboard the *Golden Hind*.

[5] Not "expected from Panama," as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 137. Ships did not take silver from Panama to Lima, but vice versa as the text states.

[6] Not "a negro," as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 138.

merchandise. He took out of her some things and let her go, but took a Negro, who they said had been a Cimarron in Panama. Within two or three days afterward he fell in with the ship of Bravo on her way from Guayaquil and he robbed her of all the gold and silver which she carried and then turned her loose.

On the first day of the present month, he caught up with the ship of San Juan de Anton near Cabo de San Francisco, captured her and robbed her of all the gold and silver and everything else which she carried belonging to his Majesty and private parties. I heard it said that it amounted to more than 360,000 pesos. He killed none of the men but on the contrary treated them well. He had the ship with him five days and then turned her loose with all the people whom he had captured on board of her and I came in her.

During the time that I was in the power of this Englishman I saw that he had as a pilot a Portuguese whom I did not know nor his name, nor could I find out anything about him more than that he was short with a dark complexion and had a long beard, not very gray, and was a man of rather less than sixty years of age than more. I have found out from them and from the pilot that five ships had left England fifteen months before and that they had been in the port of San Julian at the mouth of the Strait of Magellan four or five months and that the country was very good.

Two ships had gone ashore there[7] and in the other three their crews had been collected. They passed out of the Strait in 52½° of latitude.[8] The narrowest part of the Strait is not a quarter of a league wide. I did not find out how long it was from the time they commenced to enter the Strait until they passed out of it. After they had entered this South Sea they encountered a storm and the other two ships had become separated and nothing more has been heard of them.

In the five ships which had left England there were 320 men. I saw in the ship of Captain Francis five large guns on each side and two at the stern and two others above, making in all fourteen. They have many kinds of arms, machines for throwing fire in fighting, and are well provided with small arms, pistols, harquebuses, arrows and some kind of fire for the sails.

I heard them say that they could get out and return to their country by the way they had entered, as they said the road was short, and also by the way of China.

What the witness declared was the truth on the oath which he had taken. He said he was a man of forty-two years of age. The declaration was read over to him and he ratified it but did not sign it because he said that he did not know how.

He was again asked if he had heard the Englishman say anything about the Cimarrones of this kingdom and he said that he had heard Captain Francis say that he loved them and that he spoke well of them and every day he asked if they were in peace. It seemed to him from what he had heard talked about that Captain Francis

[7] Not "cast away," as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 139. Jorje was mistaken in saying the two ships had gone ashore; Drake destroyed them.

[8] Not "51½°," as Mrs. Nuttall has it, 139.

had a great desire to see them, and he had heard it said that the Cimarrones had taken him to the mangroves near the garden of Maria Alvarez on the outskirts of Panama[9] and from there he had seen the *Casas Reales*. It seemed to him that if the Captain had more men he would endeavor to make some assault on land, but that having such a small number, and having effected the robbery which he has made,[10] he is moving with caution in flight towards his own country.

[9] Spanish, *cavo Panama*. This looks like an error as if Jorje had meant to say the garden was on Cape Panama, the Spanish would have been *en el cavo*, or *arriba del cavo de Panama*. *Cavo* or *Cabo* as it is now written, always is followed in Spanish by *de* before the proper name. Nor do I think there is or was any *Cavo de Panama*. It seems possible the *cavo* should be *cerca*.

[10] Not as Mrs. Nuttall's translation, 140, "on land like the one he already made," which would imply that Jorje was referring to Drake's robbery on the Isthmus of Panama on his first expedition.

BENITO DIAZ BRAVO

THE document hereafter translated is found in the archives of the Indies in Seville in *legajo* 2-5-2/21, the same that contains numerous other documents relating to Drake. Just how this escaped the notice of Mrs. Nuttall, I do not know; possibly she saw it but thought that the deposition of Diaz Bravo made March 18 which she translated was more important. To me, however, this letter is far more interesting besides containing all the really important information. The conversations Drake carried on with him show plainly that he was in the habit of chaffing his prisoners, a practice which I have hitherto suspected from some of the stories he told some of his others.

Diaz Bravo's story of the figure of the world on the gun is of especial interest as it inferentially contradicts Silva's that Drake told him that those were his arms. If Drake actually said this, he must also have been chaffing Silva, as instead of being arms we now learn that the figure was nothing but part of a celestial globe, either engraved on the gun or possibly only pasted on it. There is no evidence whatever that Queen Elizabeth ever gave Drake any arms before he left beyond Drake's statement to Silva. The only ones she ever gave him according to anything that can be derived from the pages of Corbett or Lady Eliott-Drake were those, quite different from these, which she bestowed upon him when she knighted him in 1581. The globe frequently appears on Drake's portraits, and he evidently was very fond of having himself represented with his hand on one or at least with one somewhere in the picture. Very possibly these were the arms which he gave himself.

One or two additional facts given by Benito Diaz in his deposition are included in the foot-notes. Everything else of any importance that he stated at that time is contained in his letter.

Illustrious Sir:

See what a misfortune has happened to us in this South Sea on account of our sins.[1] Saturday, in the morning, the last day of February, off the rivers of the Quijimies,[2] we saw at daybreak a ship of Lutherans close to us with a large launch and another small one which came alongside of us. In it was the Captain

[1] The letter was probably addressed to the President of the Audiencia at Panama.

[2] These are four rivers which enter the sea close together just east of Cape San Francisco.

and thirty men, and the first thing he did was to seize all the money on board our ship, without leaving a real.[3] He then took the passengers to his ship and told them that if any silver should be found after he left that he would at once have them hung, so that all thought it well to give him all the money they had, as he promised us our lives. This done, he ordered all her sails set to see if she sailed faster [than his]. This was after the wind began to blow because it was calm when they took us. Having seen that my ship sailed faster than his and the launch, he ordered all the passengers and sailors to go ashore in the launch, and told them to take whatever clothing and food they wanted. After they had gone, the Captain told me that he desired my ship for his fleet, and on my expressing grief at the order and saying that I had no other property than my ship, he told me not to worry as he would give her to me in Panama.[4] He then ordered the men who were in the launch to go after two bronze guns and ordered the ship lightened by throwing the tackle into the sea. He then took me by the hand and led me to the bow, where he told me not to worry and promised by the God he worshipped to give me my ship and a cable from his own country, and said that even if he took her with him to his own country, he would pay me for her with a piece of the gold from Valdivia, which he had taken in the *Gran Capitana*. I showed my gratitude for this although my heart was not assured.

This talk being over, I asked him whom he had for a pilot and who had brought him into the South Sea, to which he answered that he himself was the pilot and with the word in his mouth, he took me by the hand and showed me a bronze gun on which the whole world, figured like a globe was fitted and on it was marked down the Arctic and Antarctic Poles, the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn as well as the Equinoctial Line, but I did not find the Zodiac.[5] He asked me if I knew what that was, and, affecting ignorance, I said that I did not. He then said that whoever knew how to divide this has no fear of entering or leaving wherever he wishes. Putting on a good countenance and praising his ability, I said to him, "Then, if I am going with you to Panama, please tell me who you are and who has moved you to come here." He answered me that it was God whom he worshipped who had told him. He said that he was a brother of Juan

[3] *Dep.* "He took all the gold and silver and other things she carried, such as tackle, maize, bacon, hams and many other things belonging to private individuals, and also to his Majesty for provisioning the soldiers of this city [Panama] and the ships which are to go to the Philippines . . . . All that the Corsair robbed from my ship between what was registered and to be registered amounted to 18,000 pesos of gold and silver a little more or less, and the loss from the other things he took and from what he threw into the sea would amount to 4,000 pesos, a little more or less."

[4] This and some similar remarks to other prisoners might be construed to mean that Drake had some intention of attacking Panama, but probably this was mere bluff or else was intended to prevent a force being sent against him from that place.

[5] Spanish: "Me enseno un tiro de bronze en qual tenia asentado todo el mundo la qual traia figurada como una bola e alli repartido el polo artico y antartico, e el tropico Canzer y de capriccornio y la linea que no halle con el circulo Zodiaco." This recalls the remarks of Silva about this gun which was the one mounted in the launch, according to him. Silva used the word *sculpido*, that is, "engraved" on the gun instead of *assentado*, which hardly has the same meaning, but possibly the globe was engraved on the gun. Silva neglected to mention the Antarctic Pole. From the description of Diaz Bravo, this was simply the ordinary representation of a celestial sphere and Silva's story (Nuttall, 318) about these being Drake's arms seems to have been pure imagination, or else one of Drake's stories.

Dacles and that the Viceroy of New Spain, not having complied with his promised word, he had fled in one ship and his brother in another. He now had come with five galleons, in which they had left the coast of Guinea and entered by the Strait by a country in 55° [6] where he found people of one eye, one foot, and one hand. He said that he had all the vessels in this South Sea at his command and that he had taken the *Capitana* in Chile, and having put all the crew on shore in a boat, had abandoned her at sea as she was old.

Afterwards, because he was a day late, he missed taking the bars which were there and he saw many llamas loaded with bars going on a hill farther on, and many men on horseback as a guard over them, and they said they were cheating him out of the bars. He entered Callao where he cut the cables of the ships, and let them go adrift. In Paita, he took the bark of the deaf man and carries with him the pilot, Custodio Rodriguez, and off Parina [he took] Gonzalo Alvarez. His ship carries eighty fighting men. After a little while he asked me if it was true that Don Juan de Austria was dead (and the Kings), as the passengers had said, to which I responded that it was. He at once called all his men together and told them this in his language.[7] They all received the news with great pleasure and began to dance. These are men who go to work after all this.[8]

This day he said to me, "Pilot, you must know that my men are going to have a great banquet tonight." My hams and chickens had to pay for it. The next day, coming in the morning, he said to me, "Pilot, I do not have to carry you to Panama, but you can go where you wish."[9] He took all the meat and fish in my ship and carried it away so we were left with nothing to eat, and when they went away, they carried along the clerk, Francisco Jacome, and all my Negroes, and left me alone. In a short time, they came back again in the launch, and came alongside and laid their hands on their swords, saying to me, "Pilot, give us the rest of the silver you have hidden, which you and the clerk know about, and if you do not, we are going to hang you with all your crew." They then assailed everybody with offensive words. We all had the rope around our throats, and they raised us more than two *varas* from the deck. Francisco Jacome passed through the worst trouble for more than once he lost consciousness.[10] They then went to the bow and cut off the yard of the foresail and the sail; the anchor they threw into the sea. Thus as we were, we came as best we could, to the port of Manta, and truly it was our Lord who brought us here, and no other. I advise your Honor so that if you do not know this, you can at once advise his Excellency. I have nothing else to offer except to make this known to your Honor, etc. from the port of Manta, March 7, 1579 . . . . Benito Diaz.

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[6] This is the only first hand record of Drake's statement about his latitude.

[7] This leaves us to infer that Drake had been previously talking with Diaz Bravo in Spanish.

[8] I am not certain of the translation of this sentence as there are three very unusual abbreviations in the original.

[9] *Dep.* Diaz Bravo gave as a reason for not taking his vessel, "I understood he did this because the men he had with him were too few to divide between two ships and a launch."

[10] The following is Jacome's account of this: "A little while after they had turned me and the ship loose in which I was the clerk, the Englishmen came back in the launch and took me back to their ship and threatened to hang me, asking for the gold they said I had hidden. As I had hidden nothing and consequently could unearth nothing, they suspended me by the throat with a rope in order to hang me and from aloft let me fall into the sea. With the launch they fished me out and took me back to my ship." These hangings by Drake seemed to Mrs. Nuttall to have been a kind of joke, instead of a very cruel kind of torture as they really were.

SAN JUAN DE ANTON

SAN JUAN DE ANTON was the Captain of the now famous *Cacafuego,* a small merchant vessel plying between Panama and Lima. The real name of the ship was *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion,* and according to Anton's statement, he was also the owner of her. After his arrival at Panama the Audiencia determined to open an investigation regarding the capture of his ship, *Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion,* and on March 16, Dr. Alonso Criado de Castilla, the senior judge of the Audiencia, caused Anton to appear before him and make a deposition. In his deposition he stated that he was thirty-five years of age, but apparently he was not asked where he had been born as was usually done. Nuño da Silva is authority for the statement that he was a Basque, and that he had been brought up in England and spoke English well, having always conversed with Drake in that language (Nuttall, 377). Most of this may have been true, but I do not believe that Anton talked to Drake in English for several reasons. In the first place Drake probably talked Spanish sufficiently to make himself understood, and if not he had plenty of interpreters. In the second place, even if Anton could speak English, he would not have been likely to have made that manifest. There were with him on the ship several other Spanish prisoners who would certainly have been very suspicious about what he and Drake would say to each other in a language they did not understand, all of which would have made trouble for Anton. He therefore would almost certainly have concealed his knowledge of the language. In the third place, his narrative gives internal evidence that he did not make it known that he spoke English, if he actually could, because he referred to some men and a boy who spoke Spanish and distinctly stated that an Englishman conversed with him in Spanish, a thing which would never have happened if Anton had manifested a knowledge of English. In the fourth place, if he had conversed with Drake in English, either he or some of the other witnesses examined in the same investigation and who had been with him on board the ship, would certainly have made some mention of it. Mrs. Nuttall, on remarking his unusual Christian name, San Juan, and noticing Silva's statements about him, has indulged in some speculations

regarding his origin, suggesting that the name may originally have been St. John of Southampton. This is, of course, not impossible, as there were many Spanish families of English origin, but it is very safe to say that there was nothing very English about San Juan de Anton.

Anton's deposition, hereafter translated in full, will be found in the Archives in another form, and for the purpose of distinction I call the one reprinted A, and the other B.

A is found in a document in the *Archivo General de Indias,* in *legajo* 2-5-2/21, that is, among the papers relative to Drake, containing all the depositions taken in the investigation which began on March 16 and which document was certified to on the 15th of April as having been taken from the original depositions.

B, also found in the same *legajo* as A, was not copied from A, but also from the original deposition and seems to be a copy of what was sent to the Viceroy of Peru. As in the case of all copies, they vary somewhat, and both also, no doubt, vary somewhat from the original. By a comparison of the two, we are able to detect certain omissions in A as well as some additions which seem to have occurred through simple error by the copyist in reading from lines farther down or farther up. The differences are pointed out in the foot-notes.

There is also another statement made by Anton, embodied in the relation of Sarmiento. Sarmiento said that after the Viceroy's fleet arrived at Panama Anton came on board and gave them an account of what had occurred. It seems to have been a verbal one only, and while much less full than A, contains some picturesque details not to be found in his original deposition. It is hereafter referred to as C, and as the most interesting parts of it will be found in the foot-notes to the translation of A, it is therefore omitted from the translation of Sarmiento's relation.

As an account of what happened to Anton and a description of what he saw on board the vessel, and as recording some interesting statements made by Drake to him, his various stories are of some value and great interest. Those portions of his narrative which he gave second hand are full of inaccuracies and entirely unreliable with few exceptions. By comparing what he said Silva told him with what Silva himself said in his own depositions, it will appear that Anton misunderstood Silva completely in several important respects, more especially in the story of what happened in the

"great storm." Probably Silva spoke very poor Spanish, if any, and this may account for the inaccuracies. Nevertheless, it seems fairly obvious that Silva did tell him that after they had sailed out into the South Sea they had followed the coast of Chile as high as 44° where they took water, and it was at that point that Drake was struck by the north storm. What follows that statement is badly mixed and is, generally speaking, an inaccurate statement.

The certified document in which A is contained, and which was dated April 15, was undoubtedly the first statement of Drake's operations to reach Spain, and from it was drawn up the statement prepared by the prior and consuls of the body of merchants in Seville and sent to England as a basis for the claim against Drake. An English translation of this document, or possibly a translation made in Seville will be found in the British Museum in the Lansdowne MSS, Vol. XXX, No. 10, where it is entitled, "An abridgement of the relacion and proves made ageinst Sr Fraunces Drake knighte towchinge his doinge in the Sowthe Sea beyonde the streighte of Magalanus." To the account is added a translation of the power of attorney, given by the body above referred to, to Peter de Sabianre, (that is, Pedro de Zubiaure) to pursue the claim for restitution. The date of the power of attorney is not given, but at the end there is a statement that the King had approved it at Elves, December 16, 1580, with the condition that Zubiaure would do nothing without the advice and under the orders of Bernardino de Mendoza, the ambassador. This was accompanied by a copy of the register of Anton's ship and some depositions of various witnesses, merchants in Seville, describing more particularly certain losses which they had suffered. These latter are denominated in the document in the Lansdowne manuscripts, "the proves." The document will be found reprinted in Appendix XII, No. 2, of Mrs. Nuttall's book.

Mrs. Nuttall states that, what according to her seems to be the original of this document, is contained at Oxford in the Ashmole MSS and implies that it was this document she reprinted, which seems certain from various minor differences between her reprint and my copy of the document in the Lansdowne MSS. There is only one difference of any importance, and that occurs in the last sentence, the 24th of April in her version, being the 14th of April in the Lansdowne MSS. This last date is probably the correct one as the original document from which the statement was taken ends

with the statement that the copy was made on the 15th of April. It is not likely that news was received in Spain about Drake's operations on the coast of Nicaragua and Mexico until much later, probably not until after the claim was made up in Seville, as no reference in the English document is made to the robberies committed by Drake in those parts.

Like most copies of depositions, this one is written in the third person although the declarations were made in the first person. In order to restore the story, as far as possible, to its original form and try to prevent the confusion arising from the indiscriminate use of "he" and "him," I have put it back into the first person.

My name is San Juan de Anton, and as master and owner of my ship I sailed from the city of Los Reyes and the port of Peru on the 22nd of January[1] of the present year. I went to load flour at the ports of Guaura, Barranca, and Trujillo where I took on board some silver in the middle of the month of February, then proceeding on my voyage to this place. It seems to me that there was registered and to be registered, with what belonged to the sailors and passengers,[2] 360,000 pesos, a little more or less, in gold and silver and silver coin.[3]

Off Cabo de San Francisco, at midday, we saw a sail proceeding in the direction of the city of Panama. As I was proceeding on my voyage, about eight o'clock at night, the strange sail which we had seen, took a course towards us, and about nine o'clock came alongside our ship.[4] At the same time on the other side a launch which the Corsair has with him came alongside which I had not seen up to that time. As soon as they arrived, two heavy guns were fired, one of which carried away the mizzenmast of my ship. Shortly, many harquebuses were fired and they then boarded my ship, which had no artillery nor arms, and therefore could not make any resistance. They robbed her of all the gold and silver and silver coin[5] which was on board, which belonged to the King as well as to private individuals, and which, as I said, seemed to amount to about 360,000 pesos, more or less. Without doing any harm to the persons who were with me, they left her, taking them[6] along, as well as the fruit, conserves, sugar and other eatables

[1] B has Febrero, an evident error.

[2] B, "por registrar entre marineros y pasajeros," that is, the 360,000 pesos belonged to the sailors and passengers, quite a different statement from A.

[3] B, the *oro* and *reales* are omitted. I have translated *reales*, "silver coin," as strictly speaking, they were not *reales*, but a large portion, if not all, were in pieces of four reales, called *tostones*, or eight reales, called *pesos*. In English parlance, *pesos* were "pieces of eight" or "ryals of eight."

[4] This is a very different story from what he told Sarmiento, as printed in note 7. The A story is corroborated by Nicolas Jorje, Custodio Rodriguez and Domingo de Lizarza, Nuttall, 139, 142, and 176.

[5] In B the same omission occurs here as noted in 3. In C, Anton stated that the total amount was 362,000 pesos in gold, silver bars and silver coin, of which 106,000 belonged to the King. The above was what was registered and he estimated the unregistered would amount to 38,000 pesos or more. He also said that they took from him, beside the food hereafter referred to, two pipes of water, tackle, sails, canvas and a cable.

[6] A has *tomandoles*, that is, taking the persons above referred to. B has *tomandole*, meaning the ship. As a matter of fact Drake took both the people and the ship.

which they had with them, together with some flour.[7] Leaving my ship, after having robbed her, and putting some Englishmen as a guard on board, he took me and the ship along with him for six days, at the end of which, he went away and left us.[8]

During the time that I was with them, I heard and found out [what follows] from those who were with him, among whom were some men who spoke Spanish, a boy who said that he had been born in Seville, and a Portuguese pilot, whose name I could never find out because he never wished to tell it. There was also on board a Fleming who said that they had captured him in Arica (and had burned).[9] I found out [from these] how Captain Francis had burned in Arica the ship above referred to and that he had entered Callao and gone aboard the ship of Miguel Angel which was there, as well as others, to find out if there was anything to steal. But there was nothing, and having found nothing he cut the

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[7] The following interesting story is from C:

"While I was with my ship between Cabo de San Francisco and the Punta de la Galera on Sunday, March 1, at midday, I saw a ship towards land which was following the same course that I was, in the direction of Panama. I thought it was a vessel from Guayaquil and went up towards it. About nine o'clock at night the English ship crossed the stern of my ship, and shortly came alongside abreast of the tack. I hailed her, but the Corsair did not answer. On asking what ship it was, the answer came that it was a ship from Chile, and believing this, I went to the side, the English ship having already run foul of me. Some one said 'Englishman—Strike sail' and another said 'Strike sail, Señor San Juan de Anton! If not, see that we will send you to the bottom,' I said, 'What old tub is that to order me to strike sail? Come on board and do so yourself.' When they heard this, a whistle sounded in the English ship and a trumpet responded. At once, they discharged what seemed to be about sixty harquebuses, and then many arrows which struck the side of my ship. Shortly, a heavy gun was fired with chainballs which carried away the mizzen-mast into the sea with the sail and the yard. Another heavy gun was fired, someone saying that I should strike. At this point, the launch came alongside on the portside with a matter of some forty harquebusiers, who climbed up the channels to which the shrouds are fastened and came aboard my ship. The English ship lay alongside on the starboard and thus they made me strike sail.

"They inquired for the pilot and captain of me myself as I was the only man on deck and I denied being the man; however, as they saw no one else on deck, they seized me and passed me on board the English ship, where I saw the Corsair, Francis Drake, armed with a coat of mail and helmet, already disarming himself. He embraced me, saying 'Have patience, such is the custom of war,' and shortly ordered me shut up in the poop cabin, and placed twelve men over me as a guard."

See Mrs. Nuttall's note on page 157 for a curious idea about what Anton really said when he was ordered to strike sail. The Spanish is "que vinagrera es esa para amainar?" *Vinagrera* is a little Spanish billingsgate and cannot be literally translated. "Old tub" is as near as I can get to it.

[8] C, "The following Monday, at nine o'clock in the morning, the Corsair went to eat in my ship and ordered his Sergeant-Major to set the table for me as if for himself. Francis Drake was in the captured ship until midday, looking over the riches which she carried, and in the afternoon returned to his own ship. From the point where he captured my ship he commenced to cross with both ships under foresails and mizzen sails in a northwest direction towards Nicaragua, with fair weather. The following three days the direction was north-northwest and north a quarter northwest. In the first three days as we had good weather, he discharged all the silver from my ship and transferred it with the boat to his own, keeping in his own ship as prisoners the Spaniards whom he had found aboard the captured ship, ten or eleven all told, five being sailors and the rest passengers. . . . . On the Saturday following, March 7, he ordered all the prisoners to go on board the captured ship and told me that I might go where I wished. I saw him for a long time steering to the north-northwest and I myself steered to the northeast in the direction of Cabo de Corrientes, which I sighted inside of two days."

Anton was mistaken in saying that he had been turned loose March 7; Lizarza, Nuttall, 177, said it was March 6, and there is other evidence that that was the day.

[9] The words in parenthesis are not in B, and in A have been obviously copied by mistake from a lower line.

cables of the ships. Near Callao he had robbed the ship of Patagalana and killed all the crew.[10] There he had heard that I had much silver on board my ship and had come following me, inquiring about me from the boats and ships which he met.

I saw that Captain Francis had with him a man named Custodio Rodriguez who was in Paita as a pilot of a vessel and who said that they had taken him there and carried him along with them. This man told me that Captain Francis had told him that he was not going to stop until he took the silver and gold which I had with me even if he had to go inside of Panama itself. He told me that five ships had entered by the Strait of Magellan and that they had been at the port of San Julian, where Magellan had been, where there are some Indians (of gigantic size and many people).[11] When they displayed friendship toward these while there, an Indian had said that other men like them had killed his father and that he wished to kill them. He had bent his bow and with an arrow had killed an Englishman, and what surprised the Englishmen was the power of this Indian as the shot which he fired at the Englishman passed through him and killed him without being seen. They were so tall that the Englishmen looked like boys alongside of them. In the beating which they gave them they killed another Englishman, and so there were two that they killed there.

They said that they had brought in the five ships four hundred men and that they had left England sixteen months before, having been six months wintering in the port of San Julian on account of the contrary north winds. All the five ships having left there had entered the Strait, and during a storm two ships had gone to the bottom, although the men[12] had escaped, these being collected in the other ships which he had with them. With each one of the ships there was a launch which they towed astern by a rope. These three ships disembogued from the Strait of Magellan.

As for the narrowest place, I heard the Portuguese pilot, whom I asked how far it was from one side of the Strait to the other in the narrowest part, say that it was an harquebus shot only. Having asked him if the Strait was between islands or main land, the pilot told me that it was not islands but main land. He also said that in order to get there they had come by Cape Verde and the coast of Brazil, and having entered the Rio de la Plata, had gone up it for six days, where they took fresh water in six fathoms. Seeing that they were getting into shallow water and that there were many islands and shoals, they went out of the river and came along coasting until they reached the mouth of the Strait, where the port is, which they call San Julian, and where they had found on a stone an inscription which said "Magellanes."

Having disembogued from the Strait with the other three ships because already two had been lost, they had taken water in 44° of latitude.[13] Going out to sea, a storm struck them, during which they were forty days under bare masts

[10] This was not true, and in an addition to B, referring to this ship, it is stated that there was a fight, but that Drake went away without doing any other damage. The ship was no doubt the one stated in the other accounts to have been that of Alonso Rodriguez Bautista, with which Drake did have a fight in the harbor of Callao, wounding Bautista.

[11] The words in parenthesis are not found in B.

[12] B has *parte;* that is, part of the men had escaped.

[13] Several of the witnesses made a similar statement on the authority of Silva, but he never did in any of his own depositions.

and the other two ships left them, so Captain Francis remained alone, with a single ship, the *Capitana,* and never more had they seen them or heard of those ships but he suspected that they had gone to stop at the Moluccas because the sailing chart which they carried to show them the coast of Chile, was incorrect.[14] Having sailed twelve days to the northeast after the storm struck them while they were in 44°, and having run twelve days to the said north-northeast and not finding land, he tacked in a northeast[15] direction and twenty-four days afterwards arrived at the river of Valdivia on the coast of Chile. He ascended this a half a league and as the current was very strong, came out of it again[16] and arrived at an island close to Valdivia, called Mocha which was in a state of war. The Captain went ashore with his men and took water and the Indians shot at them with arrows and killed two men.

From there, he had gone to the port of Coquimbo where he said there were about four hundred men, on foot and on horseback, who killed two Englishmen.[17] From there they had gone to the port of Santiago where they found a ship called the *Capitana,* which used to belong to Muriel. This was laden with Chilean wine destined for the port of Arica, as well as a quantity of gold.[18] They showed me a large cross with a Christ on it, and with emeralds, which they told me they had taken in that ship and they asked me if that was God, why had he not kept me safe, seeing he was God. This was said in contempt of the Holy Crucifix, adding that God was in Heaven and asking for what purpose such things were.[19]

From there he went to the Morro Moreno[20] and there set up the launch which he had with him, because he had in his ship the framework for it. From there he came to the port of Arica where he found two ships and in them forty-odd bars[21] of silver. One of these he had burned and the other he carried out to sea and sent to the bottom.

He captured there a Flemish sailor[22] in one of those ships who told me that from the port of Arica they had sent an advice by land to the port of Arequipa, which is called Chule. He said that there was a ship there[23] and when the English

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[14] Spanish, *falsa,* which Mrs. Nuttall translates "*false,*" and in a note on page 168, says that Anton used the word, apparently in the sense of "falsified." This is not likely, but perhaps he did think that the chart had been falsified, although, as a matter of fact, as discussed elsewhere, there is no reason whatever to suppose that such was the case.

[15] From B. A has *nornorueste,* that is, "north-northwest," obviously an incorrect statement.

[16] Some of the other witnesses also made this statement on the authority of Silva but he never did in his own depositions.

[17] This sentence is omitted in B, probably because whoever copied it from the original knew that Drake could not go to Coquimbo before going to Valparaiso. As related here, the incident is out of place.

[18] At the end of this sentence B adds, *Y le robaron,* "and they robbed her," an obvious omission in A.

[19] This story which Anton interpolates in the account which he received from Silva, is badly mixed in A, resulting from putting in a few words by error; the translation is from B, the text of which is perfectly plain and simple.

[20] The "Morro Moreno" was the name of a mountain which is still there with the same name.

[21] Nicolas Jorje said that there were thirty-five bars of silver which had been obtained by the quick-silver process, *plata de azogue,* he called it. He said there was also a chest containing about five hundred pesos in small pieces of silver.

[22] This was Nicolas Jorje, whose interesting deposition occurs in the same document as that of Anton, having been made on March 28. A translation will be found in Mrs. Nuttall's book, 134, *et seq.,* also before, page 350.

[23] There is an obvious omission in this sentence. B has "estaba alli un navio *comenzado a cargar de plata,*" that is, "being loaded with silver," the italicized words having been omitted in A.

Captain arrived he found her empty and with no one on board. She showed that she had been lightened by more than a palm and the ship's boat was beached on shore (without any people), and so the Englishman understood that they had received news of him and that it was silver with which the ship had been loaded. He scowled at the Fleming,[24] saying that he had deceived him and wished to put him to death. He took this ship out of the port, and out at sea let her go, without anybody on board, so that she would be cast away. From there he had come to Callao and near there had fallen in with a vessel bound for Cañete, from which he had inquired about the ships which were in the port of Callao and those who were on board had told the English Captain that the ship of Miguel Angel there had 1500 bars[25] of silver, and that my ship had left only a short time before for this kingdom, with a great quantity of silver and (gold)[26] with the intention of stopping at ports to load flour. The Captain came to the port of Callao and the ship anchored[27] at the entrance, while with the launch he went on board the ship of Miguel Angel, which he had heard had much silver on board, but there was none. Finding nothing and having boarded the other two ships which were there, which were ready to come to this country and not having found any silver or gold on board, he cut the cables of all the ships which were there and thence sallied forth, and came to the port of Paita. Before arriving there, he took a vessel which carried cargo from Los Valles.[28] This he had robbed and he had done much damage to her, having taken from her a man and inquired of him where my ship was.

He entered the port of Paita and captured a vessel there, robbed it of what he wanted, and took the pilot whose name, as previously declared, was Custodio. From there he came running along the coast and took a ship coming from Guayaquil, loaded with tackle and other things for the fitting out of ships and men for the account of the King. He threw into the sea what was on board and the crew were put ashore in the boat belonging to that ship. He had the pilot and two young men in the ship one day and it was said that he wanted her to take with him to this kingdom, and for that purpose he had put three pieces of artillery on board of her, but as he saw that she was not good at sailing, he left the ship and the pilot, together with the persons who had been aboard of her. The pilot of this ship was called Bravo.

He had also taken the ship of Gonzalo Alvarez which was on its way from this place to Lima. From her he took a Negro who they said was a Cimarron, and took him along with him. Captain Francis has another Negro with him who belonged to Captain Gonzalo de Palma and who has traveled with him for six years.[29] He also took from this ship[30] some wine and other things and then let

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[24] After this, B has *y trato mal*, that is, "he mistreated him."

[25] In A, this word looks like *barriles*, but B has *barras*, as such they undoubtedly were.

[26] The word in parenthesis is omitted in B.

[27] A has *lo tuvo* or *detuvo*, meaning stopped, while B has *surjio*, "anchored," which probably is the correct reading.

[28] There is a mistake in Mrs. Nuttall's translation of this, page 170. Los Valles is the name of a place, but she misread the word and translated it, "belonging to the Friars." There were no Friars on board this vessel, but on Diaz Bravo's ship.

[29] This was undoubtedly Diego, as he was not killed at the Island of Mocha, but was alive many years afterward in England.

[30] There is an obvious omission here which can be supplied from B, "*He took a vessel belonging to some men of Chagres* and took from this ship," etc. The words italicized are evidently omitted in A.

her go and had then come in pursuit of me under full sail and came up with me off the Cabo de San Francisco and the Punta de la Galera, where he captured me and robbed me, as has been declared. This was about one hundred fifty leagues from this city.

Captain Francis told me that he was going to put some irons on me so that I should guide him to Panama, to which I answered that I would take him. As the Englishman received so much pleasure from the quantity of gold and silver which he captured in my ship, he was pleased to turn me loose, and let me come here.

I saw that the said Englishman was much feared by his men[31] and that he had people for a guard and when he dined they played on trumpets and oboes.

When I asked him by what way he thought of returning to his country, the Captain showed me a map of the world and a sailing chart on which he pointed out three parts by which he could get out, one by the Cape of Good Hope by way of China, another by Chile by the way which he had come. He did not say where was the other one.[32]

An Englishman, who spoke Spanish clearly asked me how many[33] Negroes there were in Vallano and I answered that I knew nothing more about it than that they were peaceable. The Englishman laughed at this and said that those Negroes were the brothers of Captain Francis who loved them very dearly. The same man asked me in what part of the coast of Nicaragua they could put a vessel on shore. I also saw that the Captain asked the pilot, Custodio, whom he had with him, if in Cabo Blanco there was a good port to take water and put a vessel on shore, and he answered that there was.

It seemed to me that the people whom Captain Francis has with him in the ship and in the launch number eighty-five men,[34] of whom fifty seem to be fighting men, the rest boys and rabble. He has seven pieces of artillery of cast iron on a side on the lower deck, two large pieces of cast iron in the poop near the helm, and above deck six large pieces, two of bronze. I understood from the Captain that he had more artillery below. I saw that he had many machines of war-like character with which to fight, such as bombs and arrows, a certain

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31 Spanish, "muy temido de su gente," which probably has the meaning which I have given to it, but in view of the statement immediately following that Drake kept a guard, it seems possible that what Anton meant to say was that Drake was very much afraid of his men, which I can well believe was the case. Indeed, the Spanish might be so construed.

32 C, "The Englishman showed me a sailing chart more than two *varas* long, which he said had been made in Lisbon and had cost him eight hundred ducats or *crusadoes* and that in order to get out of this sea, he had four ways to reach England; one by the Cape of Good Hope and by India, one by Norway, another by the Strait of Magellan and the fourth he would not name."

This is Mrs. Nuttall's famous map "two rods long," that is thirty-three feet, which she says Drake had gone to Lisbon in order to procure. Note, however, that Anton said that the map was only two *varas*, that is, five and a half feet long, and he did not say that Drake told him that he had gone to Lisbon to get it. In fact, the statement inferentially is good evidence to the contrary.

C. "So he said that very shortly, in less than six months, he expected to return to England, whereupon I responded that he could not go even in a year because he had placed himself in a sack. The Englishman said he knew nothing about that and that he was content with his route and would follow it."

33 A, Spanish, "que que tantos negros." B has "que cuantos negros," that is, "how many Negroes." This reading is obviously the correct one.

34 C has "eighty men, five more or less, of whom twelve were gentlemen," one of whom he understood from the statements of all the rest to be the son of Juan Dracles, [that is, John Hawkins. The man referred to was William Hawkins, a nephew of John Hawkins.]

machine to throw fire to set on fire the sails of a ship, as well as chain-balls with which to break the masts and other upper parts of a ship, tackle, many harquebuses, coats of mail, pistols, armor, pikes, and all kinds of weapons in great quantity. I was on board six days and saw everything because the Captain showed it to me, as well as to those with me who came with me in my ship. Captain Francis said to me, "I know well that the Viceroy will send for you in order to get information from you. Tell him that the Englishmen that he has killed are sufficient and that he should not kill the four who are left, and if he does they will cost more than two thousand Spaniards and in front of the Viceroy, and that he should know that he was going to hang them and send him their heads."[35]

I saw that he has many pick-axes, many knives for work, and other tools, with much linen and other things.[36] He gave to me and to the passengers who came with me many pick-axes and pieces of linen and other things.[37] The said Captain said to me that the Viceroy of New Spain had not kept his word with Juan Acle, which had cost him seven thousand ducats and these he had come to collect. He said that he had a letter of marque[38] from the Queen of England, by

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[35]Anton, as related in C, told Sarmiento much the same story, but he added that he told Drake he did not think the Viceroy would kill them since he had not done so up to that time, and that he thought that they would be sent to Chile as soldiers, at which Drake was very much pleased and became appeased, as he became very angry whenever he talked about them. These men were the four remnants of Oxenham's party who had essayed a little raid into the South Sea on their own account a few years before.

[36] Spanish, "muchos açadones muchos machetes de roçar y otras herramientas." B is somewhat different, "munchos açadones y machetes de roçar y que trae herramientas." "Machetes de roçar" are large knives used for working purposes. The name is still in common commercial use, being used to distinguish working knives from such as are used as weapons. Mrs. Nuttall has translated this passage as follows: "Many pick-axes, many sickles and other agricultural implements, also much linen stuff and other things." *Machetes de roçar* cannot possibly mean "sickles," as in the first place, the Spaniards had a perfectly good word for "sickle," namely, *hoz*, and in the second place, a Spanish sickle bore no resemblance whatever to any kind of machete; nor do *herramientas* in Spanish mean agricultural implements — the proper and only meaning of the word is "tools." There is another account of this transaction, also by Anton, in C, the so-called *"Relacion"* of Sarmiento, where it is stated that Drake gave them *piezas de lienzo de Portugal y herramientas de azadones y podaderas. Podaderas* are "pruning-knives," so it is plain that they had no resemblance to sickles.

[37] As a matter of interest in this connection, I insert Anton's account as given to Sarmiento, translated from C,

"Before the Englishman turned loose my ship, he gave certain articles to those whom he had robbed. In money he gave thirty and forty pesos to each one, and to some, pieces of Portuguese linen and tools, such as pick-axes and pruning knives, and two of his own decorated coats. To a soldier named Victoria he gave some side-arms, to me a musket which he said had been sent him from Germany, for which reason he esteemed it highly, and to the clerk, a steel shield and a sword, telling us that he gave us these so we should seem to be men-at-arms. To me he gave two pipes of tar, six quintals of German iron and a barrel of powder, and to a merchant named Cuevas he gave some fans with looking-glasses in them, telling him they were for his wife. To me, he gave a basin of gilded silver with a name written in the middle of it which said, 'Francisqus Draques,' and at the time he turned me loose, he gave me a safe-conduct in English, signed with his name, telling me that he gave it to me so that if the other two English ships, which had been reported to be behind him, should fall in with me they would not do me any harm, nor rob me again. He said he was the Captain-General of all of them and they would comply with his orders. He made very much of the favor which he did me in giving me that passport, telling me that the captain of one of the ships was a very cruel man and that if I should fall in with him he would not leave a man alive, but with that document from him, I would be safe from them."

[38] Spanish, *carta de marca*. B has *carta de merced*. Drake certainly had no letter of marque, but he may have said that he had one.

which he could make captures for her, and that therefore all over this which he should capture, was for the said Queen who had caused him to leave home although he had not wished to do so.[39] Among the other things which the Captain gave, he gave to me a gilded corselet, and he wished to give me ammunition and powder and other things, but his soldiers would not allow him to do so.

The Captain told me that he had undergone the labor of discovering a good road by which to go to[40] Castile and that it was no longer necessary, from now on, to go by way of Nombre de Dios, nor to undergo so much labor, nor to cost the merchants so much silver. If the King of Spain did not give them permission to trade on payment of the duties they would come and carry off the silver.

Captain Francis gave me a Negro whom he had taken in Arica, because this Negro, in my presence, went down on his knees before the Captain and asked as a favor that he would permit him to come with me as his master was old. The Captain said to him, "Since you wish to go, God be with you. I do not wish to take anyone with me against his wish," saying to me that I should send him to his master, so he gave him to me and I brought him with me, but I do not know what his name is.

The ship which the Captain has seems to be of about two hundred tons burden and is full of barnacles and in great need of being put on land and being repaired. The Captain asked me if in the Island of Lobos, which is beyond Paita towards Lima, there was a good port to put his vessel on shore. This seemed to me to be for the purpose of throwing me off,[41] because I believe and consider it certain that he is going to the coast of Nicaragua, because he has no water, and from there wherever he wishes to go, because I heard the pilot who was with me say to Custodio, who is the pilot whom the Captain had taken in Paita, that the Portuguese pilot who he had with him had asked him if he knew any women in Sonsonate.[42] For this reason I suspect that he is the pilot who fifteen or twenty years ago ran off with a great quantity of silver and gold belonging to the King and private parties, and never more was heard of. It was said that the said pilot who had so run off was married in Sonsonate, and for this reason and because he had asked about women in Sonsonate and because, more particularly, he had asked me if the ships entered the port of Panama itself or went to Perico, and having answered that they did not enter the port of the city itself but Perico, the pilot

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[39] C, "Francis Drake complained about the Viceroy of Mexico, saying that he had broken his word to Juan Dracles, and had not complied with the safe-conducts of the King of Spain. He said that he himself had been there and had lost in that defeat seven thousand pesos, three hundred Englishmen having been killed. He said that the King had been his treasurer for the amount they had taken from him ten years ago and that for this reason he himself wished to be the treasurer of the King's estate. Therefore, the silver which he took belonging to the King of Spain was for him while that of private persons was for the Queen, his mistress."

[40] B has "from," but in view of what is said in the later part of the sentence, the "to" is probably correct.

[41] There is an evident omission here which we can supply from B, "de la derrota que le llevaba," that is, "from the route which he is following."

[42] This sentence is somewhat involved and so is the text of B, which is as follows: "porque el piloto portugues que trae oyo este testigo que pregunto al otro piloto que traya que se llama Custodio Rodriguez que abia tomado el dicho capitan en Paita le digo si conocia algunas mujeres en Sonsonate," that is to say, "because I heard the Portuguese pilot that Drake has with him ask another pilot, Custodio Rodriguez, whom Drake had taken in Paita, if he knew any women in Sonsonate." I cannot undertake to decide which is correct but in any case the meaning is much the same.

said to me that in the old times they were accustomed to go right up to the port of Panama; for this reason, then, I believe that this Portuguese pilot is the very one who ran off with the great quantity of silver as stated, and I also believe that he is very well acquainted with the South Sea.[43] It seems to me to be certain beyond any doubt that Captain Francis is going to the coast of Nicaragua to take water and put his ship on shore, and that is the road by which the said Captain Francis said he could get out and go to his own country.

This that he has said is the truth of what he knows about the case, under the oath which he has taken, and he signed it with his name, and having been read over to him he has ratified it, and he declared that he was thirty-five years of age.

[43] This same story was repeated by several of the witnesses. Indeed, Custodio Rodriguez, who said he was a Portuguese himself, claimed to know Silva very well. He even stated that Silva's real name was Hernan Perez. Nuttall, 143. In spite of the positive identification of Rodriguez and the somewhat circumstantial evidence cited against Silva, it was very possibly a case of mistaken identity.

CORNIELES LANBERD

AMONG those captured on Tello's bark were Cornieles Lanberd, Jusepe de Parraces, Diego de Messa and Alonso Sanchez Colchero. The first three made depositions in Panama May 8, 1579. All told substantially the same story and as it is quite sufficient to translate one of them only, I have selected Lanberd's as being the best told. They all agree that the bay where the *Golden Hind* was anchored was on the mainland and not on the island. A copy of their various depositions was certified to in Panama June 17, no doubt for the purpose of being sent to Spain, where it is now to be found in the A. G. I., 2-5-2/21. From this the translation following has been made.

When Colchero reached Realejo February 15, he made a deposition which contains in every important respect the same information as that of Lanberd, but is naturally more devoted to his own troubles. He said that Drake tried to induce him to pilot him into the port of Realejo in order to burn the town and a vessel there, and resorted to torture in order to force him to do so, by raising him off the deck twice with a rope around his neck, and keeping him there until he was exhausted. Considering the bad treatment Colchero received, he probably was very badly frightened, and saw everything almost twice its natural size, or else exaggerated, with some object in view, the force and size of Drake's ship, which he said was of three hundred tons and carried twenty-five large guns. That he received fifty pesos seems certain; perhaps Drake gave it to him to salve his feelings or repair the injuries he received in being "hung." The fact, however, that the pesos were sent away in the launch with the other prisoners when they were released, and not given to Colchero himself, would seem to indicate that he had agreed to go on with Drake and that later he either backed out or, as is more probable, Drake got out of him all the information which he wanted and then put him on Zárate's ship.

On this, the 8th day of May, 1579, the said Señor Ventura de Medina, *alguazil mayor* of this court, complying with the order which he has received, ordered to appear before him Cornieles Lanberd, merchant, who said that he was a native of Lleyen[1] in the states of Flanders, had resided in Seville twenty-four years, and

[1] I do not know what place this word is supposed to represent. This is the way it appears in the manuscript.

now four years in the province of Nicaragua, from whence and from Costa Rica he had sailed in the ship of Rodrigo Tello for this city. After having been sworn and had promised to tell the truth, on being questioned, he said:

What I know and what took place is that March 17 of this year the ship of Rodrigo Tello set sail from the city of Nicoya and the port of the Rio de Palmar for this city. The said Rodrigo Tello came as master and owner. When we arrived off the Island of Caño, about forty leagues, more or less, from the port which we had left, March 20 we were captured by a launch[2] of Captain Francis, in which there were some twenty-six or thirty Englishmen. After we were taken they took us two leagues to a small bay near the said Island of Caño, where there was a large English ship of up to two hundred tons burden. They took me and some others, my companions, into the presence of Captain "Francisco Draque" who is the Captain and owner of the said vessel and launch. The rest of the people who were captured remained in the vessel and later were put in the launch.

Being asked to tell about the number of the people who were in the ship and in the launch of Captain Francis, what kind of people they were, and what kind of arms and other war-like supplies they had, he said:

Captain Francis has with him eighty-six soldiers, among whom are two Negroes and three boys.[3] All the rest are men who labor in different kinds of trades pertinent to a ship and are trained in the weapons that the Captain himself uses in the same manner. The ship carries twelve large pieces of cast-iron as well as two of bronze of about sixteen or twenty hundred-weights each, besides powder and other kinds of munitions of war, balls, engines for throwing fire, balls of fire and others in chains, many bows and arrows and harquebuses, steel shields and pikes, other arms such as partisans, and coats of mail, with all of which the ship is well supplied. He also told me and my companions that he had a great quantity of powder.

Questioned if he saw the supplies which the Corsair had, he said:

Yes, he has on the ship a great deal of flour, meat, fish, Spanish wine, conserves and vegetables, besides a quantity of biscuit. They were taking on water and in great quantity.

Being asked if he found out the plan which the Corsair had for his navigation, and if they told him the route that they were going to follow, and for what purpose the ship was in that bay, and if he found out who the pilot was who steered the ship, if there was any Portuguese on board and if so what his name was, he said:

The ship was in the little bay as I stated, and when the bark of Rodrigo Tello was taken, he began to pass into her his artillery and put it aboard in disorder, at the same time placing on her many heavy locked boxes in order to

[2] Messa said that at the time of the capture, the Englishmen in the launch fired into the vessel, but no one else mentioned this incident, not even Parraces who was said by Messa to have been wounded.

[3] Parraces told exactly the same story.

lighten his ship. He then landed the gold and silver which was in the ship, and all that was in sight on both sides was repaired.[4] He told me that he wished to find a beach in the neighborhood on which to careen his ship for she was leaking, and afterwards, while I and my companions were prisoners, he sent along the coast to see if there was any beach appropriate for that purpose. As he did not find any, he told me and my companions that although he wished to return the ship he had taken from Rodrigo Tello, yet he could not do so because he did not know what need he might have for her at sea, as his own ship was leaking, and that even if she belonged to his own father, he was not able to refrain from taking her. For the purpose of going to Acapulco or some other port in New Spain to careen his ship, he asked many times what kind of ports Acapulco and Sonsonate and others on that coast were, and for the purpose of finding a port that suited him, he seized Alonso Sanchez Colchero, a citizen of Seville, a pilot whom the Viceroy of Mexico was sending to this city to go as a pilot of the fleet for China. He promised to leave him in the first islands of the Philippines that he arrived at, but the said Alonso Sanchez said that he was no pilot nor knew anything except only that he knew some of the land of China, as he had been there, and asked that he should leave him as he was married. Captain Francis told him that he wanted nothing more of him than that he should be acquainted with the land, as so far as the taking of latitude and the knowledge of the star was concerned, he could leave that to him. Alonso Sanchez continued to insist that he should leave him behind and the Captain told him that it was necessary and that he would pay him, and that he would give him, as he did, fifty pesos in silver for him to send to his wife. Alonso Sanchez sent these to the *Oidor* Palacios to forward to his wife and he wrote, in the presence of Captain Francis and with his permission, letters to the Viceroy of Mexico, the said *Oidor* and to his wife, in which he told what had happened.[5] The pilot which he has with him seemed to me, from his countenance and his skill to be a Portuguese, but I did not know his name as he neither talked nor wished to talk. For the rest, what I found out was what I heard from Martin de Aguirre, who came in the ship with me, where he was taken prisoner, and was one of the pilots sent by the Viceroy, that he had heard one of the Englishmen ask the Portuguese pilot if in eight or nine months he would be in his own country, to which he had responded that inside of four months he would be there, and that he had not heard him speak another word.

Being asked if the said ship was in condition to move from there and if he had found out the route they were going to follow and what persons of those who were prisoners remained with the said Englishman, he said:

I was talking in the Flemish language with a soldier who talked Flemish, who was in the said ship, from whom I found out that he had heard his companions say that Captain Francis desired to give the launch which he had to the prisoners, in which they should leave, because he had to carry with him the bark of

[4] All the witnesses told the same story about this.

[5] All the witnesses told substantially the same story about Colchero. Parraces said that he wrote the letters at Colchero's dictation in the presence of an Englishman who knew Spanish.

Rodrigo Tello as he had to go out to sea for more than seventy or eighty days and would have to put on her a firm gunwale so that she could carry more sail, in order to stand the long voyage which she would have to make before arriving at the Moluccas as the launch could not cross to that coast.

He only took with him Alonso Sanchez Colchero, the pilot of China. He took the dispatches of the Viceroy of New Spain for this Audiencia and those for Gonzalo Ronquillo and the *Oidor,* Sandia, the Governor of China, and at the same time he took the two sailing charts and the *derrotero* of the said pilot, and and with these the ship made sail.[6] I and my companions saw him sailing towards Realejo in order to reach the coast of New Spain and this is what I know under discharge of my oath. I am thirty-six years of age, a little more or less.

[6] There is some difference in the statements about when Drake sailed away from Caño. Parraces said they had sailed March 27, while Messa said they left on the night of the 25th and towed the launch until the 27th, when they took out of her everything she had and then put the prisoners on board, after having searched their chests and taken out their money and clothing. Drake gave them a *botija* and a half of water, a sack of flour and a little corn, and told them to go to land which was near.

FRANCISCO DE ZÁRATE

F ALL Drake's prisoners in the South Sea the only one characterized as "Don," an appellation limited in the Sixteenth Century strictly to persons of quality or noble birth, was Zárate. The only family of this name, in the *Nobiliario* of Alonso Lopez de Haro, was a Basque one radicated near Orduña. The founder, although of ancient lineage, was Diego de Zárate as he is sometimes called, a soldier created by Charles the Fifth in 1530, *Caballero Dorado*. He had a son Francisco who was a member of the Order of Santiago and therefore probably the same man as Drake's prisoner who also belonged to that order. There is nothing to show that he was connected with the Cerda or Guzman families, both Andalusian, to members of which pertained the titles of Duke of Medinaceli and Medina Sidonia and therefore it seems likely that he was not a cousin of the Duke of Medina as stated by Silva. After he was released by Drake, he went to Realejo and from there April 16, wrote the following interesting letter to the Viceroy Martin Enriquez:

Although I should not discharge the obligation which I am under to your Excellency for such favor as you have always shown me, I could not reach any port where I should not do this, chiefly on account of the opportunity which is offered to here relate to your Excellency with the fewest words possible, not omitting anything of importance, [what follows:]

I left the port of Acapulco March 23, and proceeded on my journey until Saturday, the 4th of April. Half an hour before daybreak we saw in the moonlight a ship very close and the steersman shouted out to keep away from us and not foul our rigging. To this they made no answer, pretending they were asleep. Louder shouts were made to them and they were asked from whence the ship came. They answered from Peru and said she belonged to Miguel Angel, a very well-known master on that route. The man who said this was a Spaniard, and farther on I will tell your Excellency his name. The enemy's ship had a boat in front of the bow as if towing her. In a moment this passed by our stern, those on board calling out to us to strike our sails and firing at us seven or eight harquebuses. We took this to be as much of a jest as it afterwards turned out to be in earnest. No resistance was made as not even six men were awake, so they came on board without any risk, as if they were friends. They did no harm to anyone but took away the swords and keys of the passengers. Being informed who was on the ship they ordered me to leave in the boat and go to where the General was. I was pleased with this as it seemed to me that it gave me time to commend myself to God although it was only a short time until we arrived at what was a very good ship, as well armed and provided with artillery as I have ever seen in

all my life.[1] I found him walking about on board and went up to him to kiss his hands. He received me with good grace and took me to his cabin where he made me sit down. He said to me, "I am a good friend of whoever tells me the truth, but on the contrary I get very much irritated [if they do not], so to tell me the truth is the best course you can take with me. How much silver and gold has the ship on board?" I said to him that there was none, repeating, "none, only some table service on which I am served, and some cups, altogether." He was silent a moment and then turned to ask me if I knew your Excellency. I told him yes. "Is there on board any relative of his or anything that belongs to him?" "No, Señor." "I would be more pleased to fall in with him than all the silver and gold in the Indies and you would see how to comply with the word of a gentleman."[2] To this I made no response. He rose from his seat and told me to go with him, and took me to the lower poop cabin where there was a prison which they call the *ballesta*[3] and at the end of this there was seated an old man. He said to me, "Sit down, here you have to stay." I took a seat with a good grace and as I was doing so he stopped me and said, "I do not wish you to do this just now, but merely that you will tell me who this man is who is here." I answered that I did not know him. "Know, then, that this is a pilot whom the Viceroy is sending to Panama to take Don Gonzalo to China, and that his name is Colchero." He then ordered him to be taken out of the prison and together we went above. This was the man who talked from the ship when they took us.

We were chatting for quite a long time until it was time to eat. He ordered me to sit down near him and commenced to help me from his plate, and told me not to worry as my life and property were safe. For this I kissed his hands. He asked me if I knew where water was to be found in that neighborhood as nothing else was lacking and if he should find it he would give me permission to continue my voyage. I did not then ask him for anything but awaiting the proper moment I entreated him not to make us go back so as to pass the gulf of Teguantepec. He answered that he would see about it and would shortly dispatch me.

On the morning of the next day, which was Sunday, he dressed himself in great finery and ordered all the pennants and the flags which the ship carried to be displayed. He also ordered all the people on board my ship to the other one which he had with him and which he had taken on this same coast. This he had done since he arrived at the coast of Chile where he had in his hands a ship with a great quantity of gold and many others loaded with silver. He entered Callao and cut the cables of all the ships which were in the port, and as there was a breeze from shore, went out to sea where he had time to sack them at his leisure. Before he went to do the same to mine he said to me, "Let a page of yours come with me to show me your goods." He left the galleon about nine o'clock in the morning and was there until nearly nightfall looking over what there was in the packages and chests. What he took from me was not very much, he was even

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[1] Zárate was evidently very badly frightened, being in a state of mind which hardly fitted him to make very accurate observations. His account, therefore, is more interesting than reliable.

[2] This is a reference to the action of Martin Enriquez, the Viceroy of New Spain, in not keeping his word with John Hawkins in the harbor of Vera Cruz.

[3] I do not know what Zárate meant by this word; *ballesta* means a cross-bow; Colchero said it was an iron cage and therefore it must have been the brig, as the room used as a prison on board ship was called.

very courteous. Some things of mine of metal[4] looking good to him, he ordered them transferred to his ship and gave me in exchange a cutlass and a little fire-pan of silver and I promise your Excellency that he lost nothing at the fair.[5] When he returned on board his ship he told me to pardon him, as it was for his wife that he had taken it, and that I could go in the morning when the land breeze came up. For this I gave him thanks.

The next day, Monday, in the morning, he returned their boxes to some of the passengers, and at this he amused himself until it was time to eat. He ordered them to bring this because the wind was beginning to blow. After this was done he said that he himself wished to go and put me on board, and ordered that the shallop[6] should be made ready and that two dozen of harquebusiers should go on board. He called one of the artillerymen and ordered him to lower into it half a dozen pieces. After this had all been done, he ordered me to embark with him as everything was ready. This I did and we came to my ship and went on board, he in advance. He directed all the sailors to be called and gave each one of them a handfull of *tostones*[7] as he also did to some of the other men on board who seemed to him to be the most ill-conditioned.

He ordered one of the sailors to go on board with him to show him where they could take water and as all excused themselves saying that they had no knowledge of it, he made one, called Juan Pascual, get into the shallop, telling him that he would hang him if he said a word about it. With this he said good-bye to me and the last words he said were a pressing request that I should tell some Englishmen who were in Lima how I had run across him on the 6th of April and that he was well.[8] From this it may be inferred that he has spies in all this kingdom and Peru, and I can tell your Excellency that two or three of his men have sailed where I have on this route of New Spain. He gave me Colchero and this done, sailed away. According to what I understood he had three thousand bars of silver and twelve or fifteen chests of reals of eight and a great quantity of gold. He is going home directly and I think that no ship that follows him can overtake him. He has the greatest wish to return.

The General of the English is a nephew of Juan Aquines and is the same man who five years ago took the port of Nombre de Dios. He is called "Francisco Drac" and may be a man of thirty-five years of age, very small in stature, with a red beard, and one of the best sailors there is at sea, not only as an observer of latitude but as a commander of his ship. He has a galleon of about four hundred tons, a finished sailer, and a hundred men, all fit and of a proper age for war, and all as well disciplined as the old Italian soldiers; particularly, every one

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[4] Zárate used the word *minerias* for these objects, a use of the word unknown to me. Probably he used it in a jocular sense as he later refers to the *ferias* as if there was a fair which he and Drake were attending. The "Anonymous Narrative" says that Zárate gave Drake a gold falcon with a large emerald in the breast, and presumably this was the *mineria* to which Zárate referred. Drake also took, probably from some of the other passengers, a quantity of porcelain, linen and silk.

[5] Spanish, *las ferias*. What Zárate meant was, no doubt, that in the exchange that Drake made with him, he lost nothing.

[6] Spanish, *chalupa*. This was another name for *lancha*, as the Spaniards usually called it. At that period the English called them "pinnaces."

[7] *Tostones* were pieces of four reals.

[8] The Englishmen to whom Drake referred were some of Oxenham's men who were still alive in Lima when Drake passed by.

takes great care to have his harquebus clean. He treats them with kindness and they treat him with respect. He has with him nine or ten gentlemen, second sons of some of the principal men of England. Some[9] of these belong to his council and he calls them together for any matter, no matter how simple it may be, although he takes orders from no one, but takes pleasure in hearing them, and having done so gives his orders. He has no favorite. These he seats at his table, and even the Portuguese pilot whom he brought from England and who did not speak a word during all the time I was on board. He is served with much plate with his arms on it, which has the borders and the decorations gilded. He carries with him all the presents[10] and scented water possible, much of which he said had been given to him by the Queen. None of these gentlemen sit down or cover themselves in front of him unless they are first ordered to do so, not only once but many times.

The ship has about thirty large guns and a great quantity of engines for throwing fire, a great amount of ammunition and other necessary warlike stores. His dining and supping is to the music of *vigolones*.[11] He carries with him carpenters and calkers so that he can careen the ship at any time. The ship, besides being new, has double sides.[12] I understand that the crew are under wages because in the sack of our ship no one dared to take anything except as he ordered. He grants them many favors and punishes them for the least fault. He also has with him painters who paint the coast in its proper colors. This gave me the most pain to see because everything is so natural that whoever follows him could in no way lose himself. I understood from him that he had left his country with five ships and four shallops of the long kind and that half of the fleet belonged to the Queen. I understood this to be so from what I will tell your Excellency.

This Corsair, like the first one,[13] two months ahead of time, arrived at the place, where he had to disembogue[14] and he was there many days enduring great storms so that a gentleman whom he had brought with him said to him, "For a long time we are in this Strait and you have placed near death all who follow and serve you. It would be well to order us to return to the North Sea where we are certain of booty and not hunt out new discoveries which you see to be so difficult." This gentleman must have sustained this opinion with more spirit than seemed good to the General, who answered by ordering him to be taken below deck and to have some shackles put on him. The next day at the same hour he ordered him to be taken out and in the presence of all to have his head cut off. The time that he was kept prisoner must have been what was necessary to substantiate the process. He himself told me this, saying many good things about the dead man but that he could not do anything less because this was necessary

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[9] In translating this passage Mrs. Nuttall failed to notice that Zárate said that *algunos*, that is, "some," belonged to the council, and she said that they all belonged to the council. He does not say that a council was held on board while he was there, and it would be interesting to know from whom he obtained this information.

[10] Sp.,*regalos*, that is, things to give away or possibly "dainties" as translated by Mrs. Nuttall.

[11] This seems to be an error for *violones*, large violins, that is, bass-viols or violas, as they probably were.

[12] No doubt he meant double-sheathed.

[13] Sp., *como primerizo*. He probably referred to Magellan, who also arrived there too early.

[14] He meant *embocar*, that is, enter the Strait.

in the service of the Queen, and he showed me the instructions[15] which he carried from her. I endeavored to find out if there was any relative of the dead man on board and was told that there was only one,[16] one of those who ate at his table. All the time that I was with them, namely, fifty-five hours, never did this young man leave the ship, although in their turn all the rest did so. They did not do this to leave him as a guard for me, but rather I think they did it to guard him. I endeavored to find out if the General was well-beloved and everyone told me that they adored him. This is all I could find out during the time I was with him.

I beg of your Excellency to consider the encouragement that his countrymen would receive if this man should arrive at his own country. If up to the present time they have sent their second sons, from now on they will come themselves, seeing the schemes which this Corsair has made under cover, and that all his promises have turned out so true, for with such a great sum of gold and silver he will have proved his plan. Although this loss is so great, I do not think it any a lesser one that there have been made during this voyage more than twenty finished pilots of the Peruvian route.[17] May your Excellency pardon such a long account of this affair, as it seems to me a business of great importance and gravity. . . . . From Realejo . . . . April 16, 1579.

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15 Sp., *provisiones,* orders or instructions. These were the "papeles" Drake talked about to Silva.

16 John Doughty.

17 Compare this translation, the correct and sensible one, with the fantastic one of Mrs. Nuttall, 209.

GASPAR DE VARGAS

VARGAS was the Alcalde of Guatulco, a small town near the Mexican coast, whose port Drake sacked in April. There was nothing to the port except a few houses, a church and some ware-houses. Its chief importance lay in the fact that it was the shipping place for goods from the southern part of Mexico to the Central American ports on the west coast. Only three or four Spaniards lived there. When Drake reached the port, Vargas, Gomez Rengifo, Simon de Miranda, the curate, another Miranda a relative of his, Bernardino Lopez and two or three other Spaniards, besides Juan Gomez, the captain of the ship in the port, and a few sailors, were the only white people there. Most of these undoubtedly made depositions shortly after Drake left, but they are now all lost. Nothing remains that I have been able to find except a letter from Vargas to the Viceroy, dated April 13, and a report made by him the following day, also to the Viceroy. These two documents are both to be found in the *legajo* of papers relating to Drake, in the archives in Seville, 2-5-2/21.

In the following year, in May, while the Inquisition in Mexico was endeavoring to obtain evidence against Silva, in his pending trial for heresy, Bishop Granero de Avalos, who had just been appointed Bishop of La Plata and was on his way to South America by way of Guatulco, took some depositions in that place. He examined Vargas and also Juan Pascual who had already been examined in Acapulco March 5, by the famous Father Andres de Aguirre. He also examined Bernardino Lopez and Simon de Miranda. Considering the object of the investigation it is obvious that the questions asked the witnesses were largely directed towards obtaining evidence against Silva, great stress being laid upon the religious exercises which were practised on board the *Golden Hind*. Gomez Rengifo had been examined February 18, 1580, in Oaxaca under a commission from the Inquisition, and gave the most interesting testimony of all.

All these Inquisition documents are preserved in the Archives of Mexico and have all been translated and published by Mrs. Nuttall, to whose book I refer anyone who is interested in the subject. All English expeditions by sea of any importance at this period carried

preachers who conducted religious exercises, and there was nothing about the ones held on board the *Golden Hind* which differed from those customary at the time.

The essential facts regarding Drake's stay at Guatulco are contained in the two letters written by Gaspar de Vargas, first referred to. I present the letter of April 13 herewith in full, and such portions of his letter of the 14th as contain anything of interest.

This morning, Holy Monday, at eight o'clock, while I was in the port of Guatulco, I received news from the sailors of a ship belonging to Juan de Madrid, which was in the port, loaded with goods for Sonsonate and expected to sail on Wednesday, that they had seen two sails very close to the port, one large and the other small.[1] It was thought that the ship was the one from Peru[2] that they were expecting and that the small vessel must be a bark for pearl fishing on the coast. Shortly, two hours later, that is about ten o'clock in the morning, they began to come into the port, side by side, and to everybody it seemed that the larger one was of more than three hundred tons and that the other was larger than they had said. Finally, they came in with great boldness and the larger vessel anchored, while the smaller one, which afterwards seemed to be a launch, together with the ship's boat full of men, suddenly commenced to come towards land with great boldness. Then it was understood that it was an English Corsair, as it is. I went to the beach with a few Spaniards, and some Indians who were there dressing the church for Holy Thursday and Easter, and with what arms we could find we placed ourselves in position to resist their landing. This worked so well that the boat, which had more than forty harquebusiers and archers on board, stopped until the launch began to fire some artillery. The harquebuses in the boat began to lend some aid and it became necessary for us to give up our position and take to the woods and fire at them from there. We saw them jump on shore, and with their Captain begin to sack the goods of the merchants and the houses of those of us who lived there, and what is more deplorable was to see them cut to pieces the images and the crucifixes without any shame. This done, they returned on board with their plunder. Soon, as best we could see, they went aboard the ship which was there, which was loaded with merchandise and took this out and carried it to their own ship. They carried away three people, the vicar and a relative of his, the *Corregidor*[3] of Suchitepeque, named Miranda, who had come to pass Holy Week in the port, together with the *encomendero*,[4] Francisco Gomez. At that juncture I came down and got together some Spaniards. As soon as those on board saw this, they came ashore in two boats in order to take some of us,

[1] The Golden Hind and Tello's bark.

[2] This reference is no doubt to the ship that was going from Panama to the Philippines, to carry Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, the new governor.

[3] There is no proper translation for this word. His position corresponded more to that of a prefect of a French department than anything else.

[4] There is no English word which can be given as a satisfactory translation of this word. An *encomienda* was a grant of Indians made to some individual for services rendered or supposed to have been rendered. The *encomenderos* who had the grants had certain rights over the Indians, mostly in the way of exacting a small tribute. It is probable that Gomez Rengifo's *encomienda* was in Oaxaca, or Antequera as the place was then known.

but not being able to do so they returned. A third time, I came back at nightfall to see if I could find out who they were, and all that I could discover was that their pilot, according to what the crew of Juan de Madrid found, was called Morera.[5] A sick Indian who remained in the port, recognized the first time one or two men who used to go about here as sailors. With this information I came to the town of Guatulco where I have just arrived at ten o'clock at night, for the purpose of sending this letter to your Excellency by a messenger to Oaxaca so that he would arrive there in three or two and a half days, and from there another would be sent on, so that your Excellency, being informed, could provide whatever remedy is possible. At the same time, I sent another Spaniard to Don Juan[6] at Acapulco, a hundred leagues away, so that regardless of whether he killed horses or not, he could reach there before the ship, and Don Juan could take what steps were advisable. If your Excellency pleases, you can make an important campaign as there is a large ship there belonging to Juan Diaz in which and in that of his Majesty, you can put in a short time, four hundred men, and await him or go out to hunt for him, and boarding him, gain the victory. Without doubt the victory would be certain, even if only two hundred men should go with a good supply of harquebuses, swords and shields, and some artillery if there is any there.[7] His ship carries eight or ten pieces, according to what the sailors here say. Having sent away this dispatch, I return to the port to see what resolution to take, as I consider it very certain that he would take the direction of Acapulco, because it seems that he comes from the direction of Sonsonate, where he probably did no little damage on the road and in the port, as in that direction two vessels have gone, one loaded from this port belonging to Sebastian Ruiz, and the other of Francisco de Zárate. This is suspected because it is understood that she comes well loaded with gold and silver and merchandise,[8] as she is far down in the water, according to what these sailors say, and it is suspected that she has done some damage to those ships of Peru. All these are suppositions which can turn out to be true. What more may happen I will write you about. . . . . April 13, 1579, Gaspar de Vargas.

[*Extracts from an account of* "the Corsair who entered the port of Guatulco, Holy Monday, about eleven o'clock in the morning, taken from those people whom he had captured and turned loose—today, Tuesday at five o'clock in the afternoon. . . . . "]

He has with him a very skillful Portuguese pilot, who it is understood is the one who governs and directs the fleet. He speaks English as if it were his own language[9] and is everything with the General.

[5] See Chapter VII for some speculations regarding this man. As Drake did not hesitate to put one of his pilots on shore at Guatulco, he might have put another, for whom he had no further use, on shore on the Northwest coast.

[6] This was Juan de Guzman, the Alcalde of Acapulco.

[7] These ships did put out after Drake, but went in the wrong direction; in fact the whole affair was a dreadful farce.

[8] What Vargas means is that as Drake's vessel was loaded with gold and silver and merchandise, it was suspected that she might have captured one or both of the two ships just referred to.

[9] This is the only statement I have seen in any of the narratives that Silva spoke English, except Pascual's statement that he heard him speak some words in the English language. If true, he had probably picked it up on board the ship.

"Francisco Drac" boasts of being such a good sailor, so learned, that he said to them that there was no one in the world who understood better the art of sailing than he did, and from what they saw during the two days of their imprisonment, they understood that he must be a good sailor. He also told them that since he had left his country, he had sailed seven thousand leagues and that he had that many more to go to get back.

On the same Tuesday, at the time when he turned them loose, he said that he had decided to go to Acapulco to burn and destroy the town and the ships there, for none of them could escape him.[10] He also said that he and his men were resolved to follow that course and that they would continue to do so with all their power. In an arrogant manner, he also told his prisoners that it was lucky that not one of his soldiers had been killed, as, if one had been, he would not leave a man alive of those he could capture, and that he would level and destroy the port.

He took them on condition that they would go with him to show him where water was to be obtained, and so they went with him to do so. On Tuesday, before turning them loose, he asked that on the Wednesday following, Juan Gomez, the master of the ship belonging to Juan Madrid, which is anchored in the port and loaded, and his sailors, should furnish him with all the wood that he needed; otherwise he would burn the ship, loaded as she was. Since he entered the port, he has had a guard on board of her. He asked Juan Gomez to come to see him, under promise that he would do him no harm, but up to the present time, it is not known whether he will dare do so or not because it is suspected that he has need of a pilot. I ordered him to give him as much wood as he asked for but that he should not go himself.

He brought in the ship a sailor named Juan Pascual, a Portuguese who was on board the frigate of Don Francisco de Zárate, which he took in the Anavazas between Teguantepec and Sonsonate. He had Don Francisco a prisoner four days and then turned him loose, as well as the frigate, having taken from her twelve bales of merchandise which he wanted, of which eleven were of linen and the other of silk, as well as a Negro and a Negress. He wanted to hang the pilot, because when he asked him if he was a pilot, he said that he was not.[11] They say that he passed along by the shore but did not meet Guillermo Hernandez, who left this port a short time ago with much money on board. The prisoners say that according to what they saw and what they heard from the Englishmen themselves, the plunder which the ship carried was worth more than a million, and so for grandness the General had said that he had captured the treasure which they were taking from Chile and Las Charcas to his Majesty. All that can be learned up to the present about them is that they say that they will leave on Wednesday night or Thursday morning. Until they leave, it cannot be known what they have taken from the loaded ship in the port nor what they will do with her.

He says publicly that the war he is carrying on is just, and with the license of the Queen, and other nonsense to the same effect.

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[10] I think that there is but little doubt that Drake did have this intention at first, but he probably changed his mind before he left Guatulco. He was probably afraid that some information about him would reach Acapulco before he could.

[11] This was probably a reference to Alonso Sanchez Colchero.

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA

PEDRO SARMIENTO DE GAMBOA, the author of the account printed herewith, was one of the most celebrated Spanish navigators of the sixteenth century. Little is known about his early life but it seems that he was born about 1525 or 1530 in Pontevedra in Galicia. He must have gone to Peru about 1557 and in 1567 accompanied Alvaro de Mendaña on his famous expedition to the Solomon Islands.

Notwithstanding the positive opinions expressed by Sarmiento in the following account that Drake had returned to England by the famous Strait of Bacallaos, the officials seemed to be of the opinion that he might return by the Strait of Magellan. The Viceroy of Peru therefore fitted out an expedition to make a reconnaissance of that Strait, with the object of proposing to the King a method for fortifying it to prevent further incursions into the South Sea. Sarmiento was placed in command. The expedition left Callao in October, 1579, and at the end of December entered the Strait, where Sarmiento spent about two months taking possession of the bays, and seeking information from the natives. He reached Portugal in August, 1580, and presented to King Philip a diary of the expedition which was published in Madrid in 1768. He also presented to the King a memorial in which he outlined his views about the forts which were necessary to be constructed in the Strait, the character of the ships to be employed in the enterprise, the proper time to leave Spain and the route to be pursued. As a result, probably of his representations, Philip set on foot a very elaborate expedition of twenty-three ships carrying a large number of men, under the command of Diego Flores de Valdez, appointing Sarmiento governor of the settlements which it was proposed to make in the Strait. This expedition was one of the most unfortunate ever sent out by Spain and although the fleet set out from Seville in September, 1581, only a few ships managed to land some three hundred men at the Strait in February, 1584. Two settlements were made, but in May, Sarmiento was blown out to sea with a small vessel and returned to Brazil. Here he made various attempts to send some food to his colonists, but finally resolved to return to Spain. While near the Terceiras in the summer of 1586

he was captured by Captain Whiddon who had been sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and carried to London (Hakluyt, VI, 436). The English treated him very well; he was presented to the Queen, to whom he talked in Latin, and finally received a passport to return to Spain, together with a present, it is said, of a thousand *escudos*. Having arrived at Paris by way of Flanders, he took post for Spain in October, 1586, but en route was captured by some Huguenots in the southern part of France, who kept him in prison until 1590. Philip finally secured his release with a ransom of six thousands ducats and four horses, and Sarmiento reached Spain where he wrote up his misfortunes. An account of his voyages was published in 1895 by Sir Clements R. Markham as Vol. XCI of the Hakluyt Society publications.

Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts,* 386, says that he became acquainted with Sarmiento while he was a prisoner in England, and charges him with having basely run away from his colonists in the Strait as he foresaw the calamities impending, pretending after his arrival in Spain that he had been driven from his anchorage and could not get back again on account of the wind and bad weather.

I have translated all those parts of his relation which have any bearing on Drake's adventures on the coast of Chile, Peru and Central America, together with some account of the measures taken by the Viceroy of Peru in his pursuit. Not only did the Viceroy of Peru engage in these futile proceedings, but so also did the Audiencias of Guatemala and Panama and the Viceroy of New Spain. All these expeditions, undertaken with great haste, as was natural under the circumstances, were ill-considered and carried out with an ineptitude common to most Spanish enterprises of that character. It cannot be believed that any of the officials had any hope of finding Drake, and indeed it may be doubted that any of those on board the ships wished to encounter him. A meeting would almost certainly have had an ending fatal to them, as Drake would have sent to the bottom with his powerful guns any such badly equipped vessels as were sent in pursuit of him.

The archives of Spain are full of documents relating to these various expeditions, which are of no value so far as the expedition of Drake is concerned and are only illustrative of the panic into which the Spaniards were thrown by Drake's boldness in venturing into the South Sea, hitherto untrodden by the hostile heretics. As

characteristic of this panic may be quoted the story of Miles Phillips, one of Drake's old companions in the Hawkins expedition, who after having been put on shore by John Hawkins had been carried to Mexico as a prisoner. Phillips says that news came to Mexico that some Englishmen had landed in great force at Acapulco, and that they were coming to Mexico to sack the town, which engendered a great fear among all the people. The Viceroy made a general muster and then sent for him to find out if he knew Drake. Phillips details the preparations that were made to pursue Drake, and he himself was sent out with the expedition to Acapulco as interpreter to Dr. Robles, the commander. When they arrived at Acapulco, Phillips says that Drake had already left over a month before, notwithstanding which the Doctor embarked in a small vessel of about sixty tons burden, and with two other small boats and not over two hundred men, set out towards Panama. After sailing eighteen or twenty days, they met the fleet coming up from Panama and were informed that Drake had left the coast more than a month before. Therefore, they returned to Acapulco and landed, the Captain being particularly forced to do so because the men were very seasick. Phillips wisely observes that had they met Drake he would easily have taken them all. (Hakluyt, IX, 432.) Phillips was mistaken. Dr. Hernando de Robles did not go with the expedition, but in his place, the Viceroy sent Juan de Guzman, the Alcalde of Acapulco. A very interesting and somewhat sarcastic commentary on this particularly futile enterprise was made by Luis de Velasco in a letter to the Council of the Indies, dated September 18, 1579. I have elsewhere made extracts from this letter, a translation of which is printed by Mrs. Nuttall, 232.

One of the not unusual results of such exploits as that of Drake, such is the irony of fate, was the robbery of one of his countrymen, one John Chilton by name, an English trader in Mexico. He said that he lost goods to the value of one thousand ducats when Drake robbed Guatulco in April, 1579, which together with other goods of other Mexican merchants were there in the hands of Francisco Gomes Rangifa [that is, Francisco Gomez Rengifo]. (Hakluyt, IX, 365.)

In the course of his narrative, Sarmiento refers to and apparently quotes from some statements made by different individuals, of which he names two, Juan the Greek and Antonio Corso. These men, Gaspar Martin, and others of Drake's captives, must have

made declarations in Lima after they were turned loose by Drake. Various official investigations must also have been made in Chile and Arequipa about his captures. Up to the present time, I have not been able to locate these documents in the archives in Seville, although it is certain that copies of them must have been sent there. It seems likely, however, that a large part of Sarmiento's story about the expedition up to the time of leaving Callao, was obtained from Juan the Greek, although he may have added to it information from other prisoners. In relating what he heard from San Juan de Anton, he says that Anton *lo firmo juntamente con lo siguiente.* As Anton knew nothing about what had happened before he was captured, he could only repeat second-hand stories, and it is most likely that he *affirmo* what Sarmiento showed him as having been sworn to by the other witnesses.

On Friday, February 13, 1578, between ten and twelve o'clock at night, a ship of English corsairs arrived at the port of Callao with a launch and a skiff, and going among the vessels which were anchored there, asked for that of Miguel Angel, which they had heard was loaded with many bars of silver. Going aboard this ship, they found out that she did not have in her the riches they expected because they had not been put on board, and so, anchoring, they went about from vessel to vessel, nine in number, with the skiff and the launch, cutting the cables of seven of them so that they would be wrecked, and thus not be available for pursuing them. They came to a ship belonging to Alonso Rodriguez Baptista, loaded with Castilian goods, which had just arrived from Panama, and boarded her, shooting many arrows at the sailors and the pilot. They wounded Alonso Rodriguez with an arrow and it is understood that one of the Englishmen was killed. They took this loaded ship and carried it away with all the goods, and with her and with their own vessel, the launch and the skiff, they set sail in the direction of the island of the port on the northwest side.[1]

The English were able to do this with such safety because the port and the kingdom had received no news of them, those along the coast by which they had come not having used any diligence in advising the Viceroy.[2]

While the English corsairs were going about robbing the vessels, the sailors who escaped went ashore, giving the alarm. On this, the inhabitants of the port, especially the royal officials and the chief Alcalde, got ready and at the same time, having placed the forces in order so as to resist the corsairs, sent a dispatch to the

[1] The Island of San Lorenzo incloses the port of Callao on the southwest. It is about four miles long and is separated from the mainland by a passage known as the Boqueron. This passage is usually used by vessels coming from the south, and through it Drake passed. When he left the port, he sailed out towards the northwest along the island on the northeastern side, as is still customary for vessels leaving the port for the north.

[2] The Governor of Chile, not having any ship available at the moment, since Drake took with him the only one that there was in Valparaiso, sent a message overland, which it seems did not arrive at Lima until long after Drake did. Later he seems to have sent a ship. There was certainly something inexcusable in the delay as it was over four months after Drake landed in Valparaiso until he reached Callao.

Viceroy who was in Lima, two leagues from the port. This dispatch reached the city at one o'clock after midnight and told his Excellency what had happened in the port. His Excellency, in great haste, armed himself and ordered his gentlemen,[3] his immediate followers in his house, to do the same. They sounded "to arms" with the ringing of the bells, and in order that it might be better understood what it was all about, he sent men through the streets, who went from door to door calling people and shouting to them the cause of the call to arms and telling them to repair to the plaza where his Excellency was. While the people were coming together, he ran about, getting everybody ready, so that through his activity all the people came to the plaza, where his Excellency placed them in order. As many had no harquebuses, he ordered the hall of arms to be opened and distributed many harquebuses and pikes and provided them with other munitions. While this was going on it was found out that those who had arrived at the port were English corsairs, because up to that time there had been various surmises about it, without it having been known for certain to what nation the corsairs belonged.[4]

He at once dispatched General Diego de Frias Trejo to go with the people to defend the port of Callao and guard the money of the King which was there ready to be embarked, amounting to more than 200,000 pesos in bars of silver. He went and endeavored to use all the speed possible to arrive at Callao, but the English Corsair was already far from the port, although he could be seen from land, taking along the ship of Alonso Rodriguez Baptista. As it appeared to the General that it was advisable to follow the Corsair in order to take away from him the prize that he was taking with him, with the approval of those who were with him, he designated two ships, one belonging to Miguel Angel, and another, in which those who came from the city embarked, to the number of three hundred men, a little more or less, all with a great desire to punish the Corsair as if it were the private business of each one. The General embarked in that of Miguel Angel and thus this became the *Capitana,* in the other Pedro de Arana embarked as Admiral, and once all on board, we made sail after the corsairs who were already more than four leagues from port towards the northwest.

As the *Capitana* came near the island, the wind fell calm on account of the shelter which the island gave, for which reason she was detained a long time.[5] The *Almiranta,* which was behind, came up to her and passed her because she sailed farther away from the island and had the advantage of more wind. As it was afterwards found out, when the English Corsair saw the sails leaving the port he asked the Spaniards, who were prisoners on board his ships, what ships those were and they answered that it seemed to them that they were some of the ships whose cables he had cut and which were beating about to return to port. The Englishmen, having seen this, took care to see the direction they took and

[3] There seems to be an error in the text here, the word "and" having been omitted, although *criados* (servants), which I have translated "immediate followers," was occasionally used at that time in that particular sense as applying to the immediate household of some great functionary, many of whom no doubt were *caballeros.*

[4] Lopez Vaz is authority for the fact that the corsairs were found out to be English from some arrows found in one of the boats. See page 397.

[5] On the Peruvian coast the prevailing winds are from the south, and therefore San Lorenzo Island provided shelter for the port of Callao, but of course cut off the wind from vessels sailing along it on the northeast side.

seeing that it was the same as the one he was taking and that they were already outside of the island in the high sea, the Corsair Francis understood what was going on and said to the sailors whom he carried as his prisoners, by way of dissimulation, that he wished to turn them loose as he had previously promised. He therefore ordered them to go aboard the merchant ship, which having robbed he was taking with him, and to return in it to the port. This they did. He sent them in the launch, ordering the Englishmen who were in the ship in order to work it, to get aboard the launch and return to the English ship. As they were slow in returning, and he saw that we were pursuing him, he jumped into his skiff and went to the ship and having reprimanded them, they all threw themselves into the launch and went aboard their ship in fear that the two ships which were following them would catch up to them. The merchant ship, with four or five sailors who were among those placed at liberty, turned in the direction of the port and the Englishman, his men being collected, hoisted his after-sails, threw out the gallant sails above the main topsails, and went sailing in flight towards the northwest.

As the merchant ship was returning to port our *Almiranta* came up to her in order to speak her. The *Capitana* did the same and both passed on after the Englishman, following him all day. At the setting of the sun little of him could be seen as he was a greater distance away having gained ground, because our ships were without ballast. With the movement of the people and being narrow they were very crank and could not carry sail, on which account they went like drunken men and were much hindered in sailing. Furthermore, as the Englishman was farther outside he had a fresher and more generous wind which blew from the stern and which made him sail faster and gain some ground on us. With all this, although we lost sight of him at nightfall, we did not stop pursuing him during the greater part of the night. Those on the *Almiranta,* having sent to the merchant ship for a sailor called Juan Griego, who had come from Chile with the Englishman, found out from him that the English ship was large and strong and carried seventy-five or eighty men, many guns, and many engines for throwing fire. Pedro de Arana, having learned this, went to the *Capitana* at night with some of those from his ship and discussed with the General and many other gentlemen whether they should continue following the enemy or return to port to make preparations to return in better shape and with more force to follow them. The General was of the opinion that they should follow the pirates, but there were many of the contrary opinion, pointing out that it was advisable to return to the port, giving in support the reasons which then occurred to them, especially the bad plight of the ships and the fact that they carried no food, guns, munitions nor engines to throw fire to oppose those of the Englishman which were many. For this reason, our people incurred much risk as the ships were unballasted, on which account it would not be possible to catch up with the enemy, and even if we did, the damage which our people would receive from the guns was a certainty as our ships had nothing except their harquebuses with which to defend themselves.[6] What appeared to be the most forcible argument was that many gentlemen were very seasick and not able either to stand on their feet or fight, although there were many who were able to do so. At the end of

[6] No doubt the information obtained from Juan the Greek about Drake's ship, which, although small, was powerfully armed, had something to do with the decision to give up the chase.

the argument, it was concluded to go back to fit out so as to be able to return against the enemy on a better basis. So we returned, and wishing to find out from the sailors whom the Englishman had left in the merchant vessel and who had been taken prisoners in Chile and other places, what they had found out from the Englishmen, a certain Juan Griego and three other sailors[7] told what follows:

(Antonio Corso,[8] who had been taken prisoner by the Englishman, Francis Drake, said that he had heard the Englishmen say that five ships had sailed out of England by order of the Queen of England in London and having entered the Strait in April, were there three months, namely, May, June and July, without seeing the sun, and in great cold, from which some of them had become crippled. He said that they had found very tall people who had given them fish, corn and potatoes.)

First[9] they said that they had found out that the ship was manned by Englishmen, seventy or eighty in number, and that the chieftain called himself "Francisco Draques," a man of medium size, heavy set, a great sailor and a cosmographer and the same one who some years before had stolen much silver in Chagre and Cruces. They said that he had sailed from Plymouth in England by the order of the Queen and that he took out five ships and three launches with five hundred men. Before arriving at the Strait of Magellan, two of these had been lost during a storm and the others entered the Strait and sailed through it where they found very tall people. Having passed out into the South Sea, they sailed along the coast towards Chile, and the three ships and three launches took water on land at 44°. Sailing from thence out to sea, a strong wind struck them, which forced them to run before it under bare masts for twenty-four days in a southwest direction. During this storm the other two ships and three launches disappeared and nothing more had been seen of them although this occurred six months ago.

Although in the account which came from Chile to his Excellency,[10] it was said that after having sailed out of the Strait into the South Sea, one of the three ships had been lost and the other had disappeared the day before the Indians at the Island of Mocha gave them the beating which they did, yet the first story above related is what the witnesses named told me and besides, San Juan de Anton, whom they robbed and who was with them six days, signed it together with what follows[11]—that after the storm increased, the ship of the Corsair Francis ran with it and discovered during this north storm some large islands but he did not reach them, but went up to 66°[12] of latitude towards the southwest which

[7] Who the other three sailors were I do not know.

[8] This must have been Felipe Corso as there is no indication in any of the narratives that any man named Antonio Corso was captured by Drake. This account in parentheses is a marginal note in the original manuscript, having been added later by Sarmiento himself, only part of the narrative being in his handwriting.

[9] At this point Sarmiento begins to relate what they had heard from the sailors just referred to above. The paragraph begins with the words *lo primero,* which probably means "first," but it seems possible that the information was really obtained from Juan the Greek, the one first mentioned above.

[10] At this point, Sarmiento inserts in the story another which he says they had received from Chile.

[11] This statement is a little ambiguous. Sarmiento obviously resumes here the narrative which he had interrupted in order to give the piece of news from Chile.

[12] This seems to be an error for 56°, perhaps made in copying the original document. The 14° which follows is simply an addition of Sarmiento's to show that he knew the latitude of the Strait of Magellan.

is fourteen degrees higher than the Strait of Magellan. After the storm allowed him to turn around, he made his way in a northeast direction until he reached the coast of Chile where he arrived at the port of Valdivia but did not examine it closely. From there he went to the Island of Mocha which is populated with Indians, and landed to take water. The Indians gave battle to them, killed the pilot and the surgeon[13] and wounded nine or ten more. The chief had two arrow wounds, one in the head and the other in the face and one man had twenty-five arrow wounds and another twenty-three.

From there he came along the coast of Chile and anchored in the port of Quintero, six leagues from the port of Santiago, and there took an Indian from whom they found out that six leagues behind they had passed the port of Valparaiso, which is the port of Santiago. With this Indian as a guide, they entered the port of Valparaiso at midday, Friday, December 5, 1578,[14] and anchored in the middle of the bay as far on as the beach of Anton Gonzales. He sent the skiff with eighteen harquebusiers, archers and men with shields to capture a merchant vessel which was at anchor in the port. This vessel was called the *Capitana* for having served as such in the voyage of discovery to the Islands called Salomon and at the time was ready to leave for Peru. On board there were five sailors and two Negroes. The Englishmen boarded her and put the sailors below and locked them down. Some returned for the Corsair Francis, the chief, and he went on board the *Capitana,* and having left a guard on board, some went ashore. They broke open the warehouses expecting to find gold therein but they only found wine, flour, bacon, lard and tallow, of which they took seventeen hundred jars of wine and whatever they wished of the rest. They placed this in the *Capitana* in which were found 24,000 *pesos de oro,*[15] as appeared by the register of Hernando Lamero, her pilot and master.

Saturday, December 6, at midday, the English robber set sail taking with him the *Capitana* with the above plunder and put aboard her twenty-five men to work and guard her. On the following Sunday in the afternoon they anchored in the port of Quintero, six leagues from Valparaiso, and put ashore the Indian who had been their guide. The English took the chart of the pilot of the *Capitana* and by its aid they came along from port to port. From Quintero they came to the bay of Tanguey [that is, Tongoy] in order to take water, but they did not find any and passed on to the port of Herradura where they anchored with both ships and took in water and hogs. While they were taking water on the beach they heard an harquebus shot inland and comprehended that there were Spaniards there. The Englishmen on board the ship put a look-out in the crow's nest and at midday Drake came out of his cabin and saw on land a man on horseback and behind him fifty or sixty other horsemen with some friendly Indians. Francis signaled to his men on shore to collect on a small rock which was near

[13] It is not probable that the two men killed, in the case that there were two, were the pilot and the surgeon. The pilot referred to was probably John Brewer, who was not killed at all, but Thomas Brewer was killed. If it is a fact that the surgeon also was killed, this must have been Thomas Flood. Whoever told this story to the officials also had it second hand.

[14] This is the correct date.

[15] There is no agreement between the statements about the quantity of gold captured on this vessel. It seems certain there was a large amount on board that was not registered. One of the Spanish documents later put the total amount as high as two hundred thousand pesos. In the claim that was sent to England, the amount was said to be one hundred thousand pesos.

them and to which they could pass on foot. While they were going to the rock, the Spaniards arrived at the beach and the last Englishman, who had stayed to gather them all together, was overtaken and killed by the Spaniards, having first discharged his harquebus and taken his sword in hand to defend himself. All the Englishmen being collected on the rock, Francis sent a skiff in which they all clambered and went aboard the ship and set sail.

During the first watch the English vessel narrowly escaped being lost on a reef at some small islands, and for this reason did not enter the port of Coquimbo as they had expected, but passing on, anchored at the northernmost island of the Islas de Pajaros.[16] As the anchor would not hold, but dragged, sail was made and they entered Bahia Salada where they remained forty days, during which time they made a launch and sails for it, greased and dressed the ship, bringing up the guns which up to that time had been carried below. When they tried to careen her, she nearly capsized but they prevented this by using the stanchion.[17] While they were there some Spaniards from Coquimbo came two or three times to look them over but were not able to fight.[18]

From there they set forth with the two ships, the launch under sail going ahead, in search of the port of Copiapo, but being to leeward of it they did not see it and passed on without taking water or anything else. About eleven leagues farther on, they landed on a small island[19] where they found four Camanchaca Indians whom they carried on board and gave something to eat and some other things so that they would show them the way to water. The following day, they went ashore to take water but could not. From there they went to the Morro de Jorje where they spent two days greasing the launch and the ship's boat.[20] A Camanchaca Indian came to them in a *balsa* and brought them fish, in return for which they gave him knives and other things. He himself went ashore and two or three leagues farther on caught a lot of fish. At this Morro de Jorje,[21] the Corsair sent ashore in a *balsa* belonging to the Indians an Englishman who spoke Spanish well. When he reached the land, he commenced to shout out to those in the launch that the Indians had seen two other English ships pass by while Francis was at the Morro de Jorje. They left there, taking with them the Indian who had brought them the fish, and put him ashore in Compisa, otherwise Paquiza,[22] fifteen leagues from the Morro Moreno, making him many presents.

Proceeding, they arrived at the Pisagua river, and in order to take water took along as a guide an Indian whom they had captured in a fishing boat. Entering

[16] These islands are at the north end of the Bay of Coquimbo.

[17] In the original the word is *candaleta,* which means a stanchion. Mrs. Nuttall, 67, translates this "burton-tackle," and in a note explains that the end of this tackle, which was attached to the main-mast, was anchored.

[18] I presume what he meant by this was that they were not in sufficient force to fight. If not, the natural query is why not, as the bay is at no great distance from Serena, where there were a number of Spaniards.

[19] Probably, Pan de Azucar.

[20] This was Constitucion Island.

[21] The Morro de Jorje no doubt is the same mountain as the one now called Morro Jorjino, twelve miles north of Constitucion Island, and the termination of a range of table land adjoining Morro Moreno.

[22] There is a point now called Paquija in lat. 21° 56′ South, probably the place referred to by Sarmiento.

the river,[23] they found a Spaniard asleep on shore, who had come from Potosi with three thousand pesos of silver in bars, besides some llamas and a quantity of *charqui*. They captured the man and robbed him of all he had, carrying everything on board the ship. Leaving there, they carried full sail all night and went to the port of Arica where they found two ships, one belonging to Felipe Corso, in which they captured thirty-three bars of silver, and the other belonging to Jorje Diaz, in which no silver was found; and that they burned. The people in the town came together at the ringing of the bell and put themselves under arms. The English ships discharged some guns at the town, and during the night they were playing trumpets and musical instruments.

In the morning they captured three fishing boats and put in one of them three Spaniards of those whom they had brought from Chile, together with ten or twelve Indians, and left them on shore. These three Spaniards in the same fishing boat came along the coast, giving the news.[24] When this news reached the port of Chule where there was lying at anchor the ship of Bernal Bueno, on which there were loaded five hundred bars of his Majesty's silver to be brought to Lima, they at once unloaded this silver on land and buried it, and thus it escaped being stolen. In a little while the Englishmen came in with their two ships and the launch and as they did not find the silver, they passed on, taking with them the ship of Bernal Bueno, as well as the *Capitana*. Sailing out to the sea with these, they turned them adrift deserted, and with no one on board so that they should be lost. Off Quilca they captured another trading ship and some money and clothing. Taking the crew aboard, they came to the Island of Lima and entered by the south channel between the island and the point, guided by the sailor, Juan Griego, of the *Capitana,* whom they brought from Chile.[25] They entered the port without being noticed, no advice having come to the Viceroy by sea or by land, which could easily have been given as there was plenty of time. That there was no news was the fault of the officials in Chile, who sent a dispatch in such a way that it arrived at Lima fifteen days after the Englishmen had left the port of Callao. The Indians and the Spaniards on the coast of Peru were also to blame in that they displayed no speed in sending a dispatch to his Excellency although there was more than time enough to have done so.[26]

Of all related above, which went on in the port of Callao from the time that

[23] There was a small settlement at the mouth of this river, called Tarapacá. It will be noted that Sarmiento only tells one story about plundering a Spaniard on shore, a very good indication, indeed, that there was only one such occurrence and that the *World Encompassed*, which relates two, has mixed two different stories about the same happening.

[24] This story seems to be a mistake. Nicolas Jorje, who was captured in Arica, told Anton (see page 363) that a messenger had been sent from Arica by land to Arequipa. This seems the more likely from the fact that Drake in the launch was going along close to the shore, and I do not see how any fishing boat could have passed him. The story about the ten or twelve Indians is also uncertain, as well as that about the three Spaniards said to have been brought from Chile, as there is no other mention of them in any of the narratives.

[25] Elsewhere it is said they were guided into the harbor by a man they had taken from a ship captured that morning. At this point ends the story told by Drake's prisoners, or most likely by Juan the Greek.

[26] This harsh criticism is very well justified. Nothing more exemplifies the extraordinary good fortune of Drake than the fact that although he had disclosed his presence to the Spaniards in Valparaiso, December 5, he was able to reach Callao over four months later without that fact becoming known to the officials in Lima.

the ships went out after the Englishmen until they returned to anchor, the General Diego de Frias sent word to his Excellency, giving him an account of everything. As soon as his Excellency knew about it, he came from the city to the port where he manifested much grief for the return of the ship. As some gentlemen wished to land without the permission of the General, Lic. Recalde, *Oidor* of the Audiencia, who had assisted in the embarkation of the people, made them return on board and the Viceroy sent an order that no one should land under penalty of losing his life. After this, he ordered certain citizens of Lima, who were on board the *Almiranta* to be arrested and ordered Alvaro de Mendaña and the *Maese de Campo,* Pedro de Arana to keep the rest of them on board the ship for two or three days and let no one disembark.

[*The proceedings of preparing the ships follow.*]

When we arrived at Santa, we found that the Corsair had passed by fourteen days before, and that off the port of Truijillo he had captured a vessel belonging to one Cataro and had taken from it what he wished, so that we left at once for the port of Trujillo, as we had news that six days before, there was a large ship there with a sprit-sail, which was believed to be the pirate. It so happened that at this same place we saw a sail and with the news which we had, we went up to her to look her over, but it turned out to be a merchant ship. Passing on, we arrived at Paita, March 10, where we learned that the Corsair had entered and left there fourteen days[27] before, having taken some jars of wine and a butt of water from a ship of Custodio, the pilot. Taking with him this pilot, Custodio, he at once set sail without anchoring because they received news that a pilot named San Juan de Anton had gone ahead, having left the port the day before with many bars of silver.

Realizing the danger that there was in the delay if we should enter Guayaquil to get the galley which his Excellency had ordered should go with the fleet, the despatches of his Excellency were sent there from Paita so that hurrying on as fast as possible she should follow the fleet, and we passed on, following the coast, and March 13 we arrived off the point of Santa Elena. The General sent some men in a launch to look over the port and get the news. No ship was found in the port and the inn-keeper had run off, having heard the news of the Englishmen,[28] but a letter of his was found which gave an account of it. Another was left for him, telling him of the fleet which had passed by. From there the fleet went to the port of Manta, where we anchored March 17 and found two ships there, one belonging to a certain Bravo, which while on its way from Guayaquil to Panama with gold, had been robbed by the Englishmen off the rivers of the Quiximies,[29] five leagues from Cabo de San Francisco. They took from him fifteen thousand pesos in gold belonging to some merchants, and some chests of clothing and what food they wanted. They tried out sailing the vessel which went faster with the wind on the beam than the ship of the Corsair, so Francis, wrapping up the

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[27] According to this statement, Drake had been in Paita February 24, and this, I am inclined to believe, corresponds to the facts, although the *World Encompassed* states that they reached there February 20. Silva is silent on the subject.

[28] Drake had been at this point a few days after leaving Paita, probably February 26; the *World Encompassed* says February 24.

[29] Several rivers flow into the sea just east of Cape San Francisco and although they had separate names, they were at that time usually referred to in this way.

sails of the vessel in an anchor, threw them overboard so that she would not have any sails with which she might proceed ahead to give the news. He turned loose the crew and the vessel, permitting them to return, giving them a little coarse linen cloth with which a small sail was made, and with this, Bravo came to Manta. They recounted that he was very arrogant like a shameless thief who neither fears God nor man and was saying that San Juan de Anton could not escape him.[30]

[*Here follows a long account of the discussion on board the vessels about the course which the fleet should then pursue. This contains a long opinion given by Sarmiento about the one which he thought Drake would follow. In the course of this he said:*]

It is known that this thief knows that there is no other means of escape except by the coast of Nicaragua, New Spain, and that he talked about it, all of which the Portuguese pilot, who is with him, would tell him as he is well acquainted with that coast, having sailed a long time along it, being a Portuguese who some twenty-one years ago ran off with 30,000 pesos of gold which was delivered to him in Guayaquil to take to Panama. He fled with this money and nothing more has ever been known of him until now when he was recognized by the pilots whom the Englishmen had captured. From this pilot he would have information that along that coast there was no Spanish town nor Indians who could resist him nor do any harm to him, nor ships which could follow him, but he could go ashore wherever he wished. He also would know that on that coast there could be no news of his coming, and so he could rob certain ships which carried on the cacao trade and were accustomed to carry some money to Zonsonate, as well as some of the ships which are accustomed to come from the Philippines, with gold and objects of great value, things much coveted by a thief.[31] To this I added, what is more for the safety of the navigation, that from the month of March, in which we now are, to September, it is summer and the hot season, up to Cape Mendocino in 43° by which he has a short and easy route to return to his country from this sea. This route, although it is not known by the pilots around here because they do not sail ordinarily in that region, is known to the cosmographers, especially to the English who sail to Iceland, the Bacallaos, Labrador, Totilan, and Norway. To these it is well known and the high latitude does not frighten them. As this Corsair is a navigator of the countries above referred to and well versed in all navigations, it may be suspected and believed that he knows it, and one who has the spirit which he has shown will not shrink from undertaking this route, especially as the summer season of the Arctic pole and gain from what he may steal are in prospect.

[*Here follows a long argument about the proper course to pursue, a continuation of the preceding. It was finally resolved to go to Panama. On arrival there*

[30] The above statement embodies information no doubt obtained from Bravo himself as it corresponds very closely to that made in his deposition April 3. In that, however, Bravo stated that in his opinion Drake did not carry along his vessel because he did not have enough men to properly work two ships and a launch (see page 356). Anton gave a different reason, namely: that she did not sail fast enough (page 364) and this might have been the real reason.

[31] Notwithstanding all this elaborate line of argument, it is not very likely that Silva had ever been on the coast at all, and it is very probable that all the information Drake had about it was what he derived from his maps and from various pilots he captured as he went along.

San Juan de Anton came on board and gave them a long account of his adventures with Drake. This will be found, with a few immaterial omissions, printed in the footnotes to San Juan de Anton's deposition. Then follows Sarmiento's calculation about the total amount of Drake's robberies.]

Total of what this English Corsair captured in the South Sea in silver and gold, from the port of Valparaiso where he robbed the *Capitana,* called the *Los Reyes,* to Cabo de San Francisco where he robbed San Juan de Anton, 447,000 pesos *ensayados,* without counting the great quantity of plate, jewels of gold and silver, stones and some pearls, and without counting a quantity of clothing and food nor the damage done to the ships which he had left at sea, nor what he took in the ship at Chilca, worth more than two thousand pesos. All these, taken together, are estimated at more than one hundred thousand pesos, nor is account taken here of the many trifles which he stole in different places.[32]

This pirate carried fifteen pieces of large artillery of cast iron, and much munition of war. This was found out from San Juan de Anton and those who having been captured were in the English ship.

[*Then follows some account of the movement of the fleet on its return to Lima, at the end of which a letter is inserted from the Audiencia at Panama to the General in command, which reached the fleet July 17 while at Santa. In this letter the Audiencia advised the General that May 8 news had been received that Drake had reached the coast of Nicaragua March 20*[33] *where he careened his ship and took water on the island called Caño. The pilots to whom he had talked thought that he was going to winter on the coast of New Spain. He had left there March 28 and the Audiencia complained because the General had not gone with his fleet to Nicaragua, as he could have reached there before Drake left Caño. Sarmiento makes some comments on this letter and then inserts some interesting comments of his own on Drake's future movements, which I give in full.*]

To what this letter says about the Corsair having to winter, as the pilots said, on that coast, (that is, of New Spain) [I answered] that the pilots were entirely deceived as they were men under no obligation to be well acquainted with the coasts of Nicaragua, Guatemala, or New Spain, in the first place for the reason that it was full summer at the time they gave their opinion. From March 12 to September 14 it is summer in the northern hemisphere and this coast is in that part of the world. It is also the period of long-continued southwest winds which makes the navigation with a stern wind for those who follow the route which the Englishmen took. This route, aside from the reason which convinces those who know a little about navigation, is already well travelled and tried out through the voyages from the Philippines to New Spain. I myself have sailed from the Cabo de Fortunas in 34° to the Island of Caño, 1270 and more leagues[34] and I know that from November on, these southwest winds cease and those from the northwest and the north commence to blow along the coast. The currents run

[32] It has never been possible to ascertain how much gold and silver Drake captured in the South Sea, let alone the value of the jewels, plate, precious stones and goods which he took away from various individuals.

[33] It is probable that Drake reached Caño before March 20. Silva's relation of May 20 states that they arrived there March 13, and his log followed by the *World Encompassed* gives the day as the 16th.

[34] This is no doubt a reference to Sarmiento's voyage to the Solomon Islands with Mendaña. Cabo de Fortunas was not in 34° but in 41°; probably Sarmiento meant Cabo de Cruz.

to the southeast as I found out when I discovered in '68 the islands commonly called Salomon. The winter on that coast is from September to March and the spring and summer is from March to September so that during that period there is no necessity to winter and still less in places inhabited by Christians up to Culiacan in 24°. To winter would be besides a loss of time in his journey to England where he is going, because having arrived at 43°, that is, Cape Mendocino, these winds cease and the west winds blow, with which he would continue sailing with the wind astern towards the east to the land of Labrador which is in the neighborhood of England. A man like Francis who understood this would not wish to lose his time nor risk his life in robbery, and therefore I have always publicly said that by the route above Florida, which is the one above referred to, the Corsair would go to England during the months of August and September of '79.

As to what the letter says about that not being the proper time to go by way of China, and for this reason he would have to winter, I answered that to go to the west within the tropics the whole year is the season and the best time is in March and June, in case he had to go that way, but the length of the journey and the fear of the Spaniards and Portuguese who were there in the passages would prevent him from going there. So that for neither one reason nor the other does he have to pass the winter there but could continue his journey in whichever direction he wished. Thus, the pilots deceived themselves about this or it was a fabrication, as well as about those *vendabales*[35] talked about, because these never were nor are found within the tropics. It was therefore a mistake to wish to go after him from Santa as it was already the month of June and for four months now he had been sailing along the coast of New Spain and California and was near the Bacallaos, the more so as more than a month would be necessary in order to get the fleet ready.[36] Further, as the *Oidores* at Panama had dispatched their ship against the wishes of the comptroller and the officials of the King, they now wished that this fleet should go moving around fruitlessly, in compliance with their wishes, so that we should take their ship along with ours and make good their plan.

[*Then follow some remarks in regard to further differences of opinion. Finally Sarmiento says they returned to Lima on the 12th of July, where the fleet was laid up.*]

A few days after we arrived at Lima certain news reached us of the Corsair, Francis, who following the coast of Guatemala, while off the volcanoes, robbed a ship of Don Francisco de Zárate en route to Lima, loaded with goods from Mexico and the Philippines. Without stopping, he turned back again to near the Gulf of Teguantepeque and on the way transferred to his ship what he wished to steal, as well as a sailor well acquainted with the coast. He left the old pilot whom he had taken at the Island of Caño and there turned loose Don Francisco's ship, continuing on his voyage to Acapulco, which he also robbed.

Of the measures which were taken on the coast of Guatemala and New Spain I give no account because I did not see them but your Excellency will know about them by the accounts of those who took them. This, which relates to what I saw and made sure of is the truth as written here without omitting anything.

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[35] A *vendabal* was a south by west wind, and the name was usually applied in the Pacific to the southwest monsoon in the Eastern Ocean, which blew from April to October.

[36] Sarmiento's conclusion was sound enough, even if some of his premises were a little shaky.

LOPEZ VAZ

Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, was captured in January, 1587, in the Rio de la Plata by the Earl of Cumberland's fleet sent out the year before under the command of Captains Withrington and Lister. Among his papers was found a discourse written by him, concerning the West Indies and the South Sea. In 1600, Hakluyt printed a translation of it in Vol. III, 778, *et seq.* of his expanded work. In the course of his history Lopez Vaz inserts an account of Drake's voyage which he himself says he obtained in writing from Nuño da Silva. Where he met Silva does not appear but it could only have been in Mexico after May, 1579, or in Spain in the fall of 1583. As Lopez Vaz' account does not deal at all with Mexico it is probable that he was never there and therefore we must assume that the information was obtained after Silva reached Spain. In spite of this positive statement the account contains some details which he very likely had not learned from Silva, but probably heard himself in Lima, as it is quite likely that he had been there at some period after Drake had passed by. I confess I think it more likely that he took his account from one of Silva's depositions and made numerous errors in doing so. A few details are included, not to be found elsewhere, which may be true. These are as follows, quoted from Hakluyt, XI, 261-263.

Lopez Vaz makes many statements which are contradicted by the official Spanish relations, and therefore very little confidence can be entertained in his story.

At Coquimbo (that is, La Herradura), Drake,

> seeing many cattell on the land, he sent presently some of his men with calievers to kill of the sayd cattell: but being espied of the Spaniards that dwelt in the towne, they sent twelve horsemen to see what they were that killed their cattell, for they knew them not: and comming neere unto them, the Englishmen fled to their boates, but the horsemen overtooke one of them who had a halbard in his hand, whom the Spaniards thought to have taken: but hee with his halbard killing one of their horses, was himselfe runne through with a lance, and so the Spaniards carried him dead with them into the towne. . . .
>
> They of Sant Iago sent a Post by land to give warning unto them of Peru. Howbeit by reason that the countrey betweene this place and Peru is not inhabited for the space of two hundreth leagues, and many huge and colde mountaines covered with snowe lie in the way, the Poste was so long in perfourmance of this journey, that captaine Drake was upon the coast of Peru a moneth before the

sayd Poste came thither: neither could they send any newes by sea, because they were destitute of shipping. . . .

At this port of Arica he found a ship that had in her thirteene thousand pezos of silver, which having taken out, he burned the sayd ship, and after thought to have landed, but seeing both horsemen and footemen on shore hee would not, but proceeded on his voyage. . . .

From hence he sayled to another porte called Chuli: in which port was a ship that had three hundred thousand pezos of silver in barres: but they had sent horsemen from Arica to give advertizement of Drakes being on the coast, which newes came but two houres to the towne before his arrivall at the sayd porte: whereupon the Master of the shippe, having no leisure to carie his silver on shore, was forced to throwe it into the sea in sixe fadome water, where his ship road, and so to runne on shore in the shippes boate. And captaine Drake comming aboord the ship, was told by an Indian that the Master had throwen the silver overboord. Wherefore seeing that newes began to run of him from towne to town he stayed not here, but ran along the coast: and because he would have no lets, he cast off the ship which he had taken at Sant Iago, with never a man in her, which ship was never heard of after. And so without staying any where he shaped his course for Lima, and comming to the harborough of Lima called El Callao, being two leagues distant from Lima it selfe (for Lima standeth up into the land) hee arrived there one day, before the newes of him was brought to Lima, and found the men in the ships without suspicion. . . .

Wherefore hee followed the boat no farther, but went with his pinnesse into the harbour among fourteene saile of ships that lay there, in all which ships there was not a man that had so much as a sword or a piece to molest him, wherefore hee did with lesse feare go from ship to ship, . . .

Finding some of the Englishmens arrowes that were shot at the boat, out of which their man was slain, they knew them to be Englishmen.

THE FENTON EXPEDITION

IN THE collection of documents relating to Drake, No. 2-5-2/21 in the Archives in Seville, there is a *relacion* of Juan Perez and a letter of Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra which are of very great interest as containing disinterested statements regarding Drake's voyage around the world. These two men were captured by Fenton off the coast of Brazil in a small vessel in which Fray Juan was taking a party of Franciscan friars to the Argentine. Perez, who turned out to be an Englishman named Richard Carter, was with him. Fenton turned Fray Juan loose but took Perez with him to the Rio de la Plata in order to get the benefit of his knowledge of the coast and that river. After his return he wrote an account of what happened to him in his voyage from the time he left the Capitania of Espiritu Santo until he returned to that place. When he went back to Buenos Aires he found John Drake there and acted as interpreter for him at his examination in Santa Fe in 1584. Only that part of his account which is of interest in connection with the objects of the Drake expedition is translated.

Fray Juan wrote a long letter dated March 19, 1583, to the Governor of Tucuman. He had more troubles than one would gather from the account of Perez, but as these pertain particularly to the history of Fenton's expedition, only extracts from his letter, giving some information about the fleet, are translated below. He was probably a Portuguese and wrote Spanish badly, as the letter is full of strange words besides containing numerous obvious errors. When Fenton finally released him he gave him a letter of safe conduct in Latin.

John Drake in his deposition in Lima also gave a few interesting details of the expedition.

JUAN PEREZ

I left this Capitania of Espiritu Santo for the Rio de la Plata, in company with the Father-commissary of the Franciscan friars[1] at the end of October of 1582, and on the way stopped at the Rio de Janeiro where we found the royal fleet of his Majesty about ready to sail, which he had sent out to make settlements in the Strait, and of which the General in command was Diego Flores de Valdez, *Comendador* of Oreja, and *Caballero* of the habit of Santiago. We left

[1] Fr. Juan de Rivadeneyra, an extract from whose story follows this.

the Rio with him and as we were going out to sea, the fleet took its course and we went along close to shore on the way to the Capitania de San Vicente, where we remained fifteen days. After we left this port, we went running along the coast to the Island of Santa Catalina, some eighty leagues from San Vicente in order to stop there and take water. This we did, and after we left there, and while in front of the port of Don Rodrigo, about three leagues farther on, an English *zabra*[2] of fifty tons burden, well equipped and with twenty-odd men came out to us. They captured us and took us alongside two English ships which were in that port at anchor and were on their way to the Strait of Magellan.[3] They were very well equipped, not only with artillery but with men and everything else. The *Capitana* was of about four hundred tons burden carrying fifty pieces of artillery, mostly of large size, and had seven very good cables, among which was one of 150 fathoms in length and of 2,500 strands. She carried instruments and engines for throwing fire, artillery, forty tons of powder, and 180 men, among whom not ten were thirty years of age. Among them there were five pilots and forty men who could take the altitude of the sun. The *Almiranta* was of three hundred tons, and as far as artillery, munitions of war, crew, and rigging were concerned, corresponded to the *Capitana*. The pilot who was in the *Capitana*[4] told me that she belonged to an English gentleman named [blotted, looks like *Agualoa bogona*][5] and that she had been in Cadiz when Diego Flores took refuge there during a storm which struck him in Spain, when he sailed out of San Lucar, and as they tried to take her for the King in order to send her in company with Don Pedro the crew dragged up the cables by hand and she escaped from the seven galleys who went after her in order to capture her.[6]

These ships were made ready in England after Diego Flores had left with his fleet, with the license of the Queen of England and her Council, in order to go to the South Sea by the Strait of Magellan and from thence to the Moluccas, for which purpose these ships had along with them 20,000 *crusadoes'* worth of goods to trade with the natives. Another object was to find out what was there, which was of the most importance since the first ship—the one which had made the capture of gold in the South Sea—had already been there. This, after having taken this prize, went to the Moluccas, where she was well received by a king of one of the islands, who sent in the ship a crown of gold as a present to the Queen of England. She has now ordered to be sent in these ships in gratitude for this, a gilded chair, very richly decorated, and other presents with many stones. The pilot told me about this because he knew all about it, having already gone through the Strait and the South Sea to the Moluccas in the first ship of the English which went there, and had made the prize of gold in the South Sea. He also said

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[2] *Zabra* was the name for a small vessel used on the coast of Biscay. She was the *Francis*, and Luke Ward was in command of her on that occasion.

[3] For an English account of these proceedings, see Luke Ward's account of Fenton's voyage, Hakluyt, XI, 182 *et seq.*

[4] Who this pilot was, is uncertain. It may have been Thomas Blacoller, who was probably the pilot of Luke Ward's ship and had accompanied Drake, but more likely it was John Drake. Thomas Hood was the other pilot.

[5] The *Leicester* had been previously known as the *Ughtred*, and had belonged to Henry Ughtred.

[6] This was quite true.

that in this ship, there was with him a young nobleman named Mate Arrnes,[7] a nephew of Captain Juan Aquines, who had been defeated in New Spain by his Majesty's fleet, and that there were three or four other men who had gone in the first ship in his company, and that he was making this voyage now much against his will as he had become very rich from the other voyage he had made, but the Queen of England and those of the Council had made him come by force at the request and demand of the outfitters of the ship, because he had gone in the first ship.[8] As soon as they had left, a story was circulated that Diego Flores could not reach the Strait of Magellan, but that he would have to pass the winter on the way, either at the Rio de Janeiro or at the Bay of San Julian where Magellan wintered with his fleet. It was said that they could pass through the Strait while Flores was wintering, and that they would wait out at sea until it was time to pass through, as they had done. More, what I understood from them was that they would not go on to the Moluccas until first they had taken some prizes in the South Sea as they had done the first time. In this port where we were taken, we remained fifteen days. The Captain of the *Capitana,* on various occasions, took the commissary and Don Francisco de Zárate[9] and some other persons to dine in his ship, making them many gifts, and showing them much attention. The crew did the same, although this was done at our expense because they took from us the wine we carried and the conserves which we had made in San Vicente, as well as two or three boxes of nails which they needed to put together a launch which was carried aboard the ship to be set up in the South Sea, so that they could use her for going along close to land.

From this port they sailed, leaving my vessel there and the rest of the people who had come in my company, with the purpose of going to see if settlements had yet been made in the Strait of Magellan, and to see if they could pass through. While in the latitude of Rio de la Plata, there was a general meeting of all, and the captains of the other ships went to the meeting in order to come to some resolution. They agreed, inasmuch as Diego Flores was now ahead of them as they had been informed, that the *Capitana* should return to San Vicente along the coast in order to break up the voyage, and there exchange their goods for sugar.[10] To this decision the Captain of the *zabra* was not willing to consent, and as soon as it was night he tacked in the direction of the Strait.[11] The other two ships continued their course to San Vicente, where they arrived very easily by means of a Portuguese *derrotero*[12] for the coast which they had with them.

Perez then continued with an account of the fight in the harbor of San Vicente between the two English ships, and those of Diego Flores.

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[7] Who this young man was, I do not know. William Hawkins was a nephew of John Hawkins, and was probably the man referred to, although the name bears very little resemblance to his.

[8] This pilot who was talking was John Drake, as he made this last statement in his deposition in Lima, January 9, 1587.

[9] This name recalls the gentleman Francis Drake captured on the coast of Central America. It would be odd if it happened to be the same individual. The Father-commissary, however, called him Francisco de Vera.

[10] Confirmed by William Hawkins, *Hawkins' Voyages,* 356.

[11] This was John Drake, who went up the Rio de la Plata and was wrecked there.

[12] A *derrotero* was a written description of any given course at sea. It was referred to by the English at that time as a "rutter."

FRAY JUAN DE RIVADENEYRA

After speaking about the great advantage the English had received from Drake's success in robbing Peru, Fray Juan continues:

Therefore they have made a fleet according to what I was told of two galleons and *pataches*, as well fitted out as those which I saw.[13] These are better equipped, larger and better than those of the Spanish fleet which his Majesty sent to the Strait of Magellan. On each of the two galleons which the English Lutherans have, are eighty guns of cast-iron. The galleons are very strong and the *Capitana* very new. There are also a *patache* and two launches, with 350 English Lutherans on board. There are also six thousand ducats[14] in merchandise and many Lutheran Bibles and other books in Romance, as well as two clergymen of their perverse and damnable sect, a great quantity of war-like stores, a super-abundance of pitch and tackle, and a sufficient quantity of food and wine for two years, many tools for a settlement,[15] many pick-axes, hatchets, picks, crowbars, hand mills, plants,[16] a great quantity of arms, halberds and javelins, lances and pikes, harquebuses, pistols and a room full of swords and combustible balls. The crew are well-equipped and well-dressed, the captains with their chains and medals and gold buttons, all very anxious to encounter the General, Diego Flores de Valdez, when he shall come out of the Strait, because they say that his force will come out without artillery and that they will have him at their disposition. They treat him as a mule-driver who never in his life had done anything noteworthy nor had ever done any fighting, nor represented himself for what he was, but had only gone and come with the drove from Spain to Nombre de Dios and from Nombre de Dios to Spain.[17] They also said that his uncle, Pedro Melendes, had never done anything except in the Florida affair, and even that he had done by treachery and by not complying with his word. So they say that what they wish to do is to wait for Diego Flores to come out, and when they have defeated him they will attack the forts in the Strait, which they said is a league and a half wide in the narrowest part. They say that the Governor of the Strait, Pedro Sarmiento, will be there alone since the Governor of Chile, Don Alonso de Sotomayor, with his seven hundred Spaniards, will have left for Chile, and they will find Sarmiento and his men so weak, naked, starving and freezing, that they will carry them away in their ships.[18] They asked me if the King of Spain had a conscience and when I said he had, the General said he had not, seeing that he evidently sent those Spaniards there against their will to die. I said he was badly informed and he replied that in his company there were many who had been in San Lucar and

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[13] This refers to some other expedition projected in England about the same time that the Fenton expedition left, probably the abortive one of Martin Frobisher.

[14] Note that Perez said there were twenty thousand *crusadoes'* worth of merchandise, a very much larger sum than this.

[15] Whether these implements were intended to be used in making a settlement as suggested by Rivadeneyra, instead of being part of the trading cargo, may well be doubted.

[16] Spanish, *plantas*. These could hardly have been actual plants, although I have so translated the word for lack of something better. If the English had been intending to plant anything they would have carried seeds. I think the word must be an error for something else.

[17] This is a reference to the *flota* which made an annual journey from Spain to Nombre de Dios and back, under guard of some armed galleons.

[18] The English were not very far wrong about this.

Cadiz when the sailors were taken out of the fleet which came from Peru and without being allowed to go ashore, were put in the fleet destined for the Strait. With all this, they said it was a country in 54° of latitude, colder than Flanders, and without the provision that Flanders had of good houses, stoves, clothing and lining. This man said that they had found in the Strait a great quantity of very good cinnamon[19] and had made a great drying of meat of some very large birds, as well as a great store of fish. They had passed to Peru and the South Sea, and on my asking for some port with the points and capes and among others the Cape of San Francisco, our Father, he answered, "Never will I forget that Cape during my life, for there it was I made a lucky capture of eight hundred bars assayed and marked." From this it seems he must be the man who robbed Peru and Ecuador of a similar prize.

JOHN DRAKE

While I was in London, a gentleman of the sea negotiated with some merchants about a voyage to China and placing a factory there. As the merchants gave a similar commission to others, he did not wish to go and another gentleman named Edward Fenton offered to make the voyage. As he had no experience in matters of the sea, the merchants asked the Council and the Council asked Captain Francis to give him some of the people who had gone on the voyage with him. Captain Francis gave them the master of his ship, named Thomas Maschult,[20] and the mate, named Thomas Blacola, which is to say Black collar, as well as this witness. A nephew of John Hawkins, called William Hawkins, who had also gone on the voyage with Captain Francis, offered to go of his own free will on the said voyage. The business being arranged, two large and two small ships left the port of Anton with the said Edward Fenton as General, and "Luc uart" as Admiral. In one of the small ships which was of about forty tons the witness was Captain, and the name of the captain of the other he does not remember. The *Capitana* was of 500 tons and carried 50 pieces of iron guns, and the *Almiranta* thirty-six, and the two small ones thirty-six.

From Anton they went to Plymouth, and left there at the beginning of June 1582. They touched at the Canaries and Terceira but could not take water because the sea was high, so they continued their voyage towards the Cape of Good Hope. At the Equator they found the winds contrary, and could not pass on, so they returned to the Cerro de Leon.[21] There they remained a month and took water and wood, and bought some supplies and Negroes from some Portuguese who were there. They gave some cloth in exchange as well as one of the small ships which they had brought and which was somewhat old. With the other three ships they went on and passed the Equator. Finding the winds and the currents so contrary that they prevented them from continuing their voyage in that direction, they came to the coast of Brazil to a port called Don Rodrigo. Here they took in water and wood for the purpose of seeking the Cape of Good Hope.

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[19] *Sp., Canela i. e. Winteranus Cortex*, which smells something like cinnamon.

[20] Thomas Cuttle had been the master of Drake's ship and it would seem that John Drake must have referred to him under this name, but I have not been able to find out that Cuttle accompanied the Fenton expedition.

[21] Sierra Leone.

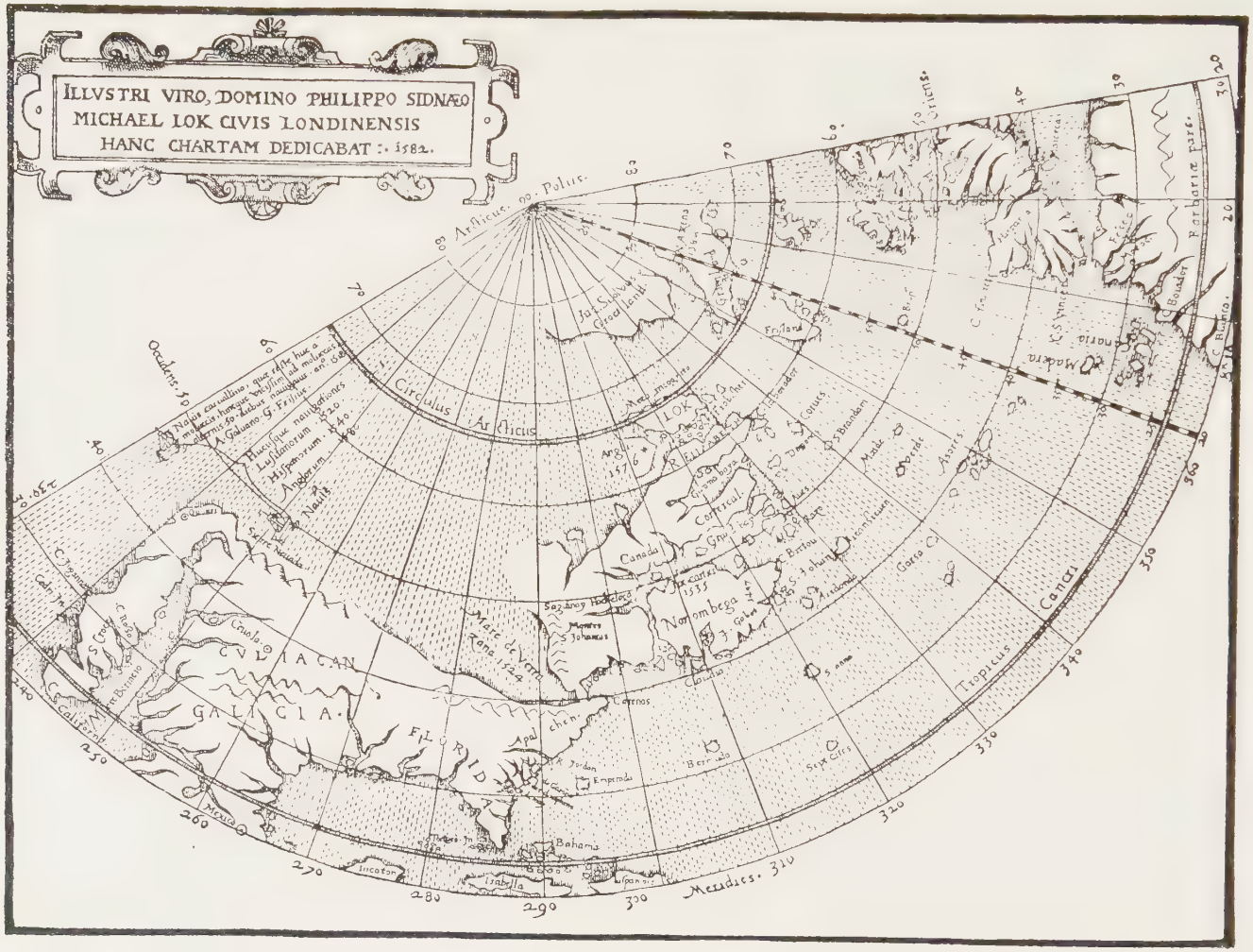
While they were in this port a bark passed by and the General sent this witness and his ship with the Admiral and Captain Nicolas Pare[22] to the bark to bring her in. This witness went and took it, having made her lower her sails, and found on board Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra and five other friars of the Order of St. Francis, and Don Francisco de Vera who is now in Paraguay. They brought them to the General, who asked them to tell him some port where he could take supplies for his long voyage, and also about the fleet which had gone to the Straits because they had news of this in England and they did not wish to fall in with it, but to continue their voyage. They answered that the fleet was in the Straits, having passed by four months before, and as far as supplies were concerned they would not find any before reaching the Rio de la Plata which was 200 leagues farther on, or San Vicente which was 200 leagues behind.

The friars were entertained during the days they were detained on board and were allowed to go freely in their ship, as well as Don Francisco. They took from her an Englishman who was on board in order to show them the Rio de la Plata, and a Portuguese who wished to go with them of his own free will. As Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra told them that in the Rio de la Plata in Buenos Aires there was a town of Spaniards who had a plentiful supply of food and were in need of clothing with which to clothe themselves, all three ships went there. In the middle of the journey, the General having asked the English sailor if he could enter the Rio de la Plata, he answered that sometimes he could and sometimes [he could not], and that there were many shoals. The General did not wish to put any confidence in him, and calling a council, proposed that they should return to Brazil inasmuch as the merchants in England had not complied with their agreement to give him supplies for two years, and therefore he was under no obligation to comply with his.

As there were different opinions about this, this witness determined to go to the Rio de la Plata with his crew of seventeen persons and a boy, in order to get supplies and continue the voyage. So he went to the Rio de la Plata, leaving the Captain-General and the Admiral, and having arrived at the Rio de la Plata with his ship he went up it about twenty leagues. Fearing the shoals which they had told him were towards Buenos Aires, they endeavored to enter a river which emptied there, and on the way ran on a rock which was covered with water, and from that rock on another and others, and although the ship was strong, she was broken. That night and the next day, the crew saved themselves with the boat, taking out of the ship some arms and some clothing which was wet.[23]

[22] Nicholas Parker.

[23] Translated from the original document in the A. G. I., 2-5-2/21.


ILLVSTRI VIRO, DOMINO PHILIPPO SIDNÆO
MICHAEL LOK CIVIS LONDINENSIS
HANC CHARTAM DEDICABAT :. 1582.
Arcticus. 90. Polus.
Circulus Arcticus
Occidens. 50
Oriens.
Meridies. 310
Tropicus Cancri
Barbariæ pars.
Canada
Norombega
Florida
Bahama
Bermuda
Azores
Canaria
Madera
Frisland
Grœnland
Mare de Verrazana 1524
Apalchen
Cuba
Mexico
Incatan
Isabella
Hispaniola
Sept Cites
Cabo Bonador
C. Blanco
C. Verde
Terra Nouada
Nauis
Angli 1576
Gallicia
Cultiacan

THE MAPS

MICHAEL LOK'S MAP

THE first map to show any signs of Drake's voyage was that of Michael Lok, published by Richard Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. This shows open sea northwest of America from about the parallel of 45°, and in this space occurs a legend: *Hucusque nauigationes Lusitanorum 1520. Hispanorum 1540. Anglorum 1580.* It has been suggested that this refers to discoveries on the east coast of America, but what Lok intended to represent was: in the first place, the apocryphal voyage of the Portuguese to the Northwest coast, supposed to have taken place in 1518 or 1520, secondly, the voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542, and thirdly, the voyage of Francis Drake in 1579. The last two dates are not correctly given, but no doubt Lok did not have entirely precise information on the subject. He was one of the outstanding believers in the Northwest Passage and one of the chief supporters of the Frobisher voyages, if indeed he was not their chief promoter.

The map is reproduced here not only on account of the legend above referred to, but also because of the remarkable "Mare Bermea" which figures thereon. This peculiar extension of the Gulf of California to nearly 45° of North latitude seems to have been copied from a map made by Michael Tramezini published in Venice in 1554. Tramezini, however, only carried his gulf up to 37° of latitude, and where Lok obtained his idea that it extended so far north as 45° is hard to surmise. This feature of his map is of considerable interest in the development of the idea that the Gulf of California opened out at the north into a part of the Pacific Ocean, or as usually stated, the Strait of Anian. In the seventeenth century the Spaniards generally attributed this remarkable extension of the gulf on the maps to Drake. A discussion of the subject will be found in Chapter VIII.

NOVVS ORBIS
Articus Circulus
Groenlandia
Islandia
Oriades
BACALLAOS
NOVA FRANCIA
NOVA ALBION
NVEVO MEXICO
NOVA HISPANIA
FLORIDA
Bermuda
OCEANVS ATLANTICVS
GALLIA
HISPANIA
BARBARIA
AFRICÆ PARS
GVINEA
TROPICVS CANCRI
MARE AVSTRALE
LINEA ÆQVINOCTIALIS
MALVCIÆ INSVLÆ
MARE INDICV
TROPICVS CAPRICORNI
AMERICA
PERV
BRASILIA
OCEANV ÆTHIOPICVS
Circulus Antarticus
Longitudinis gradus numerari incipiunt a meridiano Toletano versus occidentem
Doctiss. et ornatiss. Rich. Hakluyt
F. G. S.
Cu potius quam tibi Orbem hunc novum dicassem? cum tu assiduis eruditisq. libris tuis ipsum eundem in dies illustriorem reddas. Eum igitur vti tua humanitate dignum est accipe, teq. nos vicissim amabimus. Paris. cal. Maij. M. D. LXXXVII.
METRIC

HAKLUYT'S "PETER MARTYR" MAP OF 1587

This remarkable map by a cartographer so far unidentified appeared in an edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades* published by Richard Hakluyt in Paris in 1587. A peculiarity of the map which apparently has never been noticed is that the prime meridian passes through Toledo in Spain, which would certainly seem to indicate a Spanish source, as none of the Italian, Dutch or Flemish cartographers used this meridian at that period. Hakluyt had some connections in Spain, as we gather from a letter published by him, written to him by the famous Luis Tribaldo of Toledo. The letter seems to argue a personal acquaintance; possibly Hakluyt had met Tribaldo while in Paris, and thus had obtained the original map either from him or through him. No one has yet discovered for whom the initials "F. G." or "F. G. S." in the dedication stand. Being a Spanish map, one would hardly expect to find that it would bear any resemblance to the 1570 Ortelius map, but at first sight such would seem to be the case in the Eastern Archipelago. This latter map recorded the results of the voyage of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos to the Philippines. In the account of that voyage it is said that they estimated the distance run between the port of Navidad and the Philippines as more than fifteen hundred leagues. Reducing these to degrees, at the rate of seventeen and a half leagues to the degree of the arc of a great circle, will give a little over eighty-five degrees, and that is just about the distance on the Ortelius map. This is reduced on the Hakluyt map to about seventy degrees, but the relative positions of the islands remain the same. This resemblance would seem to show that the Ortelius map had been copied from some Spanish map which had later suffered the change above indicated and thus formed the basis for the Hakluyt map.

The remarkable features of the map, however, are the corrections of the distortions of the Ortelius map in North and South America, and the fact that no Antarctic Continent is shown to the south. On this Spanish map someone, probably Hakluyt, had some very interesting legends printed. He also placed at the southern end of the continent a group of miscellaneous islands in about forty-five to fifty-six degrees of South latitude, the western one of which bears the name, "Ins. Reginae Elisabethae 1579 ab Anglis." In North America, just below the fiftieth parallel on the west coast appears a legend "Nova Albion inventa An. 1580. ab Anglis." On

the east coast are inscriptions recording the discoveries by Frobisher in 1576 of Meta Incognita and by Cabot of the Bacallaos in 1496. "Virginia, 1584," also appears, showing how much up to date the map was in this respect.

It is a curious fact that although Hakluyt published the "Famous Voyage" in 1589 or shortly thereafter with the correct dates of Drake's discoveries, yet both this and the Michael Lok map, which he issued in 1582, have them incorrectly given. The one he inserted in his *Voyages* of 1589, a recut Ortelius map of 1587, has no indication of Nova Albion or any record of Drake's voyage.

THE SILVER MAP OF THE WORLD

There are still in existence several examples of what has been called by Miller Christy "The Silver Map of the World," a small silver medallion of seventy millimeters in diameter, having on one side a map of the eastern hemisphere and one of the western hemisphere on the other. The medallions are not engraved, in the strict sense of the term, but were undoubtedly struck from a die, as all the known examples are identical in the representations of the maps, the only difference between them being in their varying thickness.

There has been a great deal of discussion as to the date when these medals were made. Purchas, in Vol. XII, page 4 of *His Pilgrimes*, states that Henry Briggs had told him that he had seen a "ployt of Drakes voyage cut in Silver" by Michael Mercator. Michael was the son of Arnold Mercator, a son of Gerard. Arnold was not married until 1572 and therefore Michael could scarcely have been old enough to do such a fine piece of work as this medal much before 1594. In that year Drake went to Holland and it seems possible that on that visit he engaged Michael to prepare these medals, which he wished to give to his friends. Purchas, of course, might have been mistaken in attributing the work to Michael Mercator, and besides, it was not necessary for Drake to go to Holland in person in order to have the medals made. He had been in Holland once before, namely in 1586, and, except for Purchas' statement, it would be more reasonable to suppose that he had ordered them made while on that visit.

In the year 1900 Mr. Miller Christy published his *Silver Map of the World*, a geographical essay in which he discussed not only the cartographical data embodied in the medallion, but also the probable date of engraving and the probable engraver. His conclusion

was that it had been engraved in 1581 or 1582 by the same man who afterward engraved the map of America which appeared in Hakluyt's edition of "Peter Martyr," published in Paris in 1587. Mr. Miller Christy, although noting the presence of the word "Virginia" on the map, failed to grasp its significance. As Virginia was not so named until after the return of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition in September, 1584, it is not probable that the medallion could have been made before that time, and therefore his elaborate arguments to prove it of earlier date were entirely wasted. The map on the medal certainly bears a very striking resemblance to the Hakluyt map, even the notable errors in the dates in the legends relating to Drake's discoveries on the Hakluyt map being found on the medal. It does not follow, of course, from this that the "Silver Map" was copied from that Map, as they might have both been taken from a common original, but their similarity would seem to indicate some connection between the two. Parts of the "Silver Map" were also copied from Ortelius' new map of America, first issued in 1587, notably "California" as the name for the peninsula.

At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries March 12, 1874, Sir Wollaston Franks, an authority on medals, drew attention to an example of this medal then in his possession, and now in the British Museum. He discussed it principally from the point of its artistic workmanship and its possible origin, not being interested in the cartographical features. He seems to have been of the impression that it was a product of the seventeenth century, as similar work made in the sixteenth century is entirely unknown, unless it may be said that this forms an exception. In 1906 in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sir J. Evans, who also owned one of the medals, published an article in which he said that when Drake went to the Netherlands in October, 1586, he ordered Michael Mercator to draw a map of the world, showing the tracks of his voyage, and also ordered miniatures of the map engraved. Evans gave no authority for this statement, but from the reference to Mercator it might be inferred that he had seen the passage in Purchas above cited, and knowing that Drake had gone to Holland in 1586, concluded that Purchas referred to that visit.

It will be seen from the above how diverse are the opinions regarding the time when the medals were made, about the only certainty being that it must have been later than 1584. The route of Drake around the world is laid down on the map in much the

AMERICA
NOVA ALBION
LINEA AEQUINOCTIALIS
MARE PA
AMERICA
BRASILIA
CIRCUM
SPALIS
COGNITA

ASIA
INDIA
TERRA

same manner as on the Hondius broadside. This is shown extremely incorrectly, as it is on all the maps on which it appears. Professor Davidson therefore argues in some interesting remarks on the subject, published in Vol. V, Series II, of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific*, in 1908, that Drake could not have had anything to do with the map. It is doubtful, however, if the tracks of the voyage were intended to be laid down accurately on any of the maps which show them; a rough approximation was all that was considered necessary.

Two examples of this medal are in the British Museum, and another, belonging to the Drake family, is at Nutwell Court. Still another was exhibited for some time in the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society in London. It then belonged to Messrs. Spink & Son, being the one which probably had belonged at one time to the Marquis of Milford Haven. This is a particularly fine one, and it is to be regretted that it has recently passed to Australia, which Drake never saw, instead of to California, where it more properly belongs. The reproduction given here is from a photograph of this specimen.

THE "TYPUS ORBIS TERRARUM" OF JUDOCUS HONDIUS 1589

This small world map seems to have been intended to be used as a vignette. Although in many respects constructed on the Mercator model, it has the peculiarity of having a distance between the lower point of California and the Northwest coast at the fortieth parallel of only some fifty-six degrees of longitude instead of sixty-eight as commonly found on other maps of that type. At the south end of South America are a few islands removed some ten degrees from a "Terra Australis" with open sea between. To the easternmost of these islands is attached a legend "In. reginae Elizab." No "Nova Albion" appears in North America.

In the same year, Hondius must have made a larger map which is not now extant, as in 1602 Isaac le Clerc engraved a Hondius map which has the title, *1589 Americae Novissima Descriptio.* It is, so far as the west coast of America is concerned, a copy of Abraham Ortelius' *Maris Pacifici* map of 1589 except that at the lower end of South America several small islands are depicted which resemble very much those of Francis Fletcher's map. At about the sixtieth parallel, to the east of these islands is the legend "Insulae reginae Elisabetae ab Anglis detectae anno 1579." Although le Clerc may

have added the islands in 1602, it is more likely that they appeared on the original of 1589, especially as they resemble those on the Hondius small map first described, although relatively very much larger.

As Hondius was living in London in 1589, both of these maps must have been executed at that place and the small mappemonde may have been taken from the larger one, which was very likely the first map he had made.

THE MOLYNEUX GLOBES

These famous globes, preserved in the Middle Temple in London are each two feet, two inches in diameter, the largest, it is said, which had been made up to that time. On the celestial globe, there is a cartouche containing a statement that it was engraved by Jodocus Hondius. Emery Molyneux, however, an English cartographer, drew them and they were engraved at the expense of William Sanderson. It is quite likely that Edward Wright had something to do with them as he had with Molyneux' map of 1600. The maps were undoubtedly engraved in gores, then pasted on a wooden globe

and varnished, giving them a high glaze which has interfered with the efforts made to photograph them, as Mr. Sturgis, the librarian, tells me.

The terrestrial map has different colors for different countries such as New France, Virginia, and Florida. Drake's route around the world is shown by a dotted line originally red, and that of Cavendish by a heavier blue line. Drake's route is in several places labelled "F. Dracus," the Latin way of writing Drake's name. This would seem to indicate that Molyneux had copied some other map on which the inscriptions were in Latin, and not a purely English one. These lines were on the globe as early as 1594 when it was described by Thomas Blundeville. In 1593, Robert Hues, who had accompanied Thomas Cavendish on his last ill-fated expedition to the Strait of Magellan in 1591, published a *Tractatus de Globis* having special reference to these two globes. In his epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh, he mentions Drake's voyage, saying that he passed through the Strait and bearing up along the western coast of America discovered as far as 50° N., and in his geographical index he places Nova Albion in that latitude.

For the reason previously mentioned, the globe has never been adequately reproduced, but Dr. Kohl made a sketch from it of that part of the west coast of America from the southern end of California to the north, heretofore reproduced. He seemed to think that Molyneux had laid down the discoveries of Drake because he made the coast run more nearly north and south than the usual maps. It is true that the globe, in this respect, is an improvement on the Mercator-Ortelius type of map, but it is very unlikely that Molyneux obtained information to that effect from Drake, as he could have found other maps made before Drake's time which showed a similar more accurate delineation. The distance in longitude between Cape San Lucas and Cape Mendocino is about twenty degrees, much as on the Ortelius map of 1564.

An examination of the geography of the Northwest coast and the north Pacifiic as far as the archipelago at once shows that Molyneux must have copied a Spanish map, made after the occupation of the Philippines by Lopez de Legaspi. The difference in longitude shown between Acapulco and Ternate is about 111°, a very close approximation to the result at which the Spanish cosmographers arrived in studying the logs of that expedition, that being the difference they had estimated between Ternate and Navidad. On the globe,

MERIDIES
MEDIA NOX
NITFER
DOMORVM
Orion
CANCRI
NOVA ALBION
AMERICA SIVE IND.
NOVA CHRIS
OCEANVS
ATLANTICVS
FRI
OCEANVS

Navidad is shown about four or five degrees to the west of Acapulco, the position of Acapulco having been corrected on the globe. On the Peninsula of California, two of Rodriguez Cabrillo's names appear which to my knowledge had never been shown on any previous map. Everything points to the fact that Molyneux used as a basis for this part of his globe some Philippine-Acapulco chart captured by either Drake or Cavendish, very probably the latter.

In 1596 John Blagrave published a book with the following title: *Astrolabium Uranicum Generale. A Necessary and Pleasaunt solace and recreation for nauigators in their long Iorneying, Containing . . . . Whereunto for their further delight he hath anexed another inuention, expressing in one face the whole Globe terrestriall; with the two great english voyages lately performed round the world. Compyled by John Blagrave of Reading Gentleman, the same well willer to the Mathematicks. Anno. 1596.* The copy of the book in the British Museum does not contain a map, but in the Harleian MSS, in a small volume of maps, there is one, reproduced herewith, which undoubtedly belongs to it. Justin Winsor, in his *Narrative and Critical History,* states that Charles Deane had in his possession a copy of Blagrave's book with the Hondius map, and he therefore concluded that that map belonged to the book. This was unquestionably an error, as the Blagrave map bears every indication that it was issued with his book. Although from the title to this, one would judge that it might contain an account of Drake's voyage, it actually contains no reference to it. When I examined the globe in the Middle Temple, I unfortunately did not suspect that the Blagrave map which I had just found in the British Museum had any connection with it and therefore did not compare the two, but from a comparison of the map with the notes which I then took of the globe and of Dr. Kohl's sketch, I conclude that it is nothing but a reduction of that globe to a plane surface according to what Blagrave called a new projection.

Dr. Edward Luther Stevenson, in his work on *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes,* 1921, published a photograph of the terrestrial globe and a full description of it. The photograph, while much better than one would have expected to find it, is much too small and indistinct to be of use for a study of its geography. Dr. Stevenson says that another pair of these globes is to be found in the Roval Museum of Cassel.

THE HONDIUS BROADSIDE

This very interesting map which is herewith reproduced from a photograph of one in the British Museum is usually called a broadside because on both sides and at the bottom there is pasted a printed text in Dutch, descriptive of the voyages of Drake and Cavendish around the world, thus making a large broadside of about 37 inches in length by about 25 inches in width. Another copy of the map, recently secured by the Royal Geographical Society, is without the text, thus affording some indication that this had been added some time after the map had been published. A further and more convincing evidence of this exists in the fact that in the title of the map it is stated that Drake returned on the 27th of September, whereas on the Drake portrait, found in the text, it is stated that he returned on the 4th of the Kalends of October [that is, September 28], while at the end of the text the day is given as November 3. A curious error which shows plainly enough that the map and the small one on Drake's portrait were not engraved by the same individual occurs on the portrait whereon the route around the world laid down is not that of Drake but of Cavendish.

The Dutch account of the Drake voyage is nothing but a condensed version of the "Famous Voyage" as it first appeared, thus indicating that it was issued before 1600 when Hakluyt made the revisions in that account. The only essential difference between it and the original occurs in the statement that Drake found thirteen tons of silver in the Cacafuego instead of twenty-six tons. This, however, is probably a simple error, the thirteen referring to the thirteen boxes of silver coins referred to in the "Famous Voyage." This account was probably issued as a kind of pamphlet and may have had a special map attached to it, perhaps the original of the Dutch Drake map.

As will be seen, the map has no date nor place of issue. It is generally stated to have been engraved in 1595 in Amsterdam after Hondius had gone there from London, but in spite of all my efforts I have not been able to find any confirmation of this. No particular reason appears for ascribing any date to the broadside; it may have been engraved at any time after the return of Cavendish before 1600.

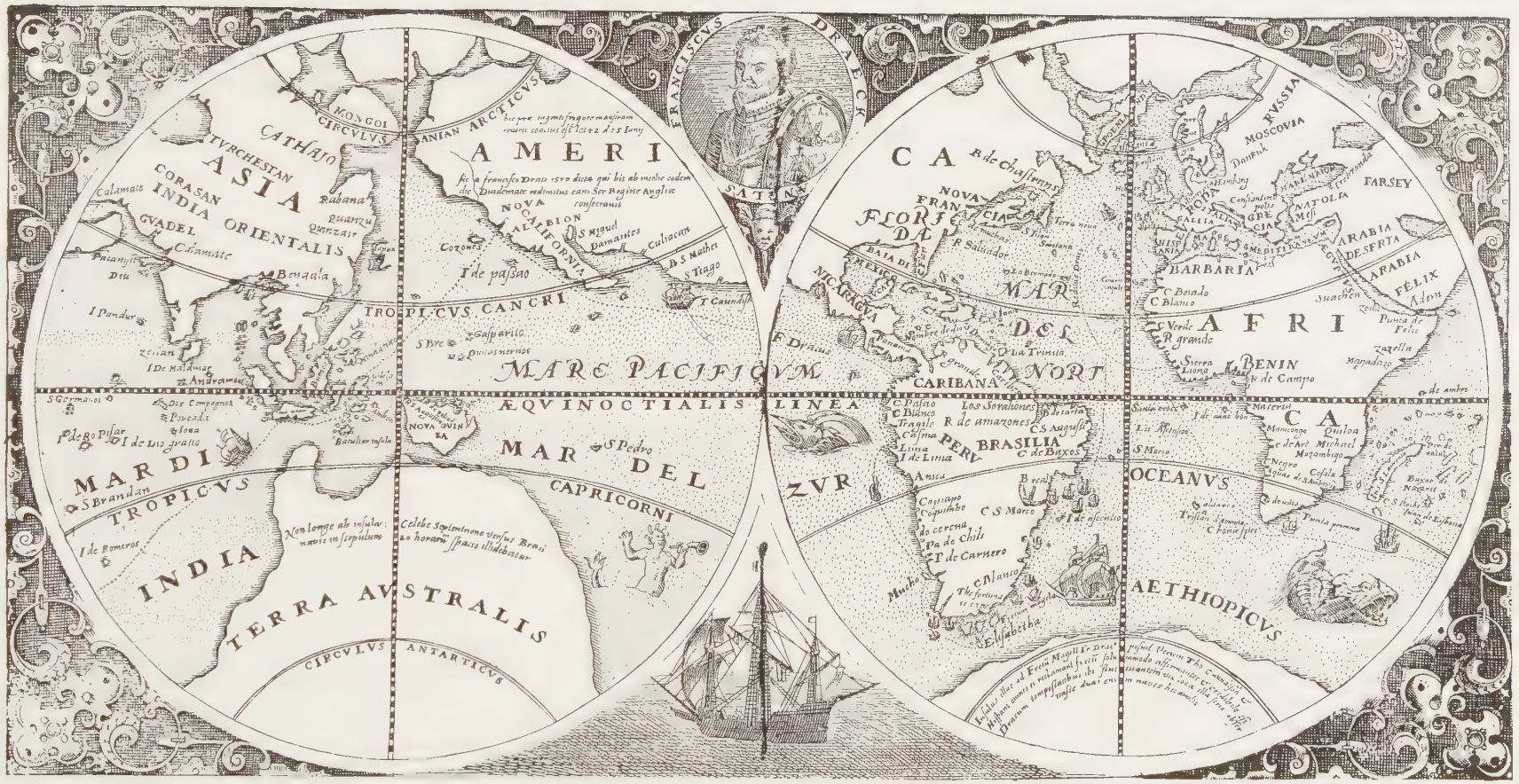
In Chapter VI a passage is quoted from Purchas about the map of Drake's voyage which in his time was hanging in the gallery at

Whitehall. The Hondius broadside does not contain at the bottom the golden crown and the garter attached to the island at the south which Purchas said was on that map, but it certainly does contain at the top the arms of the Queen and her portrait. Unfortunately Purchas did not say when the map in Whitehall had been made, but it would be reasonable to suppose that it had been made during Drake's lifetime, very likely after the reasons for the secrecy observed for some time after he returned had passed away, and consequently before there is any likelihood that the Hondius broadside was engraved. This, then, probably was copied in part from the map in the gallery at Whitehall, which may have been surrounded on the border with views illustrative of incidents of the voyage taken from Drake's log, and from which the four insets on the Hondius broadside and the picture of a ship which must be the *Golden Hind* were copied.

In the center, at the bottom, under South America, there is a Latin legend which translated reads as follows: "Francis Drake mapped these islands at Magellan Strait, but Thomas Cavendish and all Spaniards deny it, affirming that there is nothing but a strait, and it is possible that Drake, driven by tempests from his course did not make regular observations, as he lost two ships here." It is not likely that this legend was copied from any map with which any Englishman had anything to do, but was placed there by Hondius himself. This noted engraver of maps and portraits whose name was Josse de Hondt, latinized into Judocus Hondius, was born in 1567 and died in 1611. He apparently went to London in 1584 or 1585 and remained there until about 1592 when he went to Amsterdam. A number of his maps which have survived were probably not actually drawn by him as they differ too much in their geographical features, but were only engraved or published by him, and this may have been the case with this broadside. It is apparent from Hondius' later maps that he refused to accept Drake's statement about open sea at the south of America.

A star will be noticed close to the coast at about the latitude of 42° N. with a legend on the land farther north to the effect that here in the latitude of 42° on the 5th of June, Drake turned back to the south on account of cold weather. The dotted line showing his route continues beyond this star, however, up to about 48° about opposite the above legend. These dots are part of the engraving and are much more distinct on the map in the British Museum

than on that belonging to the Royal Geographical Society. On the one in the British Museum there is a blur above the star as if someone had tried to remove the dots. As the dotted line stands, it corresponds to the account given in the *World Encompassed,* whereas if it had stopped at the star in 42°, it would correspond to that in the original version of the "Famous Voyage." On the map as reproduced in 1854 by the Hakluyt Society in its edition of the *World Encompassed* the dotted line ends at the star, there being no appearance of any extension beyond. As a result of this omission, Professor George Davidson was misled into basing on this map his principal argument that Drake had not gone up to 48°.



Figuris & imaginibus artificiosè illustrata & in lucem emissa, opera & sumptibus
THEODORICI de BRY P. M. relictæ Viduæ & filiorum.

ANNO M. D. XCIX.

THE BRY MAP

This small map reproduced from Theodore de Bry's *Americae Pars VIII*, published in 1599, is interesting because it is one of the very few dated maps showing Drake's route around the world. It is a copy of the Hondius broadside and this fact is a very positive indication that the broadside must have appeared in 1599 or earlier. Only one change of importance was made: the dotted line above the star at 42° was omitted by Bry, perhaps to correspond in this respect with the accompanying text of the voyage which is a condensed translation of Hakluyt's 1589 version of the "Famous Voyage," in which the point furthest north reached was stated to be 42°. For this reason little importance can be attached to it as indicating any change in opinion regarding this matter, although as previously pointed out, the omission might be construed as a sign of abandonment of the pretension that Drake had gone as high as 48°.

THE MOLYNEUX MAP OF 1600

This celebrated map, reproduced herewith in part from Henry Stevens' fac-simile, was issued in 1600 by Richard Hakluyt to accompany the third volume of his *Voyages,* although from its rarity it seems probable that it was not bound up with the book but put out separately. In the cartouche in the upper right hand corner it is stated that the width of the Pacific Ocean, according to Francisco Gali, a translation of the account of whose voyage was published by Hakluyt in the same volume, is about twelve hundred leagues at the latitude of 38° and that the distance between Cape Mendocino and Cape California (that is, Cape San Lucas) is really hardly as much as 600 leagues in place of the 1200 or 1300 leagues shown on many maps.

An examination of the coast between the points last mentioned indicates that Molyneux had no new source of information. In general he retained the nomenclature of the Plancius map of 1594, but omitted a number of Plancius' names because he shortened the length of the coast from seventy degrees or more of longitude to only thirty. He also made use of the Ortelius map of 1589 entitled, *Maris Pacifici.* Beyond the name "Nova Albion" at the north and the general arrangement of the islands at the south of the continent, the southernmost one of which is called "Queen's Island," there is nothing about the map to indicate that he had any knowledge of Drake's expedition.

One of the noticeable features is the elimination of most of the imaginary geography of Mercator, a general belief in which was so current at the time. Like all maps, however, which were copied from others, it contains a number of careless errors and some misplacement of names.

THE HONDIUS GLOBE OF 1600

Globus Terrestris de integri revisus & emendatus anos 600

This fine globe, about twelve inches in diameter, belongs to Mr. Henry E. Huntington and is at present in the Huntington Library in San Gabriel, California. An interesting description of it with a reproduction of the legends in the cartouches will be found in Dr. Stevenson's work on globes, Vol. II, to which he added a photograph of it which conveys a good idea of the very interesting ornamentations. I examined the globe carefully last year and took occasion to compare the inscriptions on it with those on another globe, dated 1617, also in that library, the dedication of which is signed "Guiljelmos Jansonius," (that is, Guillaume Bleauw). It at once developed that at least as far as the California coast is concerned, using the term in its broadest sense, these are the same although the 1617 globe is much larger. A peculiarity of both is that beginning at the Puerto de Sardinas and proceeding north almost all the place names are five degrees higher than on other maps of the period. This extraordinary inaccuracy is not easy to explain. The Hondius globe is different from any other to which his name is attached, and it is reasonable to believe that he did not draw it, but simply published it. Although the dedication to Prince Maurice of Nassau and the address to the reader are both signed by Hondius, no statement is found on it that he made the map. In view of the fact that Bleauw complained in 1608 that his works were being pirated, it is not at all unlikely that the map from which this globe was made had actually been made by him, especially considering that the globe he put out under his own name in 1617 is practically the same, certainly that part which shows the Northwest coast.

In 1618 Joannes Jansonius, a son-in-law of Hondius and his successor in the business, issued a Hondius map of the world in two hemispheres, engraved by Nicolas Geilekerck, which, so far as California is concerned, is a copy of this globe, but at the end of South America appears "Elisabets Eyl," and a general arrangement of islands similar to those shown on the Hondius broadside. As a rule the maps put out by Hondius' successors show Cape Mendocino in 45° and other places on the Northwest coast correspondingly five degrees lower than on the Hondius and Bleauw globes. The large Hondius map of 1618, although only published in 1627, is unfortunately lost, but a description of it was given by Professor

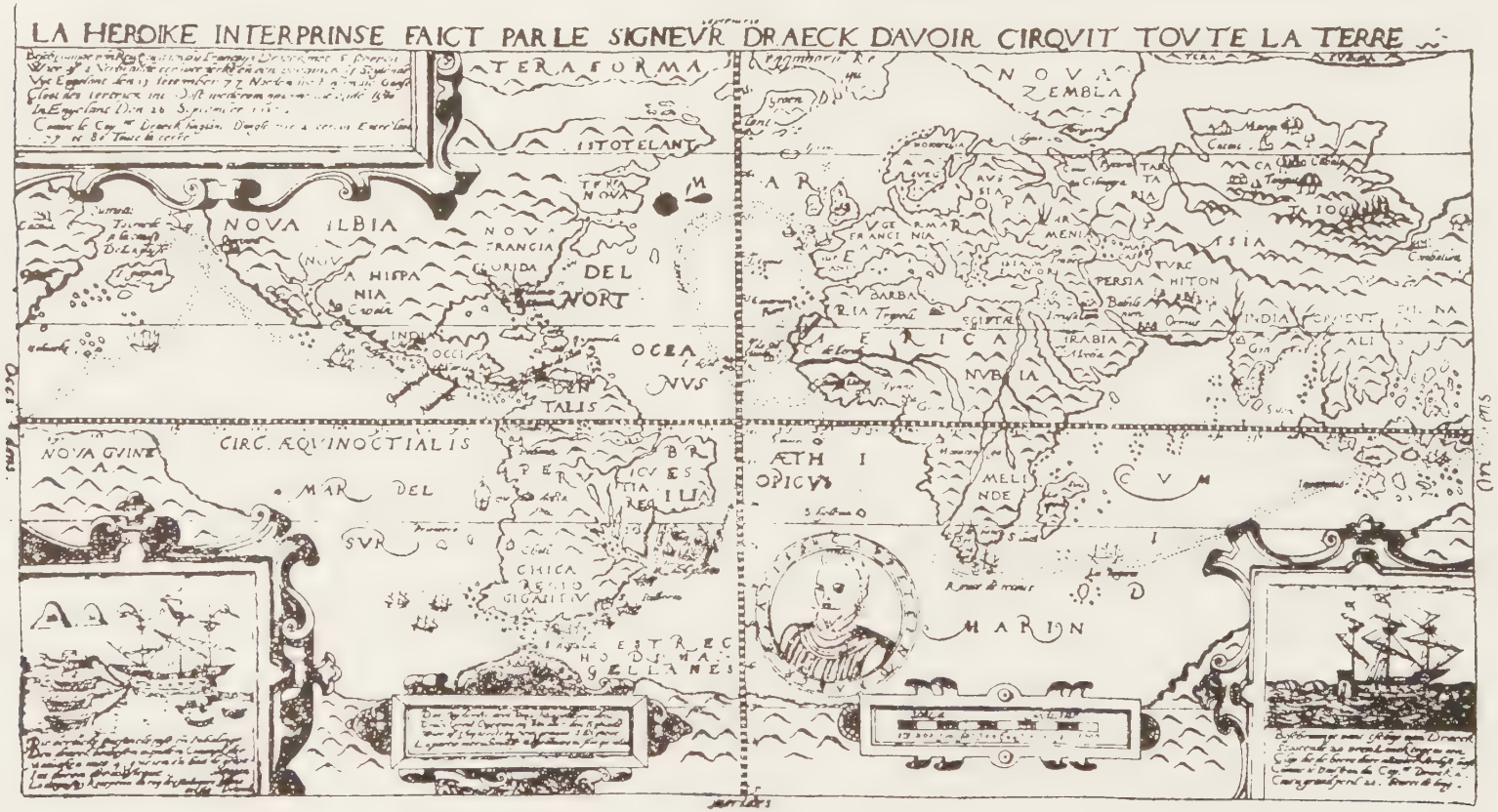
Davidson on page 41 of his *Identification*, from which it appears that it was simply a large issue of that of Jansonius of 1618, just described, although the latter being on a comparatively small scale has not the legends referred to by Professor Davidson, nor the portrait of Drake. Davidson's chart No. 11 is a sketch of the California coast taken from this map, which at that time belonged to Captain Gustav Niebaum of San Francisco. It was probably destroyed in the San Francisco fire.

A photograph of a part of the globe is reproduced to show the emphasis given to the boundary lines of New Spain and New France which in the original are colored. These in a general way are like those shown on the French Drake map, the only essential difference being that on the globe Florida is enclosed within the boundaries of New Spain, whereas on the French Drake map it is not, very probably in the latter case due simply to improper construction of the map.

THE DUTCH DRAKE MAP

La Heroike [or Herdike] Enterprinse Faict Par Le Signevr Draeck D'Avoir Cirqvit Touvte La Terre.

Two copies of this map are known, one in the Huntington Library and the other in the New York Public Library. The latter is bound in a German edition of the voyage of Drake to the West Indies in 1585, published in 1589. Mr. Wilberforce Eames, who has examined the matter with considerable care, is of the opinion that the map does not belong to the book, for one reason, because it has no connection with the subject matter. A map entitled, *Americae et proximarum regionum descriptio,* engraved by Francis Hogenburg, dated 1589, really belongs to the German edition, although seldom found, but it is quite different from this and was probably made to accompany the book, as it shows the scene of Drake's operations on his 1585 expedition. The Huntington copy is bound with the Latin edition of the same voyage, published at Leyden in 1588. Besides the map there is inserted a portrait of Drake from the *World Encompassed* of 1628. Laid in is a note from the late Luther L. Livingstone, saying that he considered that the map probably was engraved from a French manuscript original. There is a curious statement in Wauwerman's *Histoire de L'Ecole Cartographique Belge et Anversoise de XVIe Siècle,* Vol. II, 255, to the effect that Hondius had executed the designs for the *Voyages autour du Monde de Cavendish et Drake*, published in Leyden in 1588. Wauwerman must have been mistaken



From the New York Public Library Copy

as no such book appears to be known; what he probably meant was the book just referred to in which there are four plans which Hondius might very well have made.

The map measures 17 10/16 inches in length by about 9 9/16 inches in width. The only legends in French besides the title are "route de retour" and "route de duparte" attached to the route of Drake, and one other. All the rest on the map are in Dutch, these obviously being translations of similar ones on the Hondius broadside, from which the insets are also copied. The fact that the title and the legends on the route are in French would perhaps indicate that the map was copied from the French Drake map, and therefore appeared later than that, or simultaneously, but its general appearance belies this supposition. No known book published in Dutch at that period would have been likely to have contained this map, but it may be said that at that particular period, large numbers of Dutch accounts of voyages were issued, and one of them might have contained an account of the circumnavigation of Drake, and therefore have had this one showing the route. Neither of the coats of arms on the French Drake map appears on this, nor the name of any engraver, nor the legend that the map was seen or corrected by Drake, but there is a similar portrait.

Mr. Huntington's copy of the map is an earlier issue than the other. It is not only a much better and clearer impression but lacks a few place names which were evidently added later. These are of some interest. In the New York Public Library copy "Quivira" has been added on the coast at about 40°, the peninsula is named "California," and in the gulf appears "C. de California." Farther south on the coast is "Guatemala" and "Nicaragua," and on the east coast of Florida "St. Helena" and "S. Juan." The legend in the north Pacific has also had a change made in the second line, and dotted lines representing Drake's route, extending quite a long way out into the Pacific, in fact, nearly to Asia, have been added. It is not impossible that these changes were made with a pen, except the one in the legend, the more especially as none of them appear on the French Drake map. As California as the name for the peninsula first appeared on Ortelius' map of 1587, it might be argued that the Huntington issue was made prior to that year and that the plate had been improved after 1587. That the New York Public Library copy was made after 1587 is certain; probably the other was also, the engraver having used an old map as the basis.

LA HERDIRE ENTERPRINSE FAICT PAR L
La vraye description du voiage du s. fransoys draeck Cheualier lesquel estant acompaigne de cinq nauires deux desquel il brula vng aultre sen retourna et la quater fust peris il partit dang.e le 13 desembre 1577 passa oultre et fit le sirquit de toute la terre et retourna audict royaume le 26e septembre 1580
TERRA ART
GROEN L
premierement descouuert par le sign
sainct Iulian 1579 fut le sig.t couron
par les habitans dudict pays duex d
QVISAI
NOVA ALBIO
NOVA HIS PANIE
Nova france
MARE DEL CVS NOORT
Roete de Retour
190 200 210 220 230 240 250 260 270 280 290 300 310 320 330 340
NOVA GVMA
AEQVINOCTIALIS
MARE DEL SVR
Tumbis
BANA
Arica
Tibi
chicali
TERRA GINANTIN
MARE OCEANO
combien que lon pense que la partie meridionale du destroit soit terre ferme chy et ce quell et tresertain que en souigilles desquelles la prassain de midi a este nomme elisabet par le dict sig.r dac. qui pnner la descouerte
la magnifiqs receptian du roy des moluques faicte au sig.r drache le faisant tire au port par quater de ses galeres et luy mesme costoiant des vassiau dudict drack et prenoit grand plaisir a ouir la musique

The

French Drake Map

THE FRENCH DRAKE MAP

La Herdike Interprinse Faict Par Le Signevr Draeck DAvoir Cirqvit Tovte La Terre.

This is a small map of 17 7/16 inches in length by 9 7/16 inches in width, containing in the upper left hand corner the following legend: *La vraye description du voiage du sr fransoys draeck cheualier lesquel estant accompaigne de cinq navires deux desquel il brula ung aultre sen retourna et la quatre fuit peris il partit dangre le 13 desembre 1577 passa oultre et fit le sirquit de toute la terre et retourna audict royame le 26 septembre* 1580. This description is obviously a translation of part of the title of the Hondius broadside, with the date of return as September 26 instead of the 27th. In the two lower corners are insets similar to those in the lower corners of the Hondius broadside, and of the map just previously described. A portrait of Drake is found in the lower central part, somewhat different from that on the Hondius broadside and also slightly different from the one on the Dutch Drake, but no doubt intended to be the same. Inside the border of this portrait Drake's age is given as forty-two years. At the bottom will be found the following inscriptions: "Nicola van Sype. f." and *Carte veuee et corige par le dict siegneur drach.* Where New Albion is located and south of Elizabeth's Island are coats of arms, which are supposed to be those of Queen Elizabeth. The place names are partly in French and partly in Spanish, but all the legends are in French. In almost every respect the route of Drake is the same as on the map just described, but the general type is different.

A number of boundary lines are shown, some in Europe, some in Africa, one west of Brazil and two in North America. One of the latter extends from the northwest corner of the Peninsula of Florida, in a curve, to the headwaters of one of the branches of the Colorado River, and the territory below this is marked "Nova Hispanie." Another line extends from some point on the Atlantic coast, probably intended to be Chesapeake Bay, in a northwesterly direction, to about the forty-eighth parallel, thence east and thence southeast, enclosing a large section of territory which is labeled "Nova france." The effect of this division of what is now the United States and Canada is to leave a space which includes the Peninsula of Florida and a narrow section extending northwest and

TYPVS ORB
SEP
TERRA SEPT
CIRCVLVS ARCTICVS
AMERICA SIVE IN
DIA NOVA Ao 1492 a Christophoro
Colomba nomine regis Castelle primum detecta
Noua Fran
cia
Chilaga
Tochonta
Caliquas
Marata
Florida
Cacos
Cuchillo
Limano
TROPICVS CANCRI
MAR DEL NORT
Los dos hermanos
Los Bolcanes
Malabrigo
La farfana
Archipelago di
Abreojo
Rocca partida
S. Thomas
Anubiada
Los Lazaro
Y de hombres
CIRCVLVS AEQVINOCTIALIS
Y de los galopegos
Caribana
Guadalupe
Aruba
Solis
Terra de Baccalaos
Roquelaos
Claudia
La Bermuda
La Emperadada
Lucaio
Santana
Sept cites
Juan de Sampe
Estotiland
Groenland
Tuchayo
Tolin
QVIVIRA
Cicuic
Bajo de pinar
Cazones
Y de Cedri
Trinidad
Rocca partida
Los Lazaro
Y de cres
Y de hombres
Y de los galopegos
Quito
Noyua
Cuba
Ipedra
Modana
Cangaudi
Cuchillo
Cuchillo
Cacos
Camos
Cuba
Tamaica
Guadalupe
Aruba
Solis
DENS

thence west to the Pacific. At the western end, at about latitude 50° occur the words: "Nova Albio." The ornaments on the map are those in use on Ortelius' maps, and as a whole it bears more resemblance to his and the Hondius globe of 1600 than to any others. In its general type it is very archaic, more so than those usually published after 1580, and it therefore appears likely that some earlier map, probably made on the polar or cordiform projection, was used as the basis, the only object being to mark out Drake's route around the world.

Notwithstanding the fact that numerous dotted lines are displayed, marking boundaries, the two which occur on the map of North America have been chosen by Mrs. Nuttall to support her theory of "Drake's dream."

The earliest printed map to show any boundary lines in North America is that issued in 1589 with some copies of Hakluyt's *Voyages*. This was recut from the Ortelius map of 1587 and a few changes were made, including the addition of these boundary lines. Several others are also shown in South America, Europe and Asia. A small section of the map is reproduced to show the two in North America, one of which bounds on the north New Spain which is shown as extending to Nova Francia, the other bounding Nova Francia and Norembega. There is no trace of Drake's expedition on the map. In 1592 Peter Plancius produced his large planisphere, the only known copy of which has been discovered in Valencia, Spain. As yet it has not been reproduced, although his small map in two hemispheres apparently engraved in 1594 but issued with the original edition of Linschoten's work in 1596 is very likely a copy of it. There are on this some new names of Spanish origin on the Northwest coast of America but from what source Plancius obtained them is not known. The map also contains boundary lines, and those in North America differ somewhat from those in the Ortelius map of 1589 in that the boundary of New Spain extends to the Atlantic coast north of the Peninsula of Florida. Those of New France begin on the coast at about 41° and extend in a crooked line northwest to about 60° and thence east about thirty degrees of longitude to a point where the line turns southeast a short distance and then east to the coast. In 1597 or thereabouts, Hondius issued his now famous map *Typus Totius Orbis Terrarum*, usually known as the "Christian Knight" map. This was evidently copied from Plancius' map, omitting the boundary lines; neither shows any

signs of Drake's expedition. The next map to show boundary lines in North America is the Hondius globe of 1600, heretofore described, on which, not only do boundaries similar to those on the Plancius map appear, but they are now colored.

The statement on the map that it was seen and corrected by Drake is of no importance or significance. All that the engraver probably meant, if he meant anything more than to mislead his readers and help sell the book, was that the map had been copied from some other one which Drake had seen and corrected. That Drake had seen the Molyneux globe or some other map with the route of his voyage on it, is altogether possible, but that he corrected any is another matter. If on this map the word *corrige* was properly used, it would indicate that some other route had been incorrectly shown on some previous map, and if the one on this was really correct it might therefore be supposed that this was what actually had occurred, but on the contrary, Drake's route along the west coast of America is the same on all the maps except at the north and the south ends and one other minor difference. The route on all is equally incorrect as none shows any stop either at Caño or Guatulco. The line passes a long distance from the coast at these points and follows the coast of California a short distance away parallel thereto. A curious error is found on this map and its companion, which could hardly have escaped the attention of Drake if he had had anything to do with correcting the map. The *Golden Hind* is seen stopping at an island in the Moluccas, the southernmost of six. The island is no doubt intended to represent Ternate, the subsequent voyage through the Archipelago not appearing. The differences between these maps and others in Drake's route at the north and south ends of America have been previously discussed.

Besides the example of this map in the British Museum, there are at least five or six others in existence, all of which are found in the 1641 edition of the French translation of the "Famous Voyage," except one which is pasted in the back of the 1627 edition of the same translation, in the library of the Department of Marine in Paris. Of those in the 1641 edition all but two are obviously pasted in and inserted. Two copies exist in which the map was apparently bound in at the time the book was issued, one in the library of the Hispanic Society in New York, from which Mrs. Nuttall made her reproduction, and the other in the possession of the writer. The first is in a contemporary binding, the latter lacked the binding when

purchased, the first signature was loose, but the map was sewed in, precisely as other maps of the period, and from stains on the opposite leaf it is obvious that it had been bound in the book for a very long time.

The fact that all but one copy of the map occur with French editions of Drake's voyage is very strong evidence that the map was originally issued either with the 1627 or 1641 edition, probably the latter, no copy of the 1613 edition having yet been found with one. It is of course possible that it might have been copied from some pre-existing map, but if so, such must have been a French or Dutch map, as it certainly could not have been taken from an English map, because no such map known assigned to the French the largest part of what is now the eastern United States, nor could have done so, because the English never acknowledged the French right to any such territory. Furthermore, the English never claimed Florida, which on this map appears as part of Mrs. Nuttall's Nova Albion, and which was obviously a Spanish possession by right of occupation. The English geographers who discoursed upon the subject of English rights to the eastern coast of America invariably asserted the sovereignty of the country, north of Florida, to be in England, under the discoveries of Cabot, although no real attempt at occupation was made until 1583. It is therefore simply impossible that any map of this character, supposing such to have been the prototype of this French map, could have been produced in England in 1580 or later.

While in London some three years or more ago the writer had a conversation with Mr. Edward Heawood of the Royal Geographical Society about this map, as an attempt was again being made to ascertain when it had been engraved. He displayed the water mark in the paper on which the copy of the map in the British Museum is printed, which is a capital N with a crown over it, indicating that the paper had been made by the Nivelles. Recently Mr. Heawood has published in the *Geographical Journal* for May, 1924, an article on the use of water marks in dating old maps and documents, in the course of which he refers to this map, and seems to be of the opinion that because the water mark is similar to that reproduced by Briquet as No. 90 in his work on water marks as in use by the Nivelles before 1600, the map was probably engraved before that date. Now the fact is that, as mentioned in a footnote of Mr. Heawood, the capital N in the water mark on the map is much smaller than the one

figured by Briquet, and in the second place, Briquet only pretended to describe water marks in paper made before the year 1600. It is true that he included a few documents of 1603 to 1605 because he happened to find them in collections in conjunction with other documents dated before 1600. The fact that the water mark in the paper on which the map is printed has a smaller capital N than any found by Briquet, would be considered evidence that the paper had not been made until after 1600, and consequently that the map had not been engraved until after that date. Of course, even if the paper had been made before 1600, it would not necessarily follow that the map had been engraved before that time. The paper might have been kept for many years before being used, and this indicates the impossibility of fixing any posterior date for the time when any particular map was used, and thus diminishes very materially the value of this method for approximating the dates of maps or documents. Several of these maps have been examined by Mr. Eames and the writer and only one has been found with a water mark similar to that on the one in the British Museum.

As the map was put out as a sixteenth century production by the Hakluyt Society, much time has been spent by many persons in endeavoring to find out something about the engraver Van Sype. A family named Sype existed but no Nicola so far has been found. The writer has discussed the question of the approximate date of engraving with a number of persons considered as authorities on maps, and the general consensus of opinion, based upon its general appearance, and not upon its cartographical peculiarities, is that it is a seventeenth century production. Mr. Henry Stevens is positive that such is the case and Mr. J. A. Ferguson is of a similar opinion. Nevertheless, it is but fair to state that the authorities in the British Museum who have examined it think it may have been produced in the sixteenth century, probably basing their opinions on its basic archaic geography.

The only internal indications on the map of the possible date of publication are the four islands which appear between about 40° and 45° close to the Northwest coast of America and the statement that Drake returned to England September 26. These same peculiarities will be found on the Dutch Drake map. The appearance of four islands on the coast, which are not found on other maps is a singular circumstance; for all the world, they recall the statement in John Drake's first declaration, although he there said there were

five or six. One of those, however, was in the Strait and his statement might be interpreted to mean that New Albion was another. No other reference to islands on the Northwest coast appeared in any known account of the voyage until the *World Encompassed* mentioned the St. James Islands, usually identified as the Farallones. On the map one island appears at the mouth of the inlet where Drake stopped, another to the south, and two to the north, so these do not correspond to those of the *World Encompassed*. It may, of course, have happened that the author of the map copied these from one of several maps previously published which show islands on the Northwest coast, but neither do they correspond in location to these. The first map published showing islands on this part of the coast is Ortelius' *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, dated 1587. On his *Maris Pacifici* of 1589 at 40° of latitude there is a "Baia de las pinas" with an island at its mouth, at 42° to 45° there are two more, at 38° there are four more, and farther south still more, evidently intended for the Channel Islands, at about 50° there are even six more. From these two maps Gio. Bat. Mazza prepared his *Americae et Proximarum Regionum Orae Descriptio*. Although the map was undated, in the reproductions it has been assigned to 1583 or 1584. The *Maris Pacifici* was copied in 1602 and the miscellaneous islands appear on other maps of about the same date, but none located as on this and the Dutch Drake map. The only known possible access that the author of this map might have had to Drake's deposition, was through Herrera's account published in 1606, and although at first sight it might seem unlikely that he had seen this, yet there is much information scattered through the pages of the *World Encompassed* which could have hardly been derived from other than Spanish sources.

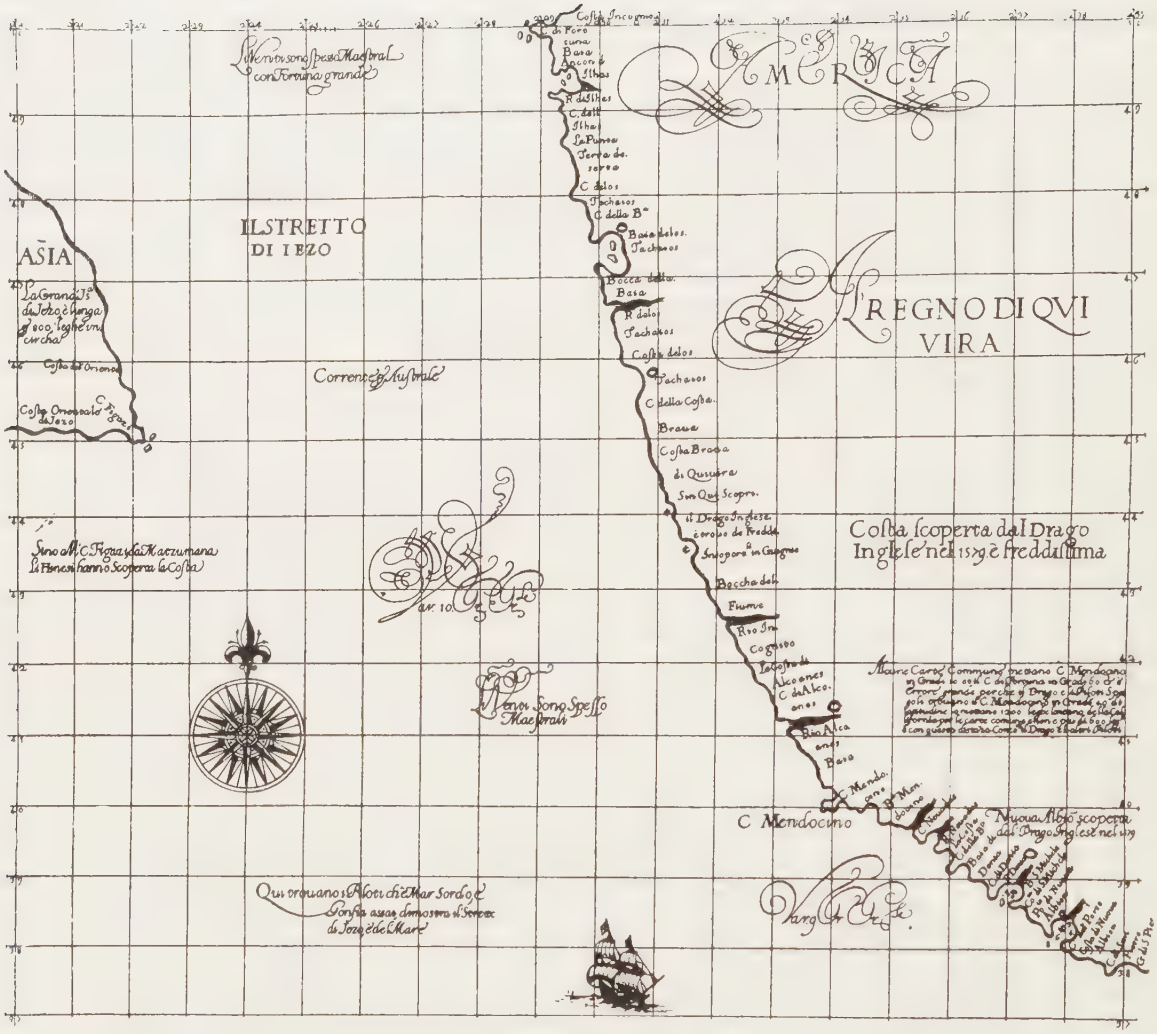
The first printed mention in a dated book or map that Drake returned to England September 26 occurs in the *World Encompassed*, published in 1628. This is probably the correct date although no contemporary document has yet been discovered, which makes it absolutely certain. The Hondius broadside from which the maker of this map took so much gives the day as September 27 and the change to the 26th seems to indicate some later information which might very well have been the *World Encompassed*.

Although Mr. F. G. Sprent of the map department of the British Museum argues that because their map has never been folded, and to all appearance, must have been issued separate from any book,

this single instance can hardly be considered as proof. On the contrary, the finding of all the others in French Drake's of 1627 and 1641 is much more convincing that it was prepared for one of those editions. After having examined the matter at great length and from various angles, my opinion is that the map was not engraved for the 1627 edition of the French Drake book but for that of 1641 as an added feature to a new edition. In that of 1627, to the original text of the 1613 edition was added a lot of stories under the following singular title, although they had nothing whatever to do with Drake: *Seconde Partie Des Singvlaritez Remarqvees Avx Isles & terres fermes du Midy, & des Indes Orientales; par l'Illustre Seigneur & Cheualier François Drach, Admiral d'Angleterre.* That statement is on a par with and of the same value as that on the map issued with the 1641 edition: *Carte reuee et corige par le dict siegneur drach.*

THE ARCANO DEL MARE

This work by Robert Dudley, a son of the Earl of Leicester, was issued in Florence in 1646-1647 after the death of the author. The maps, engraved by Anton Francesco Lucini, are very fine specimens of the art. In the Royal Library at Munich there are some manuscript charts made by Dudley of somewhat different character, probably being his preliminary sketches, although P. Lee Phillips in his *List of Geographical Atlases,* 206, asserts that they are Dudley's completed work. Two of these were reproduced by Professor Davidson which have no resemblance to each other beyond the fact that Cape Mendocino is placed in both at 40°. It is not worth while to analyze either the geography or the nomenclature of these maps more than to say that on No. 7 of Davidson's reproductions in his *Identification* the port of Quivira, located at about 45¾°, is stated to have been discovered by Drake in 1582 and that it was so cold in the month of June that he had to return to 38½°, where another port is shown called P. de Sardina, which properly belonged down on the Santa Barbara Channel. On the other chart, No. 6, there is a port at about 38¼° labeled "Il porto bonissmo." The bay itself is called "B. di nova Albion," and inside on the land is a legend to the effect that Nova Albion had been discovered by Drake in 1579. On this map the coast trends almost directly northwest between the parallels of thirty-seven and forty degrees, quite erroneously, but in thorough keeping with pre-existing maps. One of the peculiarities of Dudley's cartographical productions is that they



Carta Particolare XXXIII of the Arcano del Mare

show a bay every twenty or thirty miles along the coast, into which a river is always shown as entering. The bay, the river and the two capes which are necessary adjuncts at the entrance of each bay usually have the same name.

In the published work the coast of California from the nineteenth to the fiftieth parallel of latitude appears on a map divided into four sheets. This shows the enormous western trend of California in a very similar manner to the Jansonius map of 1618, except that the latitudes have been reduced about ten degrees by Dudley. Cape San Lucas is in about 273° of East longitude and Cape Mendocino in about 234°, while the coast still extends west of north five degrees more of longitude to the fiftieth parallel where the map ends. The nomenclature, except where invented by Dudley, is taken from the Jansonius map just referred to as far south as Cape Inganno. From that point south, the Jansonius map had only two place names on the peninsula and Dudley took his from some other source. These additions are mostly imagined when not removed from elsewhere. As an example, at latitude 29°, longitude 266°, there appears on the coast a town called Aza with his customary additions of the Gulf of Aza and the Cape of Aza. Down below is the Rio de Aza. This can be nothing but the town of Axa and the river of Axa, one of the affluents of the Tontonteach which belonged far in the interior, forming a part of the imaginary geography of the territory north of the Gulf of California invented after the Alarcon expedition.

There are a number of anchors scattered along the coast at different points all the way from Cape San Lucas to as high as 44°. On the Upper California coast they appear at 30°, 31°, 36½°, 38½°, 43½° and 44°. Professor Davidson seemed to think that the three farthest north were signs of the Drake expedition, but he did not offer to explain what the ones farther south indicate. Besides these, there are a number of crosses in the bays below 35°, which also presumably were intended to indicate the presence of ships at such points. On the whole, it may be considered that these anchors and crosses represent, according to Dudley's views, the progress of Rodriguez Cabrillo, although it might be that the one placed in the bay at about 38¼° named "Porto di Nuova Albion" may be intended to represent a Drake anchorage.

There are a few interesting Drake legends on the map, one just under the fortieth parallel, stating that New Albion was discovered

by Drake in 1579, just as it appears on No. 6 of Professor Davidson's reproductions to which the port corresponds in location. Above, there is another to the effect that many maps put Cape Mendocino in 50° and Cape Fortuna in 60°, which is a great error because Drake and the Spanish pilots found Mendocino in 40°, and, while the ordinary maps show 1200 leagues for the length of California, it is only a little more than 600, according to Drake and other pilots. It is very certain that Drake did not know from his own experience the length of California, but this statement appeared frequently after Francisco Gali's account had been published by Hakluyt in 1600. Between 43½° and 44½° there is a legend which translated reads: "To this point, Drake discovered and in June found the cold insupportable." This, in turn, corresponds to the one on manuscript chart No. 7 of Professor Davidson, although on that it is attached to the Port of Quivira in almost 46°. In the "Porto di Nuova Albion" there appear a few figures evidently intended to represent the depth of water and similar figures appear all along the coast to the south. It is possible that Dudley had some information about the depth of water in some of the ports but considering his inventive genius as manifested in his manufacture of names, it is more likely that he also invented most of these.

As is usual in atlases of the middle of the seventeenth century, a map based on Vizcaino's discoveries appears in the *Arcano del Mare*. This is rather small, showing the coast from 27° to 42½° and from 245° to 270° of East longitude. Dudley made a number of mistakes in the place names on this and also put in what he calls the "Golfo Profondo," occupying the place now known as the Bay of Sebastian Vizcaino, which he marked as not having been well discovered. The map appears to have been based on Father Antonio de la Ascension's account of the voyage, published by Torquemada in 1615, as certainly no map made by any one with the expedition was used. The difference in longitude between Cedros Island and Cape Mendocino is about eighteen degrees, whereas on the Briggs' map which was based on an actual map of the expedition, it is only ten degrees. At about 38° is the port of New Albion "discovered by Drake" and about half a degree north of this is a Po di Don Gasper, which Professor Davidson thought represented Bodega Bay. Each has an anchor. These certainly had no Drake significance but represented Vizcaino's anchorages as indicated by the fact that there is also one in the port of Monterey and another at the island of

Cedros. These ports first mentioned are really nothing but copies of those shown on Dudley's other map, in the same atlas, just described, where they are labeled the "Porto di Nuova Albion" and "B. S. Michele." To the latter Dudley gives a new name, the "Po di Don Gasper," although actually this name was used on the Vizcaino expedition as that for the bay under Point Reyes, Rodriguez Cermeño's name for the bay "San Francisco" not appearing to have been used except by Francisco de Bolaños. In describing this map in the text, Part II, Chapter 16, Dudley says that the cape in 40° is really Cape Arboledo and that Mendocino was actually in 42½°. All this is set out on this map, and inside on the land at about 42½° is "Nuova Albione" and above is a legend to the effect that some place Cape Mendocino at 41° of latitude and that the coast is cold. This little map was also reproduced by Professor Davidson as No. 12, and it can be compared with his reproduction, No. 10 of the reduction of the charts of the Vizcaino expedition published by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in 1802 in the Atlas to the voyage of the *Sutil and Mexicana.*

At the south end of South America, Dudley displayed on another map some more of his inventive genius. Here is found in 57° S. lat., and 300° E. long., southwest of the Strait, the "Terra Australis Incognita." Off the coast of this some soundings and some islands are shown, and on the land is a port, said to have been discovered by Drake, the customary cape of the port, and an Isolette "Scoperte dal Drago nel 1581." Opposite the coast of Tierra del Fuego is another legend to the effect that Drake held this to be islands and not firm land, but no sign of Drake appears at Cape Horn or near there, nor even in Brazil, the Argentine or Central America. In the Strait itself are the islands of Elizabeth, Penguin, and San Bartholomeo in their proper places. It seems very probable that Dudley was the originator of the geographical error which persisted for nearly a century and a half that Drake had discovered land to the southwest of Tierra del Fuego in 57°.

Reviewing the matter, it appears that Dudley took all the knowledge he had of Drake's expedition from Hakluyt's 1600 version, the *World Encompassed* and maps previously published, and in reality his maps bear no evidence that he obtained any geographical information from Drake or anyone else connected with the expedition. He probably, however, did obtain some from his brother-in-law, Thomas Cavendish.

APPENDIX I

A DISCOVERY OF LANDS BEYOND THE EQUINOCTIAL

1. The matter hit selfe that is offred to be attempted.
2. That hit is feisible.
3. What meanes we haue commodiously to attchiue yt.
4. The Commodities to grow of hit.
5. An awnswere of suche difficulties and matters as maie be obiected.
6. That there is no injurie offred to any Prince or countreye, nor any offence of amitie.
7. The offer for performinge therof withoute her Majestie's chardge.
8. Matters thought vppon to be praied for her Majestie's good allowance of the Enterprise and direction of the procedinge, alwaies both referring the particularities therof to further consideration and to your Lordship's advice and judgement.

1. The matter hit self that is offred to be attempted.

The discouerie, traffique and enioyenge for the Quenes Majestie and her subiectes of all or anie landes, islandes and countries southewardes beyonde the æquinoctial, or where the Pole Antartik hathe anie elevation above the Horison, and which landes, islandes and countries be not alredie possessed or subdued by or to the vse of anie Christian Prince in Europe as by the charts and descriptions shall appere.

2. That hit is feisible.

The seas and passage, as farre as Bresill and Magellanes streight and the Portugal's navigations to the Moluccas, which all doe lie beyonde the zona torrida, beinge ofte and dailie passed bie theise nations and knowen to oure owen mariners doe shew hit possible. And the more for that the landes which we seke lieng not onelie beyonde the said zone, but also beyonde the course of the Portugalls saylynge, and approchinge more to the Pole, from the æquinoctial draweth stylle more to the temper of Englonde and the knowen regions of Europe.

3. The meanes that we haue to attchiue hit.

Ships of our owen wel prepared.

The weste contrie lienge the apteste of all partes of Englonde for navigation southewarde.

Marriners and sailers to whome the passage as most thither is knowen.

The good and welkome commodities that from Englond shalbe caried to that people, who, lienge in the temper of Englond and other partes of Europe, cannot but lyke well of clothe wherin we most habounde, and the transportation wherof is most necessarie for our people at home.

4. The commodities, etc.

The enlarginge of Christian faithe which those naked barbarous people are most apte to receiue, and especiallie when hit shal not carie with hit the unnaturall and incredible absurdities of papistrie.

The grete honor to her Majestie to have encresed the faith and her d[ominions].

The aptnes and, as hit were, a fatall convenience that since the Portugall hathe atteined one parte of the newefounde worlde to the Este, the Spaniarde an other to the Weste, the Frenche the thirde to the Northe, nowe the fourthe to the southe is

by God's providence lefte for Englonde, to whom the other in tymes paste haue bene fyrste offred.

The encrese of the nauigation of Englonde, of which commoditie, both for welthe and saffetie, enoughe can not be saide.

The lyklihoode of bringinge in grete tresure of gold, sylver and perle into this relme from those countries, as other Princes haue oute of the lyke regions.

The enrichinge of the relme with all other sortes of commodities that the same landes doe beare, which are lyke to be infynite and had with small price and for the onelie fetchinge; and accordinge to the diversyties of clymes, yt is moste lykelie that the manifolde diversytie of commodities wilbe fownde and muste nedes habunde, for that by traffique and exportance they haue not hitherto bene wasted.

The settinge of our idle and nedie people to worke and providinge for theim bothe in the travaile of the navigation and the worke of clothes and thinges to be caried thither.

The avoydinge of discommodities and perills that we be nowe subiecte vnto, when the welthe and worke of our lande and people dependethe partlie vpon the will of our skante trustie neighbours for ventinge our clothes and commodities.

The abatinge of the prices of spices and suche commodities that we now haue at the Portugals and Spaniardes handes, wherby they encrese their riches vppon our losse, when much spices and suche lyke here spente and bought deare of theim do with the lesse quantitie consume the vallewe of our clothes that they receiue.

The encrese of the quantitie of golde and sylver that shalbe brought oute of Spaine hit self into Englond when the commodities cominge oute of Spaine, becominge this waie cheper, and so lesse countervailing the vallewe of our clothes caried thyther, the ouerplus shal come more plentifullie hither in treasure.

That we shall receiue lesse of spices and suche commodities from Spaine havinge them from elswhere: and so the more of the retorne of our commodyties from theim in gold and sylver, which nedes muste be a grete commoditie when at this daie receivinge muche of our spices and southerne wares from Spaine and at dere prices: yet the sylver brought from thence is said to be the chief furniture of her Majesties mynte.

5. Answere to the difficulties, etc.

The passinge of the whote clyme or zona torrida. This hathe bene passed vi tymes by Magellans. The zona torrida is yerlie in everie voyage of the Portugalle to the Moluccæ passed iiij tymes, and everie voyage of the Spaniardes to Brasyle hit is passed twice. Sondrie of our owen nation and some suche as are to goe in these voyages haue passed hit to Guynie, Brasyle and other places.

The Portugals whole navigation to the Moluccæ, besydes his iiij tymes in everie voyage passinge vnder the æquinoctial, liethe whollie nigh the same lyne.

The contries that we seke soe lie that our course continuethe not nere the lyne, but crossinge the same, styll hastethe directlie to the temper of our owen regions.

5. The perils of the Portugals or Spaniards violence that shall envie our passage. Our strengthe shalbe suche as we feare hit not, besydes that we meane to kepe the Ocean and not to enter in or nere any their portes or places, kepte by their force.

The dispeopling of Englonde. It is no dispeoplinge. The people abonde as apperethe by the nomber greter then can welbe provided for: and the dailie loss by execution of lawe, and no evill pollicie to disburthen the land of some excesse of people.

The wastinge of marriners and furniture of shippinge. It is the encrese of marriners and the skylfulleste sorte and the provisyon of shippinge as by the ensample of Spaine and Portugall, and the Frenche is sene who haue by meanes of their traffique to the Indies and the Newfondlande a grete nomber of grete ships more than ere that tyme they had or could set on work.

The absence of merriners and shippinge in farre voyages when we maie nede them at home. This reason is generall against all navigation to forren partes which yet is the verie true defense of the relme.

And in all theise reasons is to be noted that none are to passe withowt her Majestie's permission, and as to her heighnes and her counsell from tyme to tyme shall apere mete to be spared.

6. That there is no injurie, &c.;

The Ffrenche have their portion to the northwarde directlie contrarie to that which we seke.

For the places alredie subdued and inhabited by the Spaniard or Portugall we seke no possession nor interest. But if occasion be free frendlie traffique with theim and their subiectes which is as lawfull as muche wythout iniurie as for the Quenes subiectes to traffiques as merchants in Portugall or Spaine hit self.

The passage by the same seas that they doe, offringe to take nothing from them that they haue or clayme to haue; is not prohibited nor can be without iniurie or offense of amitie on their parte that shall forbid hit.

The voyages to Guynea and traffikinge in Mexico and in the verie places of the Spaniards possession hathe in the president of Hawkyns voyage bene defended by her Majestie and counsell as frendlie and lawfull doenges; much more this which is but passinge in the open sea by theim to places that they nether hold nor knowe. Besyde that not onelie trafyke but also possession, plantinge of people and habitation hathe bene alredie iudged lawfull for other nations in suche places as the Spaniardes or Portugals haue not alredie added to ther possession. As is proved by her Majesties most honorable and lawfull graunte to Thomas Stucle and his companie for terra Florida. Also the Ffrenche mens inhabitynge in Florida and Bresile, who albeit they acknowledge the Pope's authoritie in suche things as they grant to perteine to him, yet in this vniuersall and naturall right of traffique and temporall dominion they haue not holden them bounde by his power; but do expounde his donation to the Spaniardes and Portugals either as a matter not perteyninge to the Pope's authoritie, or at leste not byndinge any other persons princes or nations but the Spaniards or Portugals onelie, who onelie submitted themselues, and were parties to the Pope's judgment in that behalf.

7. The offre for performinge, &c.

The gentlemen that offre this enterprise shall at their charge and adventure of them selves and suche as shall willinglie ioyne themselves to their companie performe the whole voyage at their owen chardges and toward the same shall set forword iiij good ships, wherin they will emploie v. Mll., viz., 2,000ll. in shippinge and furniture, 2,000ll. in victails and necessaries for the companie, and one 1,000ll. in clothe and merchandise fytte for the people; wherwithe we truste hit wilbe atchived. And afterward as God shall prospere or sende occasion they will at their owen charge pursue the same.

8. Matters thought vpon, &c:

That her Majestie wilbe plesed to give her letters patentes to the authors and fellowship of this voyage in nature of a Corporacion.

That hit will please her Majestye in the same letters patentes to [put] wordes of her good allowance and lykinge ef their good meaninge [and] add suche franchize and priveledge as in this case is requisyte [and] in the lyke hathe bene graunted.

That hit will plese her Maiestie by the same letters patentes to stablishe some forme of gouernance and authoritie in some persons of the companie of this adventure so as by some regimente, obedience, quiet vnitie and order maie be preserved.

That hit will also plese her Majestie to give her Highnes speciall letters bothe of testimoniall that these adventures be her h[ighnes] subiectes enterprisinge this voyage with her favore and also her letters of commendations to all princes and peoples for their lovinge and favorable enterteinement and traffique.

That some speciall rules and orders suche as the companie shall thincke mete to be kepte emongste theim maie be confirmed by her Maiesties authorytie, and further supplie of lyke ordinances to be made from tyme to tyme by the gouerners of her Highnes, to be appointed for the direction of the voyage; for the agreement and obedience of the parties, for the contribution and charge, for the equallitie and partytion; and severallie orders to be appointed by her Majestie for the stablishinge of her Majesties domynion and amitie in suche places as the shall arrive vnto, where the same shalbe to be donne, and for the rate and trew answering of her Majesties portion. Theise thinges brieflie at the fyrste we haue thought mete to exhibite to your honore, who are hable therof to judge muche better than we are hable to shewe. Howbeit yf your l[ordship] shall not be satisfied in anythinge concerninge this matter, hit maie plese you to assigne the same, that w[e] maie attende upon you wythe suche resolucion as we can give therin.

[Reprinted from Collinson's *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*. London, 1867, 4, from Lansdowne MS, C., fol. 142-6.]

APPENDIX II

A DISCOURSE CONCERNINGE A STRAIGHTE TO BE DISCOVERED TOWARDE THE NORTHWESTE, passinge to Cathaia and the Orientall Indians, with a confutacion of their errour that thinke the discoverye therof to be moste conveniently attempted to the northe of Baccalaos.

[Extract]

. . . . Wherin this is apparaunte, that whatsoever Northerne Ilande shalbe discovered, there is no other commoditie to be expected from it then only sutche as our Moscovian adventurers bring from Ruscia, seinge they are bothe subiecte to the artike cirkell. But from any lande that shall in the other voiadge be founde, we are assured to expecte, golde, siluer, pearle, spice, riche grayne, and suche moste precious marchaundize, besides countreis of moste excellente temperature to be inhabited, if we thinke it necessary, and if we aryve to tymely to enter the said straighte of Anian, yet haue we Cathaia, and all the Orientall Indians open vnto vs for trafique, besides the waste occeane to the Southe, which cannot but be replenished with numbers of Ilandes, the leaste wherof mighte aboundantly suffice to furnishe our navie with the forenamed comodities. If gemmes, turkesses, rubies, and other precious juells sholde not be there fownde, wherof there cannot but be greate aboundance in somme of them. Considering that in the ilande of Ormus and St. Laurence lyinge in the same temperature and clymate there was of olde

tyme great plentie; and in this our age in these barbarous ilandes more likely to be founde, being not yet ever soughte and sifted by men of knowledge.

By this conference it maie apeare that as by the Southerne voyadge this Straighte of Anian may more sooner and withe farre lesse perill and exspence be discovered then by the Northerne; so dothe it also for comodities if this streighte were not founde, as farre excell the other as golde, siluer, and spice dothe waxe tarre and tallow, and in ease and safetie to the travailer as furre excedinge as the daie dothe the night, or the somer the winter; . . . .

[Reprinted from Collinson's *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*. London, 1867, II, from Lansdowne MS, C., No. 4.]

APPENDIX III

THE ANSWER OF THE SPANISH AMBASSADOUR

That Mr. Wilkes had the same day been with him and told him as much, as I had done and his answer to both is this.

That touching Drake: he hath Sundry information from the King his Counsell of the Indies and other good Proofes, that Drake hath spoiled his M: Subjectes: which he holdeth to be so certain, and assured, that it cannot be denied: The spoile is of great importance: a great quantity of bullion: and pearles taken in Mare del Sur, appertaining partly unto the King, and partly unto his Subjects.

In fight the said Drake hath cutt off the hands of some of his Majesties Subjects: Cutt the Cabells of some Shipps, being in Porto de Lima: and by the Custome bookes there, and the Certificats sent into Spain, and Depositions of divers vivavoce: it can be proved that he spoiled divers &c.

And that he is not altogether innocent: appeareth by the said Drakes doings six yeares past, which matter was wrapped up in the matter of the Arestes. And young Winters report of his spoiles don uppon the Port in gales in his going out, the Interest and Right whereof he is now com to the King his Majesty is sufficient to prove His Piracy, and to demand Justice.

Hereuppon he hath said, that in Honour and Justice her Majesty by League is bound to have him punished, and restitution made: as he thinketh her Majesty would: He knoweth her Majesty loveth not troubles: and it is very hard for the enriching of Drake, and some particulars to hazard the empoverishing of many. A Warr is easily begun, but not so soon ended. The Event is doubtfull &c. And yett some times warrs have been moved upon less occasions.

He hath not used any threatenings: but onely said, that if Justice bee not done, and restitution made, the King his Master shall have occasion to be aggrieved, But he may do further as it please him. He hath been rather threatned. But he should be sent home, with setting of her Majesties Shipps to the Sea: with France which seeketh amity here: But he is not moved with words. He hath not spoken evill, or charged any person about her Majesty he is not so foolish: Touching Irland: He saieth he told her Majesty 2 yeares sith of 22,000 Crownes sent with Shikeley, afterwards employed with James Fitz morris. Her Majesty told him of certain Spaniards landed in Ireland, and that they should be brought hither. Sith he hath heard nothing: nor thinketh that Julio: & taken in the Castle in Ireland, was a Spaniard: for it is no Spanish name.

If the Pope do attempt anything, he is to answer it. His Master hath nothing to do with it: In that he is in League with him, he cannot deny him passage. And

if they were Spaniards: it is not so much as has been don by the English in the Low Countries, the King his Masters Rebells being by Land and Sea aided by the English as he knoweth, who hath in the field served against them. Her Majesty may dispose of the treasure, may doe as she shall think good. Having demanded audience: being denied, and answered, that in reason he ought to have no access: he desired a Pasport: hath written to the King, attendeth an answer or then shall do as he shall be commanded. For this particular he hath don good offices: and born in some things which touched himself, and sorry to be here now, when as things grow to such termes. The salving of these matters require a wiser man, than he is.

If he would conceal the things: others would not: and it should be his discredit, if he did not certify things as they were:

The Injuries are great.

As Drakes:

Mr Knollys

A ship of Monsieur de la Mott.

The case of one Venero taken by a Ship having a Letter of Marc from the P. of Conde: rescued besides the Isle of Wight by William Winter the younger: and yet restored again to the said Pirats.

And divers other outrages don uppon the Coast of Spain by the English, which he could particularly recite if need were.

[Endorsed] The Spanish Ambassadours Answer
to the Speech delivered him by Mr.
Beale:

[Further endorsement in pencil] Oct 29 1580.

[State Papers. Spain. Vol. 1, f. 57.—In Walsingham's handwriting.]

APPENDIX IV

TOWCHING SIR FRANCIS DRAKES LATE VOYAGE . . . The Sowthe Sea beyond the Streight of Magalans althoughe the intereste of the Kinge of Spaine in thes Cuntries might be first called in question, yet leving the same in ballance for this tyme let us see of what valewe the proves exhibited againste the said Sir Francis Drake be of.

The said proves do stand in
- Relation.
- transumpt of the register.
- Depositions of certen witnesses.

To the which it maie be said and first to the relation that of it self it is of no kind of provs in Law being but the bare assertion of the parties pretendinge to be Dampnified or of som others without othe. And as to the transumpt of the register there can be no more inferred therof then that s[o mo] che was laden abourde the shippes spoiled as the same . . . . purport but that the same or so moche came t . . . . of Sir Francis Drake it cannot eyther . . . . probablie be inferred or evinced. Towchinge the depositions of the witnesses wherin the weight of the matter dothe consist it may be said that the same be of no validitie in Law for the causes folowinge.

First for that the said wittnesses were sworne and examined in the absence of the said Sir Francis not beinge called therto. And it is a Maxime or principle in Law that witnesses sworne and examined in absentia partis adversoe non vocate

nullius sunt momenti. Secondlie the depositions of the said witnesses being taken befor the Prior and Consulles of the merchantes trading the indias beinge both parties complayuntes and Judges thexaminacons are not vaylable in Law: because by a principle in learninge no man maie be a Judge . . . . witnes to him self. In re em sua nemo censoris Judg . . . . aut testis idoneus.

Thirdly admittinge the said wittnesses to be examined a Competent Judge & in order of Lawe yet they make no faith against the said Sir Francis Drake, because being for the most part marriners of the shippes pretended to be spoiled, they do depose against the said Sir Francis therbie exonerating them selves and chargeinge the said Sir Francis with the goodes laden wheras they them selves had the same or the most part therof. And a witnes Deposinge ad exonerationem sui non probat. The rest of the witnesses Do Depose onlie by report and hearsaie, whose sayinges make small or no provffe at all. testis de auditu in facto recenti deponens parum aut nihil probat.

This may suffice for awnswer to so moch as apperith by the abstract of the pretendid depositions, the sight of the originall it self or of the trew Copie therof maye miñster(?) farther Defence, wherto Sir Francis Drake requireth that he maie be admitted. Againe because he Doubteth not but that he hath good Defence by such Contrarie proffe as he is able to make to encounter thes depositions, he requireth that the benefytt therof be reservid unto him.

[Endorsed.] An abregement off relation and proves against Sir Francis Drake touching his doinges in the South sea.

[British Museum: Lansdowne MSS, Vol. 30, No. 10.]

[This answer in a different handwriting is attached in the Lansdowne manuscript to the "abridgement" which was printed by Mrs. Nuttall, but this part was omitted.]

APPENDIX V

FOR THE SECOND ENTERPRYSE

The same shipes with ther fornyture & victuall are a fytt proporcyon to go to the callycutt & ther to establyshe the trad of spyce in her majesties ryght as a party with the Kyng of Portyngall

That which dothe lode one of the great carakes wylbe suffycent to lade all this flote so as yf the trad be substancyally settlyd & determyned betwene her majestie any of the carakes that shalbe thought mette to come with our shipes.

any of the caraks that shalbe thought mette to come with our shipes.

Yf this enterpryse take effect then the next yere ther wylbe fyvetye sayle of shipes imployed for this trade bothe to utter our comodytyes & to serche the tarades [sic] of the malocos & the chyna to the infynyte comodytye of this realme.

It wylbe mete in this Jorney to settell a force in the terseres goyng owtward, for that homeward yf any shipe scatter, ther they are to be relyved & suckeryd.

It were allso mete that some quantytye of mete merchandyzes were caryed in this flote to callycutt, we shall have our lodynge the more wyllynly delyveryd & we shalbe the better wellcome.

the ylondes of capedeverd the cost of geney the myne St. tone & brasyll wylbe open for our men to traffyque unto as to callycutte.

[Endorsed] 22000li June 1581.

[State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 148, f. 47.]

APPENDIX VI

EDWARD FENTON'S COMMISSION

ELIZABETHE by the grace of god Queen of England France and Irland, Defender of the fayth etc to all and singuler o^{r} Justices of peace Mayres sherifs baylifs constables, headborowghes & to all other our offycers mynisters and subjects to whome thes presents shal come greeting. FORASMUCHE as we have appoynted out trusty & welbeloved servaunt Edward Fenton esquyre, to have ye rule & government of such ships, shippinge & vessel, whatsoever in his companye for ye viage w^{t} ye favour of almighty god, to be made into forreyn parties to the sowth-eastwards, as well for ye discovery of Cathiea & China, as all other lands & ylandes allredy discovered, & hearafter to be discovered by Edward Fenton. And to the intent he may be furnyshed of all & all maner of such necessaries as thereunto shal apperteyne, WEE THERFORE let you wyt y^{t} we have auctorized and appoynted, and by these presents doe geve ful power, and authorytie unto our sayd servaunt Edward fenton & to his suffycient deputye & deputyes, to presse levye and take up for us & in our name for owre only servyce in all place & places of this our realme of England and other our dominions, aswell wthin the franchyse and liberties as w^{t}out, all maner of shippe & shipps, vessell & vessels, mariners, soldiers, gunners, shipwrights, smeethes, carpenters, and all other needful artificers, workmen & labourers, suche as shal be thowght meet and expedient, by ye sayd Edward Fenton to Furnysh ye sayd ships shipping & vessels for the viage afforsayd, and also all maner of cariages, as well by sea as by land, or freshwaters, posthorse or horses for our reasonable wages and payment to be made in y^{t} behalf. AND FURTHER wee doe geve suffycient and absolute power and auctoritie unto ye sayd Edward Fenton his lawful deputye or deputyes, to receave and take, unto his or ther charge ordre, rule & government, aswell of the sayd ships, shipping and vessels, as allso his whole cumpany to be appoynted for his servyce, & them & every of them to order, rule, governe, correct and punyshe, by imprisonment & violent meanes, and by death, yf the greatnes of the fawlt, and necessytie shal so deserve, upon obstinate w^{t}standing suche orders and articles, as are delyvered by us, or by owr Owncell; And also them and every of them to conduct, employ, and lead by him self, his lawful deputye or deputyes, unto every such place or places, as to his or their discretion or discretiones, in ye sayd viage, to ye sayd land of Catheia, China, and other ylands, to be discovered by hym or them shal be thowght meet and expedient, for this oure sayd servyce, And so many of the sayd companyes of what nature and qualytie soever they bee, shall leave to enhabyte & dwell in and uppon the same land by hym discovered, according to such orders and articles, as in y^{t} behalf our sayd servaunt Edward Fenton shal dye as god forbyd, before the full accom-our sayd servuant Edward Fenton shal dye as god forbyd, before the full accom-plyshment of this our servyce, y^{t} then our wyll and pleasure is y^{t} such person or persons as shal be by us or our Owncel nominated and appoynted, to succeed in his place, shal have the full power and lyke auctorytie hearby, for ye execution and government, of this our servyce, as to ye sayd Edward Fenton in all respects, is now commytted by vertue of this our commyssion PROVIDED always y^{t} oure sayd servaunt, Edward Fenton or his deputye, or such as shal succeed hym as aforesayde, shall not by vertue hearof take up, any principall man y^{t} is very meete, and expedient for our own servyce in ye warrs, nor to presse levye or take, any

more parsons than such and so many as shal be necessarye for our said viage WHERFORE wee wyll and command, you and every of you by these presents, to be w^{t} all care & dilygens ayding helping & assysting to our sayd servaunt, and to his sayd deputye ye berer hearof, in ther due execution of this our commyssion as you and every of you shal tender our plesure and will answer to ye contrary at y^{r} peryll. IN WITNESSE HEAROF we have caused these our letters to be made patents, WITNESSE our self at Westmynster ye second day of Aprill yn ye fowr & twentyth yere of our regne.

per breve de p'vato sigillo. Powle.

[A Copy made by Richard Madox.] [British Museum. Otho MSS, E 8, fol. 127.]

APPENDIX VII

INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN BY THE HONOURABLE, THE LORDES OF THE COUNSELL, TO EDWARD FENTON ESQUIRE, for the order to be obserued in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

First you shall enter as captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernement of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinnesse.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200. able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which said number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea men and shal distribute them into euery vessel, as by aduise here before your going shall be thought meete: Prouided that you shall not receiue vnder your charge and gouernement, any disordered or mutinous person, but that vpon knowledge had, you shall remoue him before your departure hence, or by the way as soone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in their places.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take vnto you for assistances, captaine Hawkins, captaine Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, Euans, Randolph, Shaw, Mathew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in these instructions touching this seruice nowe in hand. And in all such matters, so handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke it conuenient that alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4. of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and so assented vnto, in the presence of your said Assistants. And in case that if such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaide Assistants be founde in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued vpon, shall rest to be put in execution in such sort, as you shall thinke most meetest, hauing the assent of any 4. of them as aforesaide. And if any of these Assistants shall die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General Captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then

the Generall with halfe the Assistants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall be brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolued on, and by whose consent, who dissented therefrom, and for what causes. In which booke he shall in the beginning of the note of euery such assemblie, set downe particulerly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the persons then present, and vpon what occasion the said consultation was appointed or holden, and shall haue to euery acte, the hands of the Generall, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other upon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to be exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this seruice, of what calling or condition, he or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt priuately or publikely, any treason, mutenie, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maiesties seruice in this voiage might thereby be ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iust proofe made of any such treason, mutenie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same shall be punished by you, or your Liuetenant, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the facte. Prouided alwayes, and it shall not be lawfull neither for you, nor for your Liuetenant to exceede the punishment of any person, by losse of life or limme, vnlesse the partie shall be iudged to haue deserued it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before expressed, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men, of the companie employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the obseruation of the forme of our Countrie lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offendour, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12. indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, vntil the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the maner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particuler and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item, you shall not remooue captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master captaine Luke Ward your Uiceadmirall, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councell, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause dulie prooued, and by consent of your Assistants, or of 4. of them at the least.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeede in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of Waxe, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, whereof one key is to be in the custodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the custodie of the Uiceadmirall, the same two coffers vpon any such casualtie of the

Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerliue, to be opened, and the partie therein named to succeed in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in euery respect, as they will answer to the contrarie. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such need, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vnlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in euery ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the prouisions whatsoever, and one copie therof vnder your hand, and under the hands of your Uiceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Erle of Leicester, and the other to the Gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to be done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the said shippes and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost.

9 Item, you shall vse all diligence possible to depart from Southhampton with your said ships and vessels, before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de bona Sperança, not passing by the streight of Magellan, either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your said Assistants, or 4. of them at the least.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward the fortie degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of the Moluccaes, for the better discouerie of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, and within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, wherof you shal do well to bee inquisitiue, as occasion in this sort may serue.

11 Item, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course as that your shippes and vessels loose not one another, but keepe company together both outward and homeward. And least they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shal not be amisse that you appoint to the captains and masters, certain places wherein you will stay certaine daies. And euery ship passing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ships to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape, a token to stand in sight with a writing lapped [wrapped?] in lead to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharply to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest imploied in this voiage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoile or take any thing from any of the Queens Maiesties friends or allies, or any christians, without paying iustly for the same, nor that you vse any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon, or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Item, we wil that you deale altogether in this voiage like good and honest merchants, traffiquing and exchanging ware for ware, with all curtesie to the nations you shall deale with, as wel Ethniks as others, and for that cause you shal instruct al those that shal go with you, that whensoeuer you or any of you shal happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they so behaue your selues towards the said people, as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courteousnesse, then to moue them to offence, or misliking, and especially you shal haue great care of the performance of your word, and promise to them.

14. Item we will, that by the aduise of your Assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fitte, you settle if you can, a beginning of a further trade to be had hereafter: and from such places doe bring ouer with you some fewe men, and women, if you may, and doe also leaue some one or two, or more, as to you, and your Assistants shall seeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue, and secrets of the Countries, hauing diligent care, that in deliuering, and taking of hostages, you deliuer not personages of more value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane persons vnder colour of men of value, as the Infidels doe for the most part vse. Prouided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shalbe expedient for good exchange of the wares presently caried with you.

15 Item you shall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no person of what calling soever he be, shall take vp, or keepe to himselfe and his priuate vse, any stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you shall come, but he the said person, so seased of such stone, pearle, golde, siluer, or other matter of commoditie, shall with all speede, or so soone as he can detect the same, and make deliuerie thereof to your selfe, or your Uice-admirall, or Lieuetenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfaiture of all the recompense he is to haue for his seruice in this voyage by share, or otherwise: and further to receiue such punishment, as to you, and your Assistants, or the more part of them shal seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence, it shal be thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants, or any other, shall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoeuer, which may be desired in Countries where they shall traffique, that it shal not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffique, or sell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the same shall be praysed by the most part of those that shalbe in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value, as it may bee reasonably worth in England, and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for those to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your selfe shall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the same ship another, wherein shalbe a iust accompt kept, as well of the marchandize caried hence, as of those you shall bring home. And as well at your setting foorth, as from time to time, as exchange shalbe made, you shall set your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order shall you see that the Captaine, and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture, shall vse in their shippe, and the other Captaines and Factors in eache other vessell.

18 Item you shall giue straight order to restraine, that none shal make any Cartes, or descriptions of the said voyage, but such as shalbe deputed by you the

Generall, which said Carts and descriptions, we thinke meete that you the Generall shall take into your hands, at your returne to this our coast of England, leauing with them no coppie, and to present them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any Cartes, or Mappes in those Countries.

19 Item you shall at your returne so direct your course, that all the shippes vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And wheresoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the shippes shall arriue, you shall giue special and straight order, that no person of what condition so euer he be, shall vnlade, or bring on land, or foorth of the vessels in which it came, any part or parcell of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the said vessels, vntill we being certified of your, or their arriuall, shall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfaitures expressed in the 15. article, against such as shall retayne any thing to their priuate vse, as in the saide article is further expressed.

20 Item, to the intent that all such persons, as shall goe with you in this voyage may better vnderstand, what they ought to doe, and what to auoyde, we thinke it requisite, that aswell out of these, as otherwise with the aduise of your Assistants, and masters of the ships, you shall cause some conuenient order to be set downe in writing for their better gouernment both at Sea, and land, if they shall happen to goe on land any where. And the same to be openly read, and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderstand how to behaue themselues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuse to pretend ignorance, and so to auoide such punishment, as it is requisite to haue ministred, for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happy and prosperous successe, you shall haue an especiall care to see that reuerence and respect be had to the ministers appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as apperteineth to their place and calling, and to see such good orders as by them shalbe set downe for reformation of life and maners, onely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be seuerely punished, and the ministers to remoue sometime from one vessell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fifth article, and the course of this voyage, shalbe wholy at your disposition, except in the course by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your passage by the Northward of 40. degrees in latitude, wherein you shall followe direction set downe in the 9. and 10. articles, as also in the displacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and other captaines, wherein you shal followe the order appointed in the 6. article: Prouided that we meane not by this article to derogate any thing to the authoritie of your Assistants established in the third article, or in any other article of these instructions.

23 Item, in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to be vpon the land, wee will that captaine Carlile shall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obseruation and accomplishment of these our instructions, and of all such other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this seruice committed to your charge.

[Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, etc., London, 1589, f. 644.]

APPENDIX VIII

THE PERSONNEL OF THE FENTON EXPEDITION

Herafter followeth the nomber of those that are appointed to goe in the shipps besyde the Marrinors.

In the Gallione

Mr Edward Fenton
Mr William Hawkins
Mr Cristofer Carlell
Mr Edmonde Parker } gentellmen.
Mr Madoxe a preacher
Mathewe Tailboise
Thomas Bayname
Evans. } marchantes
Mr Bannester a Surgeone
ij pursers
some good shipwrytts A Jewiler
A Garbler
A distillor of fresh water
A Smythe
A Showmaker
A Taylor
iij mewsitiones
An appoticarye
iiij men Mr Fenton
ij men Mr Carlell
ij men Mr Parker
j man Mr Madoxe
j man for the marchauntes
ij men Mr Bannester
And all the rest to be saylors to the nomber of lxxxviij
some in all for this shippe is cxx

In the Edwarde Bonaventure

Mr Lewke Warde
Mr Skevington } Gentillmen
Randall Shawe
Peter Jefferye } marchauntes
Lewis a surgeon
An appoticarye
A Jewiller
A Garbler
A Smythe
A shewmaker
A Taylor
ij mewsitiones
ij pursers

iij men Mr Warde
j man for the surgeon
j man for the marchauntes
And all the rest to be Saylors to the nomber of lx
Some in all for this shipp L . . . .
We moste humblye desyer your Lordeshippe to have . . . . the warrante for the free custome. and the In . . . . the Shippe Edwarde doth only staye for the . . . . this xxiiijth Marche 1581.

[British Museum. Otho MSS, E8, fol. 136.]

[RICHARD MADOX' LIST]

1 May 1582 OURE SECONDE waying at Cawshotte

On May day when we had taken yn as we supposed all our necessyties, and gote our whole cumpany aboorde, ye generall, Mr Alderman, Mr Towrson & Mr Caslyn, tooke agayn the last muster of them and left ye fleet thus ordered.

In the galleon Leicester	Edward fenton generawl William hawkins leiftenent Nicholas Parker capten at land Richard Madox minister Miles Evans, Mathew Tailboise } merchaunts Christopher Haul master abowt fourscore for sailers 24 necessarye men beside and a dozen of boies
In the Edward	Luke Ward viceadmerawl John Walker minister Rondol Shawe, Peter Jefrei } merchants Thomas Pearsie master abowt 54 for sailers 16 necessarie men beside and 8 boies
In the fraunces	John Drake capten (?) Markam M^{r} 14 saylers 2 boys
In the Elsabeth	Thoms Skevington Capten Rafe Crane Mr 12 saylers 3 boys

[British Museum. Otho MSS, E8, fol. 127.]

NOTES TO PART I

INTRODUCTION

1. Henry Harrisse in his *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian, his Son,* London, 1896, has presented an exhaustive study of the early voyages to the northwest in search of a passage. An interesting resumé of ideas on the subject current in the sixteenth century will be found in the first chapter of a recent work published by George Born Manhart at the press of the University of Pennsylvania, entitled, *The English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth.*

2. Although I have never found any contemporary document which contains any mention of this apocryphal voyage, nor for that matter of any in 1540, except the letter referred to in the following note, there are later indications that the story dated back to about that time, for instance, the legend on Michael Lok's map (see reproduction) about the Portuguese near the Northwest coast of America in that year.

3. *California Voyages, 1539-1541,* published by the writer in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 4, contains a translation of a deposition made by Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero in Guadalajara, December 13, 1574, in which he set forth this fact and said that Luis de Castilla came to Navidad on the west coast of Mexico at the time Francisco de Bolaños' expedition was ready to sail, and delivered to Bolaños an extract of this letter from the Emperor. It was originally intended that Diego Lopez de Zuñiga should command this expedition, and I have recently received a copy of the instructions for the voyage issued to him jointly by Antonio de Mendoza and Pedro de Alvarado. Neither this nor the supplement to it, issued just previous to sailing, has anything to say about hunting for a strait, or is there anything in the accounts of the voyage of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, which followed immediately, to show that he had any such instruction. Ladrillero was probably mistaken in the contents of the letter. He himself was obsessed on the subject of a Northwest Passage.

4. See note 22.

5. The origin of this fable which so far as known first appeared in this work is traced in *Quivira, a Mythical California City,* written by H. R. Wagner and published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, October, 1914, Vol. III, No. 3. Of course Coronado never saw the Pacific in that quarter, but the fable, having been repeated by Francisco Lopez de Gomara in 1552 in his *Conquista de Mexico,* passed into current literature, Gomara having failed in his book to point out clearly that Quivira was northeast of New Mexico.

6. The company, chartered in 1555 and known as the "Merchaunts Adventurers of England" or the "Muscovy Company" had been formed in 1552 according to a statement in the Act of Elizabeth of 1566, Hakluyt, Vol. III, 83. The act was originally printed by him in 1589, 394. The charter of 1555 also was printed in Vol. II, 304, and was originally printed by him in 1589, 304.

7. First issued in Alcalá, Spain, in 1516.

8. First issued in Basle in 1521.

9. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. XXXVI, No. 60.

10. Printed in Hakluyt, III, 83 *et seq.*

11. Birch MSS in the B. M., 4159, fol. 175, and the second in S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. XLIII, No. 23.

12. *Ibid.,* Vol. XLII, fol. 5 (1).

13. There are various reproductions of that part of his map which shows the west coast of North America, but the most available will be found in George Parker Winship's *Coronado Expedition,* Washington, 1896.

14. *La universale descrittione del Mondo,* Venice, 1562. According to Henri Vignaud, the only copy of this pamphlet known was in the Royal library at Turin, but the librarian now advises that it is not there.

15. Henri Vignaud in 1921 published in the *Journal de la Sociète des Americanistes de Paris, Une Ancienne Carte Inconnue De L'Amerique, la première où figure le futur Detroit de Behring.* The map described was supposed by him to have been made by Gastaldi to exemplify his new views as set forth in the pamphlet. Sir Leicester Harmsworth is the present owner of the map and very kindly sent me a photostat of it. While it may of course display Gastaldi's theories, the indications are that it was not engraved in 1564 or thereabouts, but later; in fact, it is very similar to a map published in 1574 by Paolo Forlani, who in the dedication says that it was taken from a manuscript sailing chart belonging to one Diego Hermano of Toledo.

16. This magnificent map, of which the one in the British Museum seems to be the only copy known, is entitled, *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Juxta Neo-Tericorum Traditiones Descriptio.* Abrah. Ortelio Anveripiano Auct. Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXIIII. It was published by Gerard de Jode. In spite of the statement that Ortelius was the author of it, it seems probable that it is, in the main, a copy of an Italian map.

17. Lansdowne MSS in B. M. C, folio 142-6. No. 20 of the *Colonial Calendar.* Printed in Admiral Richard Collinson's reprint of Best's *True Discourse,* London, 1867, and reprinted hereafter as Appendix I.

18. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. XCV, No. 63.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 64.

20. Printed in *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas,* Vol. II, No. 398. Four volumes of this work edited by Martin A. S. Hume were published between 1892 and 1899. Most if not all of the letters at Simancas were translated from the Spanish texts printed in Vols. 89-92 of the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España.* The *Calendar* will be referred to hereafter as the *Sp. Cal.* From various notices in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete's *Biblioteca Maritima,* it appears likely that some of the important letters at Simancas were not printed in the *Coleccion.*

21. Translated in *New Light on Drake.* A collection of documents relating to his voyage of circumnavigation, 1577-1580. Translated and edited by Zelia Nuttall, London, the Hakluyt Society, 1914. This work frequently quoted hereafter is referred to as "Nuttall." Butler's deposition, 5, Oxenham's, 8.

22. The resistance of these Indians to Spanish rule was brought on by the measures pursued by the Spaniards to force them to work the placer mines which were of exceeding richness. It is said that in Quilacoya near Concepcion, Pedro de Valdivia had twenty thousand Indians washing the sands as early as 1552. On the outskirts of Valdivia an Indian could wash out twenty-five pesos and more per day. Herrera, *Historia de las Indias,* Dec. VIII, Lib. VII, Caps. V and X.

23. Hakluyt, XI, 381. The expedition took place in 1589-1590 and was not able to get through the Strait of Magellan.

24. While as here stated the real motives of Chidley may have been plunder, this is by no means certain. In 1588 Thomas Cavendish returned to England from his voyage around the world and told some wonderful tales about the richness of the gold mines in Arauco. He reported that having made friends with the Indians of the Island of Santa Maria off the coast of that province, he gathered from their signs that if he would go over to the mainland he could obtain much gold. Hakluyt XI, 303. The fact that Chidley set out in August of the following year, combined with Magoth's express statement, is a very strong indication that his object was to get some of this gold.

25. There is little or no evidence that up to 1577 any English sea-rover had passed beyond the Equator in search of plunder.

26. Reprinted in Hakluyt with a facsimile of the map, VII, 158 *et seq.*, also by the Prince Society in Boston, 1903.

27. The *Typus Orbis Terrarum.*

28. The full account of the voyage has never been published, but I hope to do so some day. The most extended notice occurs in Juan de Grijalva's *Cronica de la Orden de N. P. S. Augustin en las provincias de la nueva españa,* Mexico, 1624. Alonso de Arellano, however, really was the one who discovered the route, anticipating Urdaneta by a few months.

29. See note 3.

30. In an opinion rendered in 1560, Urdaneta said that in New Spain there was a rumor that the French had discovered a passage to the South Sea between the country of the Bacallaos and that to the north in a latitude higher than 70°, but he did not mention the Portuguese fable.

31. In 1578 George Best, one of the captains in the third expedition, published in London an account of all three voyages with a map obviously based on that of Gilbert's except that Frobisher's Strait is laid down with some approach to accuracy, whereas on Gilbert's map the strait was only a matter of surmise. Admiral Richard Collinson in 1867 published a reprint of Best's work with copies of numerous documents in the Record Office relating to the expeditions.

32. The lists of subscribers to the second expedition will be found in Collinson, 107, and part of those to the third voyage, 167, 224 and 348.

33. Hatton's first venture was possibly in the Drake expedition, as his name does not appear as one of the subscribers to the Frobisher voyages.

34. Harrisse, *op. cit.*, 468, says it was written as early as 1566, but this is an error, as Gilbert himself refers in the book to hearing Salvaterra tell his story in 1568.

35. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 61.

36. In his *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha,* first published in London in 1615, although written much earlier. The full account is printed hereafter from Abraham Darcie's translation in English printed in 1625. It has usually been taken for granted that his whole account of Drake was from Drake himself, but this is a mistake, as demonstrated later in this book. All he obtained from him probably was the account of his early life given herewith.

37. *Historia General del Mundo,* 1606, *Tercera Parte,* 566 *et seq.* In this work will be found a large amount of information about Drake and his various expeditions, mostly from Spanish sources.

DRAKE'S AGE

38. Drake's contemporaries were not in agreement as to when he had been born, and as no later information has become available, his modern biographers display a similar lack of agreement.

It may be noticed that Camden, who said that he learned from Drake himself the story of his early life, did not say when he was born, nor did he mention his age in any part of his account, nor does John Stow's *Annales* of 1592. The edition of 1615, however, contains a story of the life and death of Sir Francis Drake, evidently written by the continuator, Edmond Howes. In this it is stated that Drake went to Guinea when he was twenty years of age, and when twenty-two, was made captain of the Judith at San Juan de Ulua. It is impossible to reconcile the two statements. The first reference is probably to John Hawkins' voyage to Guinea, which left in October, 1564 and returned in September, 1565. If Howes referred to this, Drake had been born some time between 1541 and 1543. Hawkins' second expedition left Plymouth in October, 1567, and arrived in San Juan de Ulua in September, 1568; therefore Drake had been born in 1545 or 1546. At the end of this same account, the statement is made on the margin that Drake was fifty-five years old when he died February 7, 1596, therefore, according to this he had been born in 1540 or 1541. The only other contemporary statement I have found is one made by Antonio de Herrera, *op. cit., Tercera Parte,* 598, that he was fifty-two years old when he died. From this we can reasonably presume that he was born in 1543, certainly not later than February 7, 1544.

His modern biographers, as a rule, have attempted to deduce his age from the dates at which his various portraits were engraved or painted. The difficulty with this method is in knowing exactly when the portraits were made. Lady Eliott-Drake, in her book, presented a portrait of Drake taken from a painting executed by Abram Janssens, in the possession of the family. Near the upper right hand corner, is the statement that he was fifty-three years old in 1594. Lady Eliott-Drake, who read the inscription on this portrait as fifty-two years, drew the natural conclusion that he was born either in 1541 or 1542. On the portrait of Drake, said to have been engraved by Judocus Hondius, and on several others obviously derived from it, his age is given as forty-three years. Unfortunately, we do not know when this portrait was engraved, nor do we know whether or not it was made from a painted one of Drake. If it was really engraved by Hondius, it may have been done when Drake was in Holland the second time, in 1594. On the contrary, it may have been done in 1586, the first time he went to Holland, by some other engraver as Hondius was then in England, or it might have been done in England by Hondius before he returned to Holland about 1592, or by someone else in England. On the portrait by N. Hilliard reproduced by George Barrow, his age is given as forty-two and the year as 1581, indicating, of course, that Drake had been born in 1538 or 1539. If Drake was forty-two in 1581, then that which gives his age as forty-three must have been painted or engraved in 1582. This I consider very unlikely and conclude that the inscription on the Hilliard portrait is in error in the year.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that Drake himself did not know when he had been born, and that he made different statements at different times, or else said nothing about it, leaving the painters or engravers to guess at his age. John Drake evidently did not know how old Drake was (in fact he did not know how old he was himself), nor did Silva, who was on very friendly relations with Drake for over a year. If it was the case that Drake himself did not know his own age, it would now be, of course, impossible to fix the date of his birth, even approximately, any more than to say that it must have been somewhere between 1541 and 1545.

39. *Op. cit.* in the same chapter.

40. Almost all of the preceding account is from Camden, *op. cit.*

41. There is no certainty that Drake accompanied this expedition, but this seems more likely than that the Hawkins expedition he referred to was that of 1568. In *Sir Francis Drake Revived* there is a statement that in 1565 or 1566 he engaged in a voyage to the West Indies with Captain Lovel and received much wrong from the Spaniards at Rio de Hacha. If this is correct, Drake's statement must have referred to the first Hawkins expedition.

42. The story of this is too long to repeat here, but as Drake frequently referred to it, some brief statement about it is necessary. Hawkins had obtained a cargo of slaves in Guinea and had taken them to the West Indies to sell. Partly by way of clandestine trading with the Spaniards and partly by use of force he had disposed of most of them for a large sum of money, chiefly gold. While on his return voyage when off the west coast of Cuba, his squadron encountered a hurricane which left it in a badly battered condition. In a desperate situation, Hawkins took refuge in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua, that is, the present Vera Cruz, September 16, 1568, and sent a message to Mexico to request permission to trade and make repairs to his ships. The next day the *flota* of thirteen Spanish ships appeared in sight, coming from Spain, bringing the new Viceroy, Martin Enriquez. What followed has only become known through Hawkins' own statements and some of

his men and a few references in Spanish authors, the original Spanish documents never having been published. Some kind of treaty was arrived at between Hawkins and the Viceroy by which Hawkins' previous requests were granted and he was allowed to remain in possession of the island in the harbor which he had fortified. The Spaniards only had two armed vessels but they had plenty of men and arranged them in such a way as to be ready for trouble. This broke out suddenly at noon a few days later, just how will probably never be definitely known, but Hawkins and his men claimed that Enriquez had made plans to attack him and gave an agreed on signal, Lujan, the commander of the *flota,* probably thinking he was strong enough to capture Hawkins' fleet. The fact seems to be that the English fired first and riddled the two armed vessels of the *flota* before they could fire a shot. After a long desperate conflict, in which both these vessels were destroyed or rendered useless, and Hawkins had lost several of his, he made his escape from the harbor with the *Minion* carrying large numbers of the crews of the other ships, the *Judith,* of which Drake was the commander, having previously left port. The following night the *Judith* parted company from the *Minion* and Drake abandoned Hawkins and returned to England. Corbett in Vol. I has an interesting chapter on this episode, marred in Appendix C by a very labored defense of Drake for deserting Hawkins. A short *relacion,* apparently written by some Spaniard present on the occasion, is translated by Corbett in Appendix B to his first volume. There is also a long account in Herrera's *Historia General del Mundo, Primera Parte,* Lib. XV, Cap. XVIII.

43. *A true declaration of the troublesome Voyage of Mr. John Hawkins . . . . 1567 and 1568,* London, 1569. Reprinted in Hakluyt, Vol. X.

44. Herrera, *op. cit.,* "Francis Drake did not wait for him as John Hawkins had ordered him to do, but went to England and gave out the news that Hawkins had been lost. He ran off with the gold which he carried, saying that he had divided it among the sailors. This was his beginning. Although the Queen kept him prisoner for three months, she pardoned him at his entreaties." (Trans.)

45. Camden, *op. cit.*

46. This town, more commonly known as Cruzes, was on the headwaters of the Chagres River, and later it became customary to unload the mule trains from Panama at this point and ship the silver down the river by boat. The statement that Drake burned the warehouse there is derived from Spanish sources, which also state that he killed six or seven men. *A Declaration of The Trve Cavses, ...* printed on page 308.

47. Although le Testu had more than twice as many men as Drake, Corbett, Vol. I, 184, expresses himself in the following manner: "Compassion for the Huguenots had not a little to do with Drake's complaisance, for from Captain Tetû he learnt the first notice of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew."

48. Drake had given secret orders to Tom Moone to bore some holes in her bottom so that the loss of the vessel would appear due to natural causes. The trick worked and the *Swan* sank.

49. This work was printed in London in 1626, and in reality the W. E. forms a continuation of it, the two together containing a history of Drake's exploits up to 1580. There is a similarity in the treatment of the subject in both works which indicates that the same man compiled them. Just how much Drake himself had to do with the original text from which the first was taken is not known, but as stated in the text, he must in the main have furnished the facts, even if he was not responsible for the style.

50. Alonso de Santa Cruz, in his opinion rendered October 8, 1566, to the Council of the Indies, regarding the position of the Philippines and the Moluccas, in respect to the line of demarcation, gives some very interesting information about this famous Bull and the way it came to be issued. He traces the origin of it back to 1480, when a somewhat similar arrangement was made, designed to settle some dispute between the Portuguese and the Spaniards about some settlements on the coast of Africa. A line was then drawn to separate the territories of the two powers, and this furnished a precedent for the action of Alexander VI, which he says was not intended to divide the world between the Spaniards and Portuguese, but simply to fix a dividing line, to the west of which the Spaniards could discover and to the east of which the Portuguese could discover. A. G. I., 1-2-2-16, No. 12.

CHAPTER I

1. In this connection, it may not be amiss to refer to a passage in Corbett's work, Vol. I, 216, in which he states that the Spaniards had given up the route by the Strait of Magellan as impracticable and that the whole South Sea trade was carried on overland across the Isthmus of Panama. There is a misapprehension in this statement, as so far as known the Spaniards had never attempted to open up the Strait of Magellan as a passage to Peru as a trade route, but only as a passage to the Philippines. Corbett founded his opinion, apparently, on Herrera's mis-statement that such was the object of the expedition of the Bishop of Plasencia. There is ample documentary

evidence to prove that this expedition had no such object. The reasons for carrying on trade to Peru over the Isthmus of Panama were very simple, and the trade continued on that route for over two hundred years more, long after the Strait had been navigated many times and the passage around Cape Horn discovered. The nature of the trade, which consisted almost entirely on the one hand of silver and gold, and on the other, of goods of comparatively high value, made this advisable. Time was the chief element in the operation, the silver from Peru being taken to Spain over the Isthmus in two or three months, whereas it would have required six or eight to make the voyage through the Strait or later around Cape Horn, involving increased risk and consequently greatly increased insurance and loss of interest.

2. This was effected by Pieter P. Heyn in the Bay of Matanzas, on the north coast of Cuba, in 1628, and was the only time that the Spanish ever lost their *flota* in spite of the numberless attempts which were made to capture it by the English and Dutch.

3. This little work is supposed to have been written by Robert Burton and appears to have been first issued in 1687. It is almost entirely made up from *Sir Francis Drake Revived* and the *World Encompassed*. I do not know exactly how many editions of it have been published, but the fifteenth appeared in 1756 and others appeared in 1762 and later.

4. The quotation is from the title page of *Sir Francis Drake Revived*, first issued in 1626.

5. *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, London, 1803-1817, five volumes. Burney had accompanied Cook on his last two expeditions to the Pacific and thus became interested in the discoveries in that ocean. In the first volume will be found his account of Drake's voyage around the world, which he attempted to reconstruct and render coherent from the various available texts. In writing his story of the expedition, he used the Fletcher manuscript, the accounts of John Stow and Camden, and those published by Hakluyt, and when these failed him, the *World Encompassed*, not noticing that a large part of the Cliffe account was embodied verbatim in the last named work. Nevertheless, he was aware that this contains many statements of a suspicious character. His method of handling some passages in it was rather interesting, even if somewhat inconsistent. In spite of the ridiculous character of the alleged investment of the sovereignty of California in Drake by the natives, he says it must be so because the book says so, but he was not able to swallow the story of the Chinaman at Ternate, although that also is in the book. Burney identified the Islands of Thieves with those now known as the Pelew group, but generally he does not attempt to identify any of the islands in the archipelago except such as are well known. He was certain that Drake had discovered Cape Horn and that he had reached as far north as 48°. When Drake returned south, he thought he had anchored in the present Bay of San Francisco. Altogether, he found the published accounts of the voyage erroneous and defective in geographical particulars, but accounted for this by adding that none of them had been written by Drake himself.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 304.

7. *Ibid.*, 366.

8. First edition, London, 1898. My quotations are from the second edition of the following year, which is referred to in this work as "Corbett."

9. Corbett, Vol. I, vii.

10. *Ibid.*, 263.

11. At the end of his chapter, Corbett added some remarks about Frobisher's expeditions in which he states that Frobisher had been dreaming for fifteen years about occupying the shores of the Northwest Passage with an English colony, and intimates that, as one of its objects, Drake's voyage was directed to the same end. Corbett gave no authority for this statement about Frobisher, but all the documents concerning his expeditions so far found plainly indicate that he was only trying to reach the East through the Northwest Passage for the purposes of trade, and no doubt the object of Drake's expedition was the same, except that it was to go through the Strait of Magellan, a known passage, or by the Cape of Good Hope.

12. *Ibid.*, 281. Corbett's reasoning is not clear. There is nothing to be found anywhere to indicate that Drake believed in any *practicable* northern passage, or ever tried to find one.

13. *Ibid.*, 298.

14. *Ibid.*, 294.

15. Nuttall, lvi.

16. *Ibid.*, xxxvii.

17. *Ibid.*, various places.

18. See page 304.

19. See page 321.

20. See page 312.

21. See page 326. All these statements are to one effect, the last three writers having possibly taken Stow for their authority. The fact, of course, is that when Drake was on the Northwest

coast, he did not find any Northwest Passage nor any sign of one, and I think that is all that the statements really amount to. Drake himself was very much given to boasting and it is not impossible, even very probable, that after his return, in order to glorify his achievements, he may easily have boasted that he had gone to the Northwest coast to look for the Northwest Passage, and it is not likely that any of his companions would have denied it.

22. W. E., 111. There is a similar expression on page 118. The compiler also interpolated a somewhat similar statement at the beginning of his account of the voyage in the Pacific, after leaving the Strait: "Now when our generall perceiued that the nipping cold, vnder so cruell and frowning a winter, had empaired the health of some of his men, hee meant to haue made the more hast againe toward the line, and not to saile any farther towards the pole Antartick, lest being farther from the Sunne, and neerer the cold, we might happily be ouertaken with some greater danger of sicknesse."

23. See Appendix VII. It seems to me that the paragraph would be clearer if a period was placed after "Malucos."

24. Lady Eliott-Drake, Vol. I, 31.

25. Nuttall, by reference to the declaration made by John Winter, quoted in her book, 386.

26. Corbett, I, 244. A large part of the chapter on "Drake and the War Party' is devoted to Thomas Doughty for the purpose of laying a foundation for his theory of Doughty's actions while on the expedition. I cannot see that he has established any connection whatever between Doughty and Lord Burghley that would warrant such a conclusion. The argument is specious but unconvincing.

27. It is possible that the "plot" showed the route outward by the Cape of Good Hope. See note 9 of Chapter III.

28. W. E., 79.

29. His intention at this time is also clearly demonstrated by the statement about it in the "Famous Voyage," see page 273, his efforts to induce Colchero to pilot him there and the information that Lanberd obtained from a Flemish soldier on board the *Golden Hind*. See Lanberd's deposition, page 371.

30. The one given to Anton is translated in Nuttall, 16, also somewhat differently in Hakluyt, XI, 147. Mrs. Nuttall was of the opinion that the object of this letter was to send news of his own safety and his determination to carry out the original plan of his voyage in a roundabout method, evidently the same as here suggested. It later appears that her idea of the original plan was to found an agricultural colony on the Northwest coast of America.

31. See the deposition of Anton, printed hereafter.

32. Printed hereafter as Appendix VI. I also have a copy of a similar commission issued toW. Hawkins in 1582, for an expedition under the auspices of the "Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of New Trades." S. P. Dom. Eliz., 142, folio 14.

33. As a matter of fact, although the news of the capture of the *Cacafuego* and its cargo of gold and silver reached London September 3, 1579, it was only by private messages from Seville. The Spanish King took no official notice of the matter and did not communicate any of the information contained in the depositions of Drake's prisoners to which I have referred. The English merchants trading with Spain, however, went to the Council and asked some assurance that their ships to Spain would not be seized in retaliation. Mendoza, Sp. Cal. II, No. 599, wrote that the Council replied that Drake had gone on a voyage of discovery and if he had plundered, it was not their fault. This answer does not necessarily imply that the Queen had disavowed Drake, but it looks that way, and no doubt Philip so construed it. Mendoza always referred to Drake as a pirate, evincing a belief either real or pretended that his enterprises had not received the previous sanction of his sovereign, and I connot find that he ever charged the Queen with complicity in his attacks on the Spaniards while on this expedition.

34. Nuttall, 390.

35. Printed in Hakluyt, XI, 202.

36. From a study of the illuminating documents about the organization of the Fenton expedition, it is apparent that the merchants who were interested in these expeditions did not subscribe cash, but furnished goods for trade. These were no doubt estimated at their value in the same way, for example, as the ship which Francis Drake contributed to that expedition as his share. Besides Saracold and Audley it is not unlikely that Worrall, whom Drake berated so soundly on board the *Elizabeth* after the execution of Doughty, was also a merchant.

37. Printed hereafter as Appendices I and II.

38. See notes 17-19 to the Introduction.

CHAPTER II

1. Sp. Cal., Vol. II, No. 410.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 416.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 443.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 464.
5. March 31, 1578, Mendoza wrote that he had heard that some six weeks before Christmas, Drake had left with four or five ships for Nombre de Dios and the Land of *"Camanoñes."* *Ibid.*, No. 484. What he wrote no doubt was *Camarrones*, that is, the land of the revolted Negro slaves near Nombre de Dios, usually called Vallano. These Negroes, referred to by the Spaniards as Cimarrones or "Wild Ones" and as Maroons by English writers, had fled from the Spanish settlements in considerable numbers in 1554 and joined the unsubdued natives in the forest. They were finally reduced to obedience in 1577. Herrera, *Historia General del Mundo, Primero Parte*, 317.
6. Nuttall, 35. *Versos* were small cannon.
7. See page 365.
8. Deposition in A. G. M. *"Navio frances,"* distinctly "French ship," not of "French pattern."
9. *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea, 1622.* Reprinted in Purchas, Vol. XVII. The references hereafter are to this reprint. For Hawkins' device, see page 116.
10. W. E., 177.
11. See Hawkins' remarks on this subject. Purchas, XVII, 166.
12. According to Zárate, Drake told him about holding councils on board and claimed that although he listened to what was said he pursued his own way regardless of their opinions. See page 376.
13. See page 349. He said he was a retainer of the Queen and had died off the coast of Chile.
14. There is no doubt that the surgeon had died before Drake reached the Island of Mocha and as no other gentleman than Winterhey, except the one referred to in the foregoing note is recorded in any of the narratives as having previously died, I conclude that Winterhey was the surgeon.
15. Silva. See page 347.
16. See page 80 and note 26 to Chapter IX and notes 10 and 25 to Chapter X.
17. Some extracts were printed by Thomas Fuller in his *Holy and Profane State.* See page 327.
18. At Guatulco, one Morera, a pilot was recognized. See Chapter VII for an account of him.
19. See Chapter I, where some account of them is given.
20. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 150, fol. 96.
21. *Op. cit.*, 57 and 129.
22. *Ibid.*, 78.
23. Purchas, II, 396.
24. See note 20.
25. See note 20.
26. See note 36, page 366, to the account of Anton.
27. See page 376.
28. See page 401 for extracts from his letter.
29. One, the so-called epistle of Maximilianus, printed in Cologne in 1523, and the other, Pigafetta's narrative, printed in Paris in 1525.
30. By Francisco Pizarro.
31. According to Antonio de Herrera in his *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Dec. VII, Lib. VII, Cap. IX. See note 5, Chapter IV. This ship stopped at the port of Carnero on the coast of Chile near the Island of Mocha, where the Indians gave the crew a sheep. From there she went to Arequipa. According to Sir Clements R. Markham, Pedro de Valdivia, while engaged in the conquest of Chile, heard from Valparaiso that Camargo had stopped there, so it seems likely that the year was 1541. *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan*, London, 1911, 159.
32. Printed in the *Anuario Hidrografico de Chile* in 1880, in Vol. VI, 453-525, edited by Ramon Guerrero Vergara, also by P. Pastells, in *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes*, Madrid, 1920.
33. *Geografia y Descripcion Universal de las Indias*, first printed in Madrid in 1894. Writing about 1574, he states that the direction of the coast from Valdivia to San Andres was southwest, then south to Cape San Roman, then southeast to the Port of Hernan Gallego, thence southwest and south to Bahia de los Reyes in 49° 40′. From there apparently to the Strait the trend was to the south. In another place, speaking generally, he says that the coast trended a hundred leagues or more west-southwest to Cape San Andres, and then south to the Strait. Pages 541-544.
34. Antonio de Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1601, 62, and the general map of America which shows the Strait on page 2. An inspection of the general map will show

that the coast of Chile has nearly its true trend. Dr. F. C. Wieder has recently reproduced in his *Monumenta Cartographica* a map from a manuscript in Holland showing the Strait of Magellan and the coast of South America and New Spain as far north as the lower end of the Peninsula of California. The map shows some later additions of names given by Cavendish on his first voyage. It was probably copied from one which he captured on that voyage, as it is distinctly a Spanish map which must have been made subsequent to the voyage of Fernandez de Ladrillero, although it shows few of his names. The general trend of the coast is markedly correct. A small reproduction of the southern portion is given to illustrate this point.

35. *Geographie de Moyen Age,* Brussels, 1852. The map is in Vol. 1.

36. A reproduction of the gores of this globe has recently been published by Dr. F. C. Wieder in his *Monumenta Cartographica.* The elbow is very small, however, the most noticeable feature being the northwest trend of the coast from the Strait for nearly ten degrees.

37. This famous map, of which only two or three copies are known, has been reproduced in facsimile from that in the Municipal Library of Breslau by the Geographical Society of Berlin. There is nothing to show that Mercator drew this part of his map from any Spanish or Portuguese source. Certainly I have not yet discovered this peculiarity on any Spanish, Portuguese or Italian map made before his in 1569. The Portuguese maps generally show a greater trend toward the northwest from the western end of the Strait than those of the Italians. The reason for this is explained by Lopez de Velasco, on page 541 of his work, who said it was due to an error of the cartographers in placing the Strait too far to the east of the Isthmus of Panama. Their ideas are well illustrated in the manuscript maps of Bartolomeo Velho of 1562 and Domingos Teixeira of 1573 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. There is another manuscript map on somewhat similar lines in the British Museum made in 1558 by Diego de Homem, but the trend towards the west is still more marked.

38. A number of editions of this had been issued before Drake sailed in November, 1577.

39. This map seems to have been constructed from an Italian model, which in turn had been made, as far as America is concerned, from some Spanish map or Spanish information of about 1550. The trend of the south Chilean coast from the Strait for nearly fifteen degrees is nearly north and for some twenty degrees more slightly west of north. This delineation of the coast is much more correct that that on the map of Diego de Homem, which in many other respects it resembles. See reproduction of the Ortelius map.

40. From my manuscript copy, slightly different from that published in the W. E., 78.

41. For an explanation of this distortion see the writer's article on Quivira in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, Vol. III, 262.

42. W. E., 115.

43. The simple truth no doubt is that Drake was off in his reckoning, nothing unusual in those days on long voyages in seas in which the currents were unknown.

44. See page 348.

45. See note 32 page 365. A *cruzado* was a Portuguese coin equal in value in the sixteenth century to about a Spanish ducat, that is, about six shillings.

46. Nuttall, 405, gives a translation of the memorandum of August 31, 1579. The original is published in Vol. 94, 469, of the *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España.* The *vara* was not a "rod" as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, but only measures thirty-three inches.

47. Nuttall, Introduction, xxiii. What the original Spanish authority for this ridiculous statement may be I do not know, but probably Mrs. Nuttall referred to the *Armada Española* of Cesareo Fernandez Duro, Madrid, 1896, *Tomo II,* 340, where he stated that the fact seemed very certain, and quoted apparently for his authority Alonso de Zamora's *Historia de la Provincia del Nuevo Reino de Granada,* 1701. How the Spaniards knew more about Drake than he did himself or his fellow countrymen is a mystery. They built up a myth about him long before the English did. Lady Jane Dormer, whose page he is said to have been, was married to Count Feria and went to Spain in 1559. If Drake had gone with her as page he certainly would have mentioned that fact to Camden. Not a single English contemporary alludes to the alleged incident.

48. What appears to be the original, dated 1571, and signed by him, is in the Royal Library in Lisbon. Another, apparently of about 1580, is in the Royal Library in Munich, and was reproduced by Friedrich Kunstmann in the atlas of his *die Entdeckung Amerikas,* Munich, 1859. There is still another in the Huntington Library in San Gabriel, California.

49. In an atlas of manuscript maps formerly belonging to Vicomte de Santarem which has now disappeared. Dr. J. G. Kohl copied from it the maps of California, and his sketch is preserved in the Library of Congress.

50. I have several copies of sixteenth century Portuguese maps of the Indian Archipelago, all very inaccurate.

51. See page 347.

52. See page 348.

CHAPTER III

The material for this chapter will be found in the Cliffe account, Silva's log and his various depositions for the principal facts, and in the Cooke account and Fletcher's narrative for the troubles between Doughty and Drake and the picturesque episodes. No attempt is made to cite a reference to these for every statement made. There is no dispute about most of them.

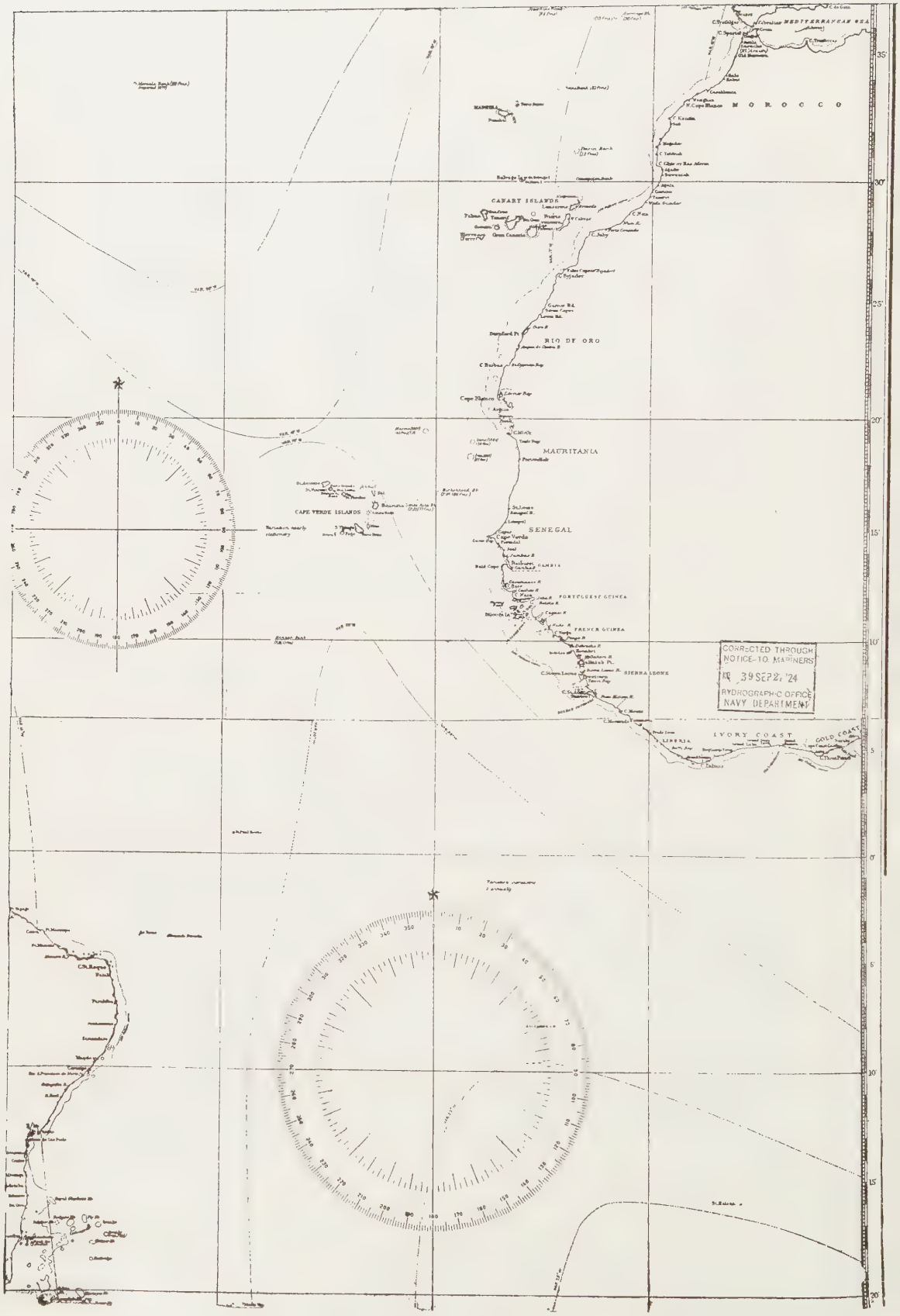
The account of the tragedy at Port San Julian is derived in the main from the account of John Cooke. In spite of opinions frequently advanced that his story is untrustworthy because it evinces some hostility to Drake, no one who takes the trouble to read it in full can avoid coming to the same conclusion as Vaux, the editor of the Hakluyt Society edition of the *World Encompassed*, that it is sincere. No one knows anything about Cooke beyond the fact that he returned on the *Elizabeth* with Winter, but he could hardly have been a common sailor as such an individual would never have taken the trouble to go so much into particulars. On the contrary, it does not seem that he was a member of the council as he did not seem to know what passed between the leaders on such occasions. The Doughty episode in the *World Encompassed* appears in such an incredible light as to be positively ridiculous and no attention is paid to it in this chapter. It bears every evidence of having been concocted at the time the book was published as part of the plan to make a hero out of Drake. No other account was available for a long time and there are still people who believe it. Fletcher's account of the affair is as follows:

This bloudy Tragedie being ended another more greivious ensueth I call it more grevious because it was among ourselves begun contrived & ended for now Thomas Doubty our country man is called in question not by Giants but by Christians even ourselves the Originall of dislike against him you may Read in the storye of the Ilands of Cape Verde upon the coast of Affrick at the takeing the Portugall prise & by whom he was accused & for what but now more dangerous matters & of greater weight is layed to his charge & that by the same persons namely for words spoken by him to them being in Englond in the Generalls Garden in Plimouth Long before our departure thence which had been their partes & dutyes to have discovred then at that tyme & not to have concealed them for a tyme & place not so fitting but how trew it was wherewith they charged him upon their Oathes I know not but he utterly denyed it upon his salvation at the houre of communicating the Sacrament of the body & blood of Christ & at the houre & Moment of his death affirmeing that he was inocent of such things whereof he was accused Judged & sufferd death for. Oft whom I must needs testifye the truth for the good things of God I found in him in the tyme we were conversant & especially in the tyme of his affliction & trouble till he yeilded up the spirit to God I doubt not to immortality. he feared God he loved his word & was allwayes desireous to Eddify others & confirme himself in the faith of Christ for his quallityes in a man of his tyme they were rare & his gifts verry excellent for his age a sweet Orator a Pregnant Philosopher a good gift for the Greeke tongue & a Reasonable tast of Hebrew a Sufficint Secretary to a Noble Personage of great Place, & in Ireland an aproved soldier & not behind many in the Study of the law for his tyme! & that which is a sufficient argument to prove a good Christian, & of all other things a most manifest witnes of a child of God to men. that he was delighted in the study hearing & practise of the word of God. daily exercising himselfe therein by reading meditateing to himselfe conferring with others instructing of the ignorant as if he had ben a minister of Christ wherein he profitted so much that long before his death he seemed to be mortefyed & to be ravished with the desire of Gods Kingdom, yea to be dissolved & to be with christ in whose death so many vertues were cutt ofe as dropps of blood were shedd. who being dead was buried neare the sepulcher of those which went before him upon whose graves I sett up a stone whereon I engraved their names. the day of their burialls the month & the yeare for a monument to them which shall fall with that place in tyme to come.

1. While there he dismissed one James Sydye, who it seems had been in charge of provisioning the ships and stowing the cargo. No reason for this action appears.

2. Lat. 33° 35′.

3. Corbett calls them *canteras*, but I cannot find the word, and conclude it is a corruption of some Spanish term.


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
CANARY ISLANDS
RIO DE ORO
MAURITANIA
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
CORRECTED THROUGH NOTICE TO MARINERS
SEP 22, '24
HYDROGRAPHIC OFFICE
NAVY DEPARTMENT

4. Lat. 22° 15′.

5. Lat. 20° 47′.

6. Lat. 15°.

7. This description probably applies more accurately to Mt. Aetna, which Fletcher says he had seen, than to the one on Fogo.

8. John Drake, Nuttall, 36, said not two men in the fleet knew the destination, not even himself. Mendoza, writing March 31, 1578, said the ships were fitted out under the pretense that they were going to Alexandria for currants. Sp. Cal. 11, No. 484.

9. That he went to Brazil and the Rio de la Plata is no proof to the contrary, as expeditions intending to pass the Cape of Good Hope frequently went that way, both before and after this. At certain seasons of the year it was impossible to sail directly to the Cape on account of the southeast trades, so a long tack had to be made to the southwest. If the original intention had been to proceed by the Strait of Magellan, Drake certainly left at the wrong time of the year, as he could not possibly reach there before the beginning of winter. As it was, he was obliged to wait nearly two months at Port San Julian before attempting the passage, to the great detriment of the health and spirits of his men.

10. Nuttall, 387.

11. *Ibid.*, 386 *et seq.*

12. In his log. Nuttall, 278.

13. In the Harleian MSS, 6221, folio 7, is a paper entitled *The sense of Thomas Doughty his oration upon the Pelican when he came from the prize to the Pelican to remain, the Company being called by the boatswain together.* This paper is in the same volume with some other documents relating to Doughty, printed in Appendix 1 to the *World Encompassed.* It is printed in Corbett, Vol. 1, 223. He seemed to attach some importance to it, but in this I cannot agree with him.

14. Spanish mackerel.

15. Silva's log. Nuttall, 277.

16. *Ibid.*, 278.

17. W. E., 35.

18. The matter is obscure and the only place I feel justified in identifying positively is Montevideo, which fits the description very well.

19. Whether they were sea-lions or seals I do not know, and consequently have called them always by the same name wherever mentioned. The Spaniards called all seals except the sea-otter *lobos de mar*, which I always translate as seals.

20. See an account of this later in this chapter.

21. It is impossible to say whether the entries in Silva's log from this date to June 19 are for the *Mary* or the *Pelican.*

22. This is only a surmise as I have not been able to find any earlier account of this Patagonian ostrich. Although the W. E. says they were found all along this coast, only one of the earlier visitors there mentions them and not even Cavendish or the Dutch navigators who stopped at Port Desire later in the century. Antonio Pigafetta on page 38 of the French edition of his manuscript account of the Magellan expedition published in Paris, 1798, mentions the *autruches*, but does not describe them. The accounts published in 1523 and 1525 make no mention of them, nor did Father Juan de Areyçaga, referred to in note 25. As Fletcher gives no picture of the bird, the probability is that he never saw one, or any representation of one. The picture was not omitted from the manuscript copy of Conyers by carelessness, but did not exist in the original. The Patagonian ostrich, or as sometimes called, the American ostrich, was named *rhea* in 1752, and is now usually so known. It is different from the African ostrich, which, however, it much resembles. Charles Darwin found these birds at Port Desire, just where Drake is supposed to have seen them, but they turned out to be of a different species from those further north which had been previously known, called the *rhea Americana.* Those he discovered received the name *rhea Darwini* and one of these was no doubt that described by Fletcher if he saw any.

23. "Being landed upon the maine for that purpose the inhabitants shewed themselves in divers companyes upon severall hills not farr from us with leapeing, danceing, & great noyes. & cryes with voices like the bulls of Basan. expecting that wee should answer them with the lyke & doe as they did to satisfie them as neere as wee could by imitateing their Gestures that wee were freinds & not enemyes which notwithstanding wee did accordingly yt would they have non of our company tell such tyme they were waranted by Oracle from their God Settaboth that is the Divell whom they name their great God wherefore the company which were next unto us haveing with them upon the hill their preist or prophet: did presently frame themselves together to do such worship & offer such sacrifices as were opointed to them to obtaine an Answere from him by their prophet what they should doe. who standing in a long ranck one by one like beggars for a doale the prophet did walke up & downe before them from end to end of the ranke with many strange gestures. & speakeing to

BUENOS AIRES
Buenos Aires
Port La Plata
Colonia
Montevideo
Magdalena
Piedras Pt
Medano Pt
Numerous Lagoons
Lt. Gp. Fl. 15s
Volcan Mts
Plains
C. Corrientes
Punta Lara
Trinidad I.
Wood I.
Verde Pen.
Brighton In.
Laberinto Pt
Bahia Blanca
RINCON
Pelagrano
Tejada Pt
Agnicum Pt
Vanhedrens Pt
Sundays Rock
Black Pt
Level
Andres Pt
Hermengo Pt
VAR. 9°E
Variation decreasing 9' annually
PLATA RIVER
La Plata Bank
Quinto
Carpincho L.
R. Salado
R. Tapalquen
R. Sapallar
R. Vecino
R. Medio
Chiquito L.
R. Quenguen
R. Uruguay
R. Paraná
R. Tigre
R. Vinder
Arecifes
Rincon
Ortiz Bk
Ortiz Pt
Piedras Very low coast
San Borombon
Cabo Bk
Cabo Pt
Ensenada
Punta Lara
Ignacio Point
Castillo B.
Colonia
Palmira
Martin Chico Pt
Los Pocos
Rosario Pt
Sandoval
Torres
Indio Pt
Carrasco Bk
Carrasco Pt
Pajas Blancas
Punta Lara
Ensenada
Boca Ch.
Canal
Light
Fl
Lt
Obscd
Rocks
Fish Pond
Fishing Stakes
Fishing Nets
Fishing Boats
Fishing Vessels
Fishing Grounds
Fishing Banks
Fishing Villages
Fishing Huts
Fishing Piers
Fishing Jetties
Fishing Harbours
Fishing Anchorages
Fishing Channels
Fishing Marks
Fishing Buoys
Fishing Beacons
Fishing Lights
Fishing Signals
Fishing Regulations
Fishing Licences
Fishing Seasons
Fishing Gear
Fishing Methods
Fishing Boats
Fishing Vessels
Fishing Grounds
Fishing Banks
Fishing Villages
Fishing Huts
Fishing Piers
Fishing Jetties
Fishing Harbours
Fishing Anchorages
Fishing Channels
Fishing Marks
Fishing Buoys
Fishing Beacons
Fishing Lights
Fishing Signals
Fishing Regulations
Fishing Licences
Fishing Seasons
Fishing Gear
Fishing Methods

them, apointed them to the sonne with his hand. who haveing made an end of his speech they all at once boweing themselves towards the sonn. vawted upwards from the ground & seemed to rejoice. which done the prophet leaveing them standing in their order departed for the tyme from them into som secret place under the side of the hill where Settaboh appeared unto him to give him his Oracle to bring unto them that they might know what they should doe that is whether they should be acquainted with us or noe now when the prophet came to them againe he seemed to be changed in shape for even a Settaboh appeared to him he in shew & outward apearance came to them haveing in his head before standing upright littel hornes 12 long & broad black feathers, whoe thus comeing to them & walkeing up & downe as before they honoured him with boweing their bodies towards him who Makeing to them another speech apointed them to the sonn with his hand as before to the which they did againe offer the like worship as at the first the like whereof they do daily at the Riseing & setting of the sonn upon every hill in their Assemblies. Their sacrifices thus ended they drew themselves to the edge of the hill next unto us every man prepared with Bow & Arrows in their hands standing still & gazeing towards us which when som of our men perceived unadvisedly & meanely prepared marched towards them intending to goe up the hill to them but when they had given that attempt The Giants with one consent cried out with mighty voices Corah. Corah away away forbiding them to com anny further & every man began to make himself ready to Battle as feareing (it might seeme) that our men had com to provoke them which when the Generall saw & perceived the Iminent danger our men were in. he caused a retreat to be sownded by Trumpett & hastened with more company better appointed if need required to make a Rescue without the which there had been no hope if our men had gon forwards that anny person had Escaped alive whereupon our men retireing & the Generall being com to them it was determined to trye them another way whether they ment to have anny acquaintance with us or noe they Therfore keeping theire place & quietly standing together without anny shew of dislike against us & indifferent The Generall sent two of our men unarmed a good distance from us. and indiferent for them to come to the Place without suspition of harme: who carieing with them som small triffles as franch braseletts of small Beades of Glass & such like they sett them upright upon a rodd in the ground in their sight & leaveing them returned to us againe. Wherein they perceiveing our kindenes & thereby perswadeing themselves there was no evill intention in us against them they after a while consulting together among themselves addressed 2 of their notorioust & most fitt men for that purpose of their company to com to the place & fetch the things which our men had left for them. who being prepared with bowes & Arrows to fight sett forwards with shew of defiance the one to the other to trye to accombate together & turneing the one from the other run in haste upon the edge of the hill a good distant contrary wayes who comeing to the end of their Race apointed, desend upon the syde of the hill a good space one som 6 paces lower then the other, & returneing againe with a swift pace with their bowes charged with arrowes when they drew neere together made offer to shoote ofe, each, at other, as if they had been deadly enemies but passing on in their way runn the like distance of ground againe & as before, at their returne desended another degree of the hill, still holdeing such intercourses till they came to the bottom & place where the things were which they came for there makeing an end of their contravercye with great rejoyceing, that they had sped so well for the great attempt they had given with such perill. & danger of their lives to have so great rewards. Notwithstanding they did not take them without recompence for instead thereof they Layed downe some of their Arrowes made of Reedes allmost as long as their Bowes som of their arrowheads made of cleere flint stones cutt with great art in forme of our broad arrow heads with Picked shoulders & toothed one both sides to the verry point som allso of their heads was made of hard wood others of bone being in length 4 inches or thereabouts of every sort they left som together with som Ostrige feathers & so departed to their company who being gon our men were sent to the Place to fetch such things as they had left. No sooner were they com to their freinds & shewed what comodityes they had gott but they were ravished with desire to have the like wherefore he thought himself the happyest man that first could com to the Markett so that they cam headlong downe the hill every one striveing by speedy running to prevent another notwithstanding when they came neare to us they stayed themselves not dareing at first to venter themselves in our hands. but by little & littel came nearer to our company. & at the last entered into traffick with us for such pedler wares as we shewed to them but in a Long tyme they would not receave anny thing out of our hands except we cast it downe upon the ground for the which purpose they used this word Toyte that is cast it downe & when they tooke it if they either disliked the thing. or the price they would say Corah. but if they liked the bargaine then with a smileing countenance they said Chiloh. Wee thus useing them with great kindnes they became more & more familiar with us in so much that they would not absent themselves from our company anny day yea som of them in short tyme would not onely receive things at our hands without Toite but would in like case if they liked anny thing they saw boldely take it themselves without offer made unto them. In so much one of them standing by the Generall & seeing upon his head a

scarlet sea capp & seeming to be delighted in the Collour he boldely tooke it from his head and put upon his owne who feareing lest the Generall should dislyke with him for it presently tooke an Arrow & setting out his legg did deepely wound the Calfe of the same with it & receiving the blood in his hand offerd it to the Generall seeming thereby to signifie to him that he loved him so dearely that he would give his blood for him: & that therefore he should not be angry for so small a matter as a capp Att the same tyme another of the Giants standeing with our men takeing their morneings draughts shewed himself so familiar with us that he allso would do as they did who takeing the glass in his hand (being strong canary wine) it came not to his lipps when it tooke him by the nose & so sodainly enterd into his head that he was so drunke or at the least so overcom with the spirit of the wine that he fell flatt upon his buttocks not able stand anny longer so that his company began to startle as if we had slaine the man but yet he holding the glass fast in his hand without shedding of the wine thought to trye againe when he came to himselfe if hee could have anny better luck sitting. then standeing. he smelled so long & tasted so often that at the last he drew it to the bottom from which tyme hee tooke such a likeing to wine that haveing Learned the word he every morneing would com downe the Mountaines with a mighty crye Wine, Wine, Wine, till he came to our tent & would in that tyme have devoured more wine at a tyme than 20 men could have done Never ceasing till he had his draught every morneing."

24. This passage was omitted by Vaux.

25. As some evidence of the largely fictitious character of the whole story, attention may be called to the fact that Fletcher says the name of their god was the devil Settaboh. Setebos was the name by which Pigafetta said these Indians called their chief devil. See Arber's reprint of Eden's *Decades of the newe worlde*, 252. How fanciful is Fletchers' account of these Indians can be seen by comparing it with the matter-of-fact one given by Father Juan de Areyçaga, a member of Loaysa's expedition, in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, Madrid, 1852, Vol. II, 50 *et seq.*

26. Much the same as that in the "Famous Voyage," printed hereafter, page 274, *et seq.*

27. Hakluyt XI, 400. He also gave the name Port Desire to Drake's "Seale Bay."

28. From the Fletcher MS.

29. Silva said that on a map belonging to Drake, probably the Portuguese one, two *varas* in length, it was named Abra de Islas, a name which I have not been able to discover on any map, although I have found the B. das Ilhas in that locality on a Portuguese manuscript map in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, made by Bart. Velho, 1562.

30. Silva in Nuttall, 315, for this and the preceding note.

31. W. E., 187.

32. Cooke. See page 255.

33. Nuttall, 246. Silva said that Drake *mató un cavallero muy principal.* It is a question whether this means a "very noble gentleman" or a "gentleman very important," that is, one of the principal men in the expedition, but probably the latter.

34. *Ibid.*, 39.

35. See page 376.

36. Corbett, Vol. I, 320. John Doughty's efforts availed nothing against Drake, the popular idol of the moment.

37. Camden. See page 319.

38. Cooke, in W. E., 202. Silva gave the same date in his log.

39. Camden. See page 319.

40. Cooke, W. E., 203. He says simply that a jury was called.

41. *Ibid.*, 206.

42. Silva, page 340.

43. Silva, page 340, quoted Drake as saying, "*Viva la Reina de Inglaterra.*" Cooke says that just before he was executed, he begged that he might make water ere he died, saying the flesh was frail, and thereupon turned about and did so.

44. Cooke, in W. E., 212. Note this interesting statement by Drake, that part were in positions of some authority. What his further reason was would be still more interesting to know.

45. This was also a noteworthy statement showing that the men had been enlisted for a peaceful enterprise and not for one of plunder. Otherwise they would have been entitled to some part of the proceeds.

46. Cooke, W. E., 214.

47. The "Famous Voyage," Thomas Hood, no doubt correctly.

48. Silva, page 340. Fletcher's account of this affair is somewhat different:

"The Generall with chosen men went one shoare to see what the place might afforde us for our maintenance if we should make anny stay who no sooner were landed but two young Giants repaired to them shewing themselves at the first as familiar as anny wee had mett with before. In so

ARGENTINA
GULF OF SAN MATIAS
VALDES PEN
GULF OF ST GEORGE
MAGELLAN STRAIT
Variation decreasing 6' annually
Anegada B
Very low land
Javali
Sta Antonio
Direction Hills
Sierra
Norte Pt
Pt Quiroga
Nuevo Gulf
Delgada Pt
Table Hills
Castro Pt
Lobos Pt
Union Pt
Raso
Fabian Pt
Cameron Bay
Blanco Pt
C Dos Bahias
Pineda Pt
Salamanca Pt
Cordova Cove
Marques Pt
Fondo
Beach
Olivia Cove
C Murphy
Langara B
Pt Casamayor
Espinosa Heights
Nava B
Pio del Rio
Direction Hills
R Desire
Lookout Pt
C Danoso
C Curioso
Brackers rep'd. 1924
Barren Downs
C Francisco de Paula
Beagle Bluff
Port Sta Cruz
Mt Lion
Observation Mt
C Redondo
Coy Julet
C Sanchez
C Fairweather
Port Gallegos
Gallegos R
Mt Armand
C Possession
C Virgins
Direction Hill
Catherine Pt
Jason
Beaver I
Weddell
Rosa
Jason
Queen
Kinn
Eagle Rf
Lomas B
Gap
Catherine Pt
Santa Cruz
41°
42°
43°
44°
45°
46°
47°
48°
49°
50°
51°
52°
53°

much they refused nothing which was offerd to them at the first sight. but the thing wherin they most pleased themselves was to see one winterye (a gentleman) to shoot an arrow of our bowes further at one shott then they could at twice. They thus familiarly & pleasantly spending their tyme sodainly their came two other Giants (olde & Grim weather beaten villans to their companye. To whom our men offereing the like kindenes as they had to the others they found them nothing so tractable as they did the rest yet being without all suspition of anny treachery to come by them which had been necessary to have doubted. Wherfor Wintery drawing upp his bowe to send an Arrow at length in their sights as before for they sent away the 2 younger Giants with dislike that they had been in our companye in letting goe or loosing the Arrow the string broke which belonged to the bowe which the Giants seeing & supposeing there was no other engine of warr in the world but bowe & Arrows (because they were acquainted with no other & seing our man to goe about to put to another string tooke present advantage & chargeing his bowe clapt an arrow into the body of him & through his lunges which when one Oliver our master gunner perceived he haveing a fowleing peice in his hand which was all the peeices which was carried with them bent it at the giant but the touch being dankish would not. take fyer for it was a misling raine & tampering with the touch, the Giant againe shott at him & struck him in the breast & through the hart & out at back through a Ribb a quarter of yeard at least & presently dyed & proceeding set fresh upon the Rest whereof not one had escaped if God had not putt an helping hand to them for the best defence our men had was but swordes & Targetts or a black Bill which were nothing to anoy the Enemye but yet the Lord put in the Generalls hart though nothing they had could do good to take revenge upon the Enemye that the Targetts might be their safely wherefore sodainly he caused those which had Targetts should stand in the fore front & the rest which had non to com behind to this end was this don that the Targetts might receave as many arrows into them as they coulde & if anny went by those which stood behind should take them upp & break them & so drive the Enemy out of his arrows which happily came to pass in short tyme that they had but one arrow left & no man touched with anny of the Rest which the Generall perceivinge he then tooke the fowling peeice in hand & primeing it a new made a shott at him which first began the quarrell & strikeing him in the Panch with hole shott & sent his gutts abroad which done they had leisure to depart wherein they were the more speedy because Wintery which was first shott was yet Liveing whom they brought away if happily theyr might have been anny hope of Recovery but he dyed within few houres. . . . . "

49. W. E., 68. This is a very plain case of the way Fletcher attributed motives to the natives from his knowledge of other accounts. The fact was true, Fletcher having read it in the account of the Magellan voyage, and perhaps his inference was also correct.

50. *Ibid.*, 68.

51. *Ibid.*, 69.

CHAPTER IV.

Strangely enough, none of the English accounts contains any but the most casual reference to the passage through the Strait. Fletcher embellished his with a few tales, but facts are lacking. Practically all we know about it is derived from the deposition of Silva made May 23, 1579, and from that the account in this chapter has been almost entirely written. All the accounts descend into greater or less detail about the great storm which followed Drake's entrance into the Pacific, but generally speaking they are in profound disagreement. Silva's narrative has been chiefly used because on the whole he is the most consistent. His log, although of doubtful authority, is the only one which furnishes us with any dates beyond one or two outstanding ones. Fletcher's narrative contains some interesting statements not found elsewhere which seem to have had some basis of fact and it is to be noted that, as apparently in his account of the voyage on the Northwest coast, he did not endorse the claim that Drake went above 42° or 43°, neither did he here endorse the other claim, that he went much below 55°.

1. This cape in 52° 17′ was named by Magellan, Cabo de las Onze Mil Virgenes. On the way, Fletcher said they stopped at a fresh-water river.

2. This map was known in England and there appears to have been a copy of it made by Clement Adams, which may have been engraved in England. It is quite likely that Drake had either an original Cabot map or Clement Adams' copy. A reproduction of this part of Cabot's map will be found later in this chapter.

3. The best available account in English of these expeditions is to be found in his book, *Early Voyages to the Strait of Magellan,* published by the Hakluyt Society, 1911. The earliest printed notice of the expeditions of Alcazaba and Camargo was in Francisco Lopez de Gomara's *Historia de las Indias,* 1552, 221 of the "Vedia" Edition of 1852.

4. His account was printed from a document in the Archivo de Indias by P. Pablo Pastells in *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes,* Madrid, 1920. It was used by Juan Lopez de Velasco in compiling his description of this coast and in constructing his map. *Op. cit.,* 541 *et seq.*

5. Only the voyages of Magellan and Loaysa were intended for the East. Alcazaba had a contract with the Crown, made July 26, 1529, to settle the coast of what was then called Peru, beginning two hundred leagues south of Chincha and extending towards the Strait. The province was to be called Nuevo Leon. November 6, 1536, a cedula was issued in Valladolid authorizing Camargo to conquer and settle the coast of the South Sea, and officials were appointed for the new settlement. Much erroneous information was published regarding this voyage, principally by Herrera, in Dec. VII, Lib. I, Cap. VIII, where he states that both Alcazaba and Camargo were attempting to open a route to Peru which would be less troublesome and expensive than that by the North Sea, even if longer. The story probably arose from a statement by Lopez de Gomara, *op. cit.,* 222, that the expedition of Camargo was set on foot by the Bishop of Plasencia on the advice of his brother-in-law, Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain. In reality, the Bishop financed Camargo's expedition and both his and that of Alcazaba were directed to the same end, the discovery of gold and silver. These expeditions were nothing but the counterpart of those sent out by Cortes, Alvarado and Mendoza to the north. Rich treasure had been found in Peru and Mexico, therefore there must be more to the south and to the north of those countries. The contract with Alcazaba is printed in Pastells, *op. cit.,* and that with Camargo by J. T. Medina in *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de Chile,* Vol. III.

6. The only accounts that so state are Cliffe's account, 301, and the *World Encompassed,* 75.

7. The name "Isabella" in turn was probably derived from Drake's name for it—Elizabeth.

8. Purchas, XVI, 136.

9. Hakluyt, XI, 357.

10. Purchas, XVII, 109.

11. See page 341 for Silva's account of this.

12. W. E., 72. The description is singularly like the one given in Barent Jansz' account of the expedition of Sebald de Wert, who was in the Strait a long time in 1599. This account was first published in 1600, and contains a number of plates of scenes in the Strait from sketches made on the spot. One of these is reproduced as illustrative of Fletcher's remarks.

13. This bay was noted by Silva as the best one in the Strait in which to careen a ship.

14. Fletcher's MS, not copied in the W. E. With some other rather vulgar remarks about these women, it belongs at the end of text at the bottom of page 75 of that work.

15. Fletcher's account in W. E., 74. These Indians were Alaculoofs, and Jansz' account of them referred to in note 12 is the earliest of any value.

16. From his MS, nearly the same as printed in the W. E., 73.

17. From *Caroli Clusii Atrebatis aliquot Notae in Garciae Aromatum Historiam.* Antwerp, 1582.

18. See Silva's account, page 341.

19. All accounts agree on this date.

20. W. E., 79. The place referred to was no doubt Cape Victory or some place in that neighborhood. Corbett, Vol. I, 252, states that it was Cape Pillar, or Deseado, as this was then called, having neglected to read Fletcher's MS, from which the account in the W. E. was condensed. Fletcher says plainly that the place where they intended to set up the monument was the southernmost cape of the mainland.

21. See reproduction, and an explanation of Drake's error, pages 36-37.

22. Fletcher, in W. E., 79.

23. John Drake, Nuttall, 41, "fifty leagues;" "Famous Voyage," page 262, "two hundred leagues;" Cliffe and W. E., 280, "seventy leagues."

24. See Juan the Greek's story in Sarmiento's relation, page 388, that Drake went to 44° and took water. Anton made the same statement from information from Silva, see page 362. Sarmiento called the storm a "norther."

25. W. E., 280. It is very likely that a misunderstanding of Cliffe's account was responsible for the islands in 57° to the southwest of the Strait which appeared on later maps. His statement has also been adduced in support of that of the "Famous Voyage" in the 1600 edition of Hakluyt and those of Silva that the farthermost island was in 57°, but inadvisedly so, as Cliffe was not with the expedition when that island was reached. It is not unlikely that Hakluyt edited Cliffe's account here and inserted the 57° by inadvertence to correspond with his correction to 57° and a terce made in the "Famous Voyage," published in the same volume.

26. See note 15, page 341. Silva said, "with a strong north-west wind."

27. See page 341, and Hakluyt, XI, 136. In this it is stated that they met a northeast wind, which is an error; the original Spanish text says that it was from the northwest.

28. Camden, *op. cit.*, see page 319, speaks about Magellan's clouds having been seen at the time of the eclipse. No other account mentions the circumstance. The Magellanic Clouds, as they are usually called, the Milky Way of the southern skies, are visible in that latitude on any clear night. There is no apparent connection between seeing them and the eclipse unless it might be assumed that the latter took place on the only clear night. The probabilities are that Camden simply interpolated the remark in order to display his knowledge.

29. Possibly Robert Dudley in a map in the *Arcano del Mare* first placed these islands here. Even on the Thomas Jeffries maps of 1763, two groups of islands are shown in that locality labeled *Isles de Sir F. Drake.*

30. W. E., 79. "About which tyme [after the eclipse] the storme being so outragious & furious the Barke Marigold wherein Edward Bright one of the accusers of Thomas Dubty was Captayne with 28 Soules were swallowed up with horrible & unmercifull waves or rather Mountaines of the sea which chanced in the 2d watch of the night wherein myself & John Brewer our Trumpeter being in watch did heare their fearefull cryes when the hand of God came upon them. . . ." The W. E. did not copy this paragraph which is only found in Fletcher's MS, but on the contrary, asserts that Drake hoped to find the *Marigold* at the rendezvous appointed in 30° or later along the coast of Peru, an additional indication that Drake did not know that the vessel had foundered.

31. Purchas, II, 153.

32. Silva. See page 349.

33. *South America Pilot,* II, 1920, 32.

34. Nuttall, 284. These dates are taken from Silva's log, but I accept them with some hesitation owing to having discovered in it a number of errors, by comparing it with the official Spanish documents.

35. John Drake, Nuttall, 41. *"El Almirante dixo que no queria seguir al General,"* that is, "Winter said that he did not wish to follow Drake," which according to Mrs. Nuttall proved that Winter's desertion was voluntary. This would be true if the fact were true, but no one else mentions that Winter said anything to Drake about the matter and the circumstances furnish a sufficient negative to the statement. Perhaps here John Drake unconsciously reveals the fact that for some time Winter had not wished to follow Drake.

36. First published by Hakluyt, 1600, XI, 148, and reprinted in the W. E., 269.

37. Sp. Cal., II, Nos. 507 and 518, incorrectly entered under 1578.

38. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 139, fol. 24 (1). This is reprinted in Nuttall, 386, without the commission in Latin to which it is annexed. Winter's statement was rendered in 1579, probably in November, and June 5, 1580, the court of Admiralty, where the proceedings were pending, ordered the goods taken from the Portuguese ship to be returned to Antonio de Castillo, the Portuguese Ambassador, calling them goods "that had been seized piratically on the sea by Francis Drake and his accomplices."

39. Nuttall, 27.

40. Silva's statement, see page 343.

41. Anton's statement, see page 363. Also Custodio Rodriguez' statement that Drake had ordered the captains to meet him in the Moluccas. Nuttall, 143.

42. Silva's log, Nuttall, 285.

43. In Sarmiento's relation. See page 388.

44. From Purchas, XVI, 136, where Carder's account is given in full.

45. Silva's log, Nuttall, 285.

46. Fletcher, W. E., 88.

47. See note 73 to this chapter.

48. W. E., 93. Noir Island is the farthest west of all these islands, and wood and water are abundant.

49. Silva's log, Nuttall, 287.

50. Sarmiento, see page 389, mentioned the visit to the Valdivia River on the authority of information from Chile; Anton, see page 363, made the same statement; Silva, however, did not mention the circumstance, nor do any of the English accounts.

51. See page 312.

52. These islands were those now known as "Los Evangelistas," four small islands eleven miles southeast of Cape Victory.

53. See reproduction hereafter.

54. See reproductions.

55. See reproduction.

56. See reproduction.

57. Nuttall, 40. Fletcher even makes a similar observation; both no doubt were quoting from the account of Magellan's voyage.

58. As for instance, Joannes Jansonius' map of 1618.

59. Both these maps are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The Cabot map was probably engraved about 1544, and remarkable as it may seem, a passage is shown on it between an "Ysla desierto" and a "Tera de los Fumos," almost exactly where LeMaire's Strait is to be found. The "Tera de los Fumos" has a southern coast line turning towards the west, and tailing off to the southwest into the ocean, an indication that Cabot had no knowledge that land extended farther in that direction. For the source of his information, see the first part of this chapter.

60. Sp. Cal., III, No. 248.

61. Here ends apparently his quotation from his previous letter about Winter.

62. Translation from page 67 of the *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales,* Madrid, 1601.

63. Hawkins was examined on the *San Andres* July 10, 1594, after his capture, and made a statement which is extant in A. G. I., 2-5-1/20, but this contains nothing beyond an account of himself and his voyage. He must have, however, made another when taken to Lima, which I have not seen.

64. *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea. Anno Domini 1593.* London, 1622. It seems likely that Hawkins had not finished this much before his death, which took place in 1622 while the book was still in the press, and his recollection of what had been told him over twenty years previously must have been very dim. The passage can also be found in Purchas, XVII, 128, or in the *Hawkins Voyages* of C. R. Markham, 224.

65. W. E., 88.

66. Reproduced in the section of maps.

67. The map, however, contains some evidence that the author was acquainted with the Cabot map, as two legends are to be found on it in the northeastern part of America, obviously copied from the latter.

68. Reproduced in the section of maps.

69. In Fletcher's MS, omitted in the foot-notes in the 1854 edition of the W. E., but copied in substance in that work on page 92.

70. The best account is contained in King and Fitzroy's *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships, Adventure and Beagle, between the Years 1826 and 1836.* London, 1839.

71. Sp. Cal., III, No. 248. "It was not continent but only very large islands and there was the open sea beyond Tierra del Fuego."

72. The account was first published in Amsterdam in 1618 in Dutch, with nine maps and plates. One of the maps was a double page one of Tierra del Fuego. A large number of editions were soon issued in French, German, English, and even one in 1619 in Spanish. An English translation was also published by Purchas. Vol. II.

73. *Relacion del Viaje que por orden de Su Magestad y acuerdo del Real Consejo de Indias. Hizieron los Capitanes Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonçalo de Nodal hermanos,* Madrid, 1621. A second edition was issued in 1766 in Cadiz. Translated by Markham in *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan,* London, 1911.

74. Purchas, XIII, 3.

75. The sentence is ambiguous, but no doubt Purchas referred to Cabot's map of 1544, or Adams' copy of it, supposed to have been made in 1549, which according to him was also hanging in the same gallery. XIV, 300.

76. "Almost everybody believes this part to be the Australian continent, certainly they know the islands to be passable to the navigators, and the farthest south of them is thought to be named Elizabeth by Sir Francis Drake, the Discoverer." Purchas, XIII, 3. In a marginal note is a translation of another Latin legend on the map. "In the said map is Queene Elizabeth's picture, with Neptune yeelding his Trident, and Triton sounding her Fame with these Verses—Te Deus aequor eus donant Regina Tridente, Et Triton laudes efflat ubique tuas." (Thou God see the Queen with the Trident consecrate Thee God of the Sea. Triton blows your praises everywhere.)

77. See the description of the Silver Medal in the section of maps for some remarks on this passage.

78. Purchas' remarks about the map of Drake's voyage at Whitehall suggest some interesting possibilities. When the Hondius broadside is examined, four large islands will be found below the Strait of Magellan, placed similarly to those on Fletcher's map, and with the name "Elisabetha" applied to the southern one. This is in 57°, however, and not in 55° and some minutes as it was according to Fletcher. Although on the broadside there is no golden crown, garter, or arms affixed to this island, nor is the legend the same as that quoted by Purchas, yet there is a very elaborate portrait of the Queen, with her arms, and other strong indications that in the main it may be a copy of the map referred to by Purchas. The insets were undoubtedly copied from sketches made

during the expedition, a series of which may very likely have embellished the border of the map in Whitehall, which from Purchas' description seems to have been highly decorated.

79. John Drake in his second deposition, Nuttall, 43, says they found a very good island in 56°, where they took in wood and water, and found some canoes but no men. Immediately after this, he says that the island, which they reached on the way north, that is, Noir Island, is in 55°. As Noir Island is actually in 54½°, this would indicate that the probable location of the one to which he first referred was 55½°, or approximately in the same location as Henderson Island, 55° 36″. There is a possibility that the "56°" might have been derived from Joseph de Acosta's *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published in Seville in 1590, and in an English translation, in London in 1604. In the beginning of October, 1579, Sarmiento left Callao for the Strait with two ships. Sarmiento passed through and reached Spain in the following year, but the other ship returned to Callao. Acosta says that the pilot, Hernando Lamero, told him that after becoming separated from Sarmiento by a storm, they were driven to 56° by a wind which they thought carried them far to the east, and were therefore much surprised to find no land and concluded that they were south of the continent. Acosta also says that Martin Enriquez (probably while Viceroy in Peru) had told him that the story that the two seas joined together was an English invention and that Silva had no knowledge of it, but on the contrary, claimed that there was mainland on each side of the Strait. (The Hakluyt Society's reprint of the English edition of 1604, Vol. I, 136-140.) The statement about Silva is to a certain extent corroborated by his various depositions, in none of which does he speak of finding an island with nothing farther south, or say that the two seas were one.

80. See page 356.

CHAPTER V.

The material for this chapter and the following one is so abundant that it may be said to be almost embarrassing. From the time Drake arrived at Valparaiso until he left Guatulco, his movements were the subject of a searching examination by the Spanish authorities. The result is a mass of information which has to be used with considerable care due to the fact that so much of it is hearsay evidence. By eliminating this, however, wherever it can be positively identified, and sticking to what was related by individuals who had personal knowledge of the facts, a very consistent and consecutive narrative can be obtained to supplement that given in the English accounts. It might almost be said that this narrative from Spanish sources supersedes the latter, as these in the main are confined to what might be called an anecdotal story, few important facts being found in them. The Spanish official documents also enable us to correct many of the statements in these and even in some of those given by Drake's prisoners, who deposed from memory and frequently made mistakes, especially in dates. The account written by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa embodied all he could learn from questioning such of Drake's prisoners as had been released before he reached the Central American coast. The source of some of his information is not apparent, but it was probably letters received in Lima from Spanish officials residing in those ports to the south which Drake had visited. So far as known, none of the originals of these is extant. Sarmiento's chief informant about Drake's movements between Valparaiso and Callao seems to have been Juan the Greek, who had been captured by Drake at the former place and was only turned loose by him on the ship of Rodriguez Bautista shortly after leaving the harbor of Callao.

1. The statement has sometimes been made that the observations for latitude made by Drake are approximately correct. Owing to inability to locate definitely many of the places visited on the voyage, it is only possible to check up those of a few well-known ones. A comparison of the locations ascribed to various ports on the coast of Chile and Peru in the W. E. with their known latitudes will show that the observations on the ships were extremely inaccurate, although there may be some question whether the figures given were from observations made by Drake, or anyone on the *Golden Hind*. I give a list in parallel columns.

Lampa
Pinto
Misti Volc°
Tutapaca Volc°
Tres Picos
Mt Cavaseo
Mt Carrasco
Mt Pastos
Mt Tahnar
Mt Chanaral
Chanarcillo
Cerro Blanco
Huascar or Bellavista
Valparaiso
Santiago
Maipo Volc°
Peteroa Volc°
Boca Seca
COLCHAGUA
SANTIAGO
Campana de Quillota
Cumbre Bajo
Chiapa Pk
Ligua Pk
Volcano d'Aconcagua
Mendoza
Tupungato Pk
Cerro Blanco
Chanarcillo
Copiapo or St Francisco de Selva
Mt Pastos
Lumbri Pk
Chiapa Pk
Ligua Pk
Mt Tahnar
Mt Chanaral
Mt Pastos
Valparaiso
Santiago
Maipo Volc°
St Fernando Volc°
Peteroa Volc°
Boca Seca
16°
17°
18°
19°
20°
21°
22°
23°
24°
25°
26°
27°
28°
29°
30°
31°
32°
33°
34°
35°
75°
74°
73°
72°
71°
70°
69°
68°

	World Encompassed	Actual
Mocha	37° S., or thereabouts	38° 24′
Valparaiso	35° 40′	33° 1′ 56″
Cyppo (that is, La Serena)	29° 30′	about 29° 45′
Bahia Salada	27° 55′	about 27° 35′
Arica	20°	18° 29′
Lima	12° 30′	12° 3′
Paita	4° 40′	5° 5½′
Cape San Francisco	1° N.	40′ N.
Guatulco	15° 40′	15° 41′

The only actual observation recorded by Silva was one he said he made in Bahia Salada, which in his log is placed in 29° 10′, one and a half degrees too high. He also placed the Bay of Quintero in 32½° and Tongoy in 30°, but whether from actual observation or not he did not say. These last two are sufficiently close, as the Bay of Quintero is in about 32° 45′ and Tongoy in 30° 15′.

2. The "Tierra de Guerra," also known as Araucania, comprised practically all of Chile south of Concepcion.

3. W. E., 99, explains this by saying that one of the men, in asking for water, used the Spanish word for it, "*aqua*," that is, "*agua*," in this following Fletcher, who gives a long and fanciful story of the affair, including a minute account of the execution by torture of Brewer and Flood which he said was witnessed, but could not be prevented on account of the great multitude of Indians, which he estimated at two thousand. W. E., 93-96. This is a good example of the exaggeration general to Fletcher's narrative, as it is not probable that there were more than one thousand Indians all told on the island. W. E., 98, says five hundred were seen. There is other evidence that nothing was seen of the two men after they were captured.

4. Not only does Fletcher give a full account of the affair, but Silva as well, and others will be found in the W. E. and the "Anonymous Narrative." The Negro also was said by Silva to have died, but this was not the case, as he was alive in England many years afterward.

5. This date is from Silva's first deposition, Nuttall, 247, wherein he placed the bay in 32° 20′. In the *World Encompassed* it is said they arrived at the Bay of Quintero, called Philips Bay, November 30, and the latitude is put down as 32°. I could not for a long time imagine where the name "Philips Bay" came from until it occurred to me that this was the English way of saying "Felipe's Bay." In the W. E., 100, it is said that "huge heards of wild buffes" could be seen on land—no doubt just plain ordinary cattle.

6. Silva, in his deposition of May 20, is the only one to mention these knives, which he called "*cuchillos*." These were probably what Anton afterwards called "*machetes de rozar*," and no doubt formed part of Drake's trading cargo. The W. E., 100, states that the Indian's canoe was made of "reed straw."

7. W. E., 101. Here it is said that Drake started back on December 4, and reached Valparaiso the following day. On account of the south wind he probably had to make a considerable tack to the west in order to get southing.

8. Valparaiso was merely the port of Santiago, the capital of Chile, some seventy miles inland, and was better known as the "Port of Santiago" than under its own proper name.

9. That this is the correct date is manifest from the account of Sarmiento, see page 389, as well as from that in the *Vida de Don Antonio de Quiroga*, a contemporary manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. This was published in 1889 in Vol. 94 of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*. At the time of Drake's visit, Rodrigo de Quiroga was Governor of Chile, and the manuscript contains some interesting details about Drake, which will hereafter be quoted in the text or notes.

10. *Los Reyes* was her real name.

11. The above account is largely from the "Anonymous Narrative," page 265, most of which was copied into the "Famous Voyage." Lopez Vaz, W. E., 286, said the gold amounted to 60,000 pesos, but all his figures are exaggerated. The Spaniards afterward made a claim that the amount was 100,000. See the *Proves* in their demand filed by Zubiaure or Mendoza, B. M., Lans. MSS, Vol. 30, No. 10. In the *Vida de Quiroga* it is said that the gold amounted to 30,000 pesos or less, and, together with the rest of the cargo, belonged to private individuals. At the time, the Governor was in the south fighting the Indians, and he was very much afraid that Drake would receive some aid from them. He thereupon ordered food supplies which were in various ports to be moved inland, and having gathered together fifty soldiers and some citizens from Santiago, returned to that place in the beginning of January, where he heard that Drake had been near La Serena and was then at Bahia Salada. The Governor went to Valparaiso with some forces to go in pursuit of Drake, but on arrival there was attacked with dropsy and had to send in his place Captain Gaspar de la Bareda, who embarked on some ship with a hundred men with positive orders to attack Drake if he should

find him. At the same time, Quiroga dispatched a boat to Callao with the news. He then returned to Santiago and ordered the ports fortified.

12. Although Anton said that the Englishmen told him that this crucifix was taken from the *Capitana*, and the W. E., 102, contains the same statement, the "Anonymous Narrative" says that it was found on the bark of Benito Diaz Bravo. From the fact that it was set with large emeralds, which were only found in a small section of what is now Ecuador, the latter story is the more likely. The emeralds from this crucifix were in all probability the ones Drake presented to the Queen after his return.

JUAN THE GREEK

13. The name of this man suggests some interesting speculations. In Purchas, XIV, 415, occurs the famous story of Juan de Fuca as told by Michael Lok, who said his real name was Apostolos Valerianos, a Greek born in the Isle of Cefalonia and a pilot who claimed to have been in the West Indies for forty years. As Lok places his interview in April, 1596, it is apparent that the pilot had gone to the West Indies about 1556, when about twenty years of age.

In his account, Lok says that the Greek told him that he had been in many places as a mariner and pilot in the service of the Spaniards, and then related how he had been in the Philippine galleon *Santa Ana*, taken off Cape California by Cavendish in 1587, whereby he lost 60,000 ducats. He then told about having been pilot of three small ships sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to discover the Strait of Anian, but by reason of a mutiny on board, brought about by a crime of the captain, the ships returned to New Spain without effecting anything. He then went on to tell about his expedition in 1592 on which he claimed to have discovered the strait.

It has always been considered that this story was a pure fabrication. Nevertheless, it is a fact that just such an expedition as he first described was organized by Hernando de Sanctotis about 1590 and that it was abandoned for precisely the reason alleged by Lok. It seems obvious therefore that the Greek pilot must have been in Mexico about that time, and I see no reason to doubt the statement that he was a pilot on that particular voyage.

Everything points to the fact that this Juan Griego, whom Drake captured in Valparaiso and who then piloted him along the coast, was this same Juan de Fuca, the Greek pilot who told this story to Lok. There is no probability that he lost any 60,000 ducats' worth of goods in the *Santa Ana* when it was captured by Cavendish, but I think it very likely that what he referred to was the gold that was taken by Drake when his ship was captured in Valparaiso, Chile, December 5, 1578, although it is not likely that any of the gold belonged to him.

There is an interesting passage in Pretty's account of Thomas Cavendish's voyage in Hakluyt, XI, 309. It is there stated that on April 27, 1587, Cavendish took a small bark which came from Santiago, that is, Valparaiso, and in it was one George, a Greek, a "reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chile." Cavendish took this pilot along, but Pretty never states where he left him or what became of him. It is very possible that he put him off at Cape San Lucas with the passengers and crew of the *Santa Ana*. Although Pretty calls this pilot George, it seems likely from the description of him and the circumstances under which he was taken that he was the same man Drake took out of Valparaiso in December, 1578.

In Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts* will be found a discourse concerning the Northwest Passage, written by him in 1610. In this, Monson says that he had read all the voyages to the northwest by Frobisher and Davis, and he tells a story about a Greek telling Michael Lok in Italy the particulars of Cavendish's voyage, not only what happened while he was with Cavendish, but after Cavendish had put him on shore at Cape San Lucas. The statement is ambiguous as it is not clear whether the Greek had been in the *Santa Ana* when captured by Cavendish or had come there with him. Juan de Fuca's story, so far as known, was first printed by Purchas in *His Pilgrimes* in 1625. Monson's statement is, however, not the only indication that the story was current in England long before 1625. Indeed, it was probably known there before 1600.

Beginning about 1592 there are several cartographical indications that some Spanish document, perhaps even some map, which recorded a recent voyage to the Northwest coast, had become available to the geographers of northern Europe. In 1592, Bartolomeo de Lasso, a Portuguese cartographer, went to the Netherlands with a collection of sea charts of the whole world and it may be that the information was obtained from one of these. In 1596, one Vigliaruolo, a Neapolitan, who occupied the post of chief cosmographer at Seville, fled to France, also taking some maps with him. Rodrigo Zamorano, in denouncing the man, said that some of these maps were secret ones of the navigations of the Indies. (Manuel de la Puente y Olea, *Los Trabajos Geograficos de la Casa de Contratacion*, Seville, 1900, 287.) Zamorano's statement is interesting as affording proof that the Spaniards then had secret maps, an indication that they may also have kept secret accounts of some of their voyages.

While on the whole Lok probably concocted the story of the expedition to the Strait of Anian

to support his well-known views about the existence of a Northwest Passage, it is not beyond the realm of probability that there may have been some foundation to it after all.

14. It is probable that this Indian, Felipe, was the only one Drake found on the coast of Chile who could speak Spanish, as it is hardly likely that the Indian fishermen he found farther north knew the language. Father Juan de Rivadeneyra, who had been captured by Fenton, in his letter in the A. G. I., 2-5-2/21, which contains an account of his experiences, has a curious paragraph regarding Drake's relations with the Indians. He says: "I was informed that when Drake went along the coast of Peru and Chile, he took some Indians, I think in Chile. These he carried with him, instructing them in the extent of a worldly life, promising them, to whom he gave great presents, to take them back to their country. He sent gifts to their chiefs, their neighbors and friends, saying that he was going to his own country and would return to aid them and give them their liberty. He said that if they would join together with the Indians, they could eject the Spaniards from all the Indies, and that he would bring them many harquebuses and swords and show them how to use them. He also said that he wanted nothing more from them than their friendship and trade, and that inasmuch as they had to buy from the Spaniards, they should do so. 'If you have a single Spaniard as a prisoner, give him his liberty and make him your captain and give him the command in matters of war. With a few people you can attack many and will always be the conqueror with many of us on your side. As it is necessary to fight, while we are going and returning with all these arms, do so bravely and sustain yourselves the best way you can, and afterwards leave the burden to us and we will kill them and bring you liberty.'" This sounds very much like Drake and it seems very probable that Felipe was the Indian to whom he told it. An undue proportion of the W. E. story of Drake's raid on the west coast is devoted to remarks about the Indians and the sufferings which they endured at the hands of the Spaniards. Neither Drake nor Fletcher had any personal knowledge of these matters, but had evidently derived their opinions from other sources such as the works of Las Casas. All this was coupled with abundant abuse of the Spaniards and the Roman Catholic religion. At one time, no doubt, this may have been very interesting reading, but at present it would be much more pleasant as well as profitable if Drake and his historians had given more facts and omitted their opinions on these matters.

15. Sarmiento called it "Tanquey;" from Silva's description, it must be the place now known as "Tongoy."

16. Drake probably waited at the appointed place as long as he could afford to do, and even much longer than was necessary at Salada Bay later. There is some evidence that he had appointed another rendezvous in 2½° in case they failed to meet here. See the official report of February 16, 1580, in Lima. Nuttall, 94. The information, no doubt, was from Juan the Greek.

17. W. E., 103, "fourteen." Silva, "twelve."

18. W. E., 103, calls this place by mistake Cyppo—Cyppo no doubt being intended for Copiapo.

19. All the English accounts exaggerate enormously the number of Spaniards who came out from La Serena. They say from one hundred to five hundred, besides a number of Indians. Even Silva estimated the number as two hundred and fifty. No doubt there were a number of Indians but it is hardly likely that there were in the town capable of carrying arms a hundred full-grown Spaniards all told. Sarmiento said only fifty or sixty went to La Herradura, and no doubt he knew the facts.

20. The account in the *Vida de Quiroga* is short. The *corregidor* of La Serena sent word that a Lutheran ship had put fifty men on shore in a launch and that with what forces he had and some friendly Indians, he had sallied forth in defense and that the heretics had re-embarked and while retiring, a Lutheran had been killed. He also advised that the ship had left port and was anchored in Bahia Salada, a little more than thirty leagues north of Serena, the captain being named Francisco Draque. How he knew that the captain's name was Drake and that the men were Lutherans is a mystery.

21. Sarmiento, page 390. He added that for this reason Drake did not enter Coquimbo as he had intended to do.

22. Sarmiento called these the Islas de Pajaros. They must have been the small group somewhat north of Coquimbo Bay, as it could not have taken a day to reach those off Coquimbo Peninsula.

23. Sarmiento stated that the ship dragged her anchor, which probably was the real reason for not stopping longer.

24. In this cove there is a good anchorage in seven fathoms of water, well sheltered from the south wind. In fact, it is one of the best small ports on that part of the coast, but suffers from a lack of fresh water nearby.

25. Sarmiento, page 390. He said the ship nearly capsized.

26. John Drake, Nuttall, 45. According to the other accounts, it is uncertain whether she was set up on Drake's ship or on land. Silva in his log, Nuttall, 289, recorded on the 9th that the pinnace was launched in the afternoon, as she had been built on shore, but under the 6th, he said

that the boat went to the shore but the men did not get out for fear of meeting warlike natives, as some were seen. Under such circumstances it does not seem likely that they would have set up the pinnace on shore. On the whole, John Drake's statement is probably correct. The guns were removed from Drake's ship in order to lighten her and were probably put in the *Capitana*, as there is no evidence that Drake had a camp on shore.

27. Two pages remain, attached to Silva's log, which are apparently all that is left of his

original log. They contain the happenings from January 1 to January 14 inclusive. Much fuller details contained in these two pages make us regret the loss of the rest of it.

28. This place has been abandoned and at present, Caldera, some distance to the north, is the port of Copiapo. Drake must have passed the mouth of the Copiapo River at night.

29. This island, Sugar Loaf Island on the map, which is in about 26° 10′, is the only one on this part of the coast which in any way corresponds to that eleven leagues from the port of Copiapo, although actually the distance is somewhat greater. For the happenings along this coast I am quoting largely from Sarmiento's narrative, which, in my opinion, embodies the account given by Juan the Greek and is therefore more authentic than any of the others. Silva does not mention the stop at this island. According to Sarmiento, the Indians, who were Camanchacas, were four in number. It was probably the 21st.

30. According to Silva's log this was on the 22nd.

31. The "*Morro*" was not a "fort" as translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 169. Mejillones is one of the best ports in Chile, and as water sufficient for a small town could be obtained at "Moreno" spring, a small settlement had been made there some time before, just when I do not know, but before 1570, as Lopez de Velasco, who refers to it, wrote about that year. *Op. cit.*, 513.

32. In the text of the W. E., 105 and 106, there is some duplication, apparently indicating that the compiler had at hand two sources which he confounded.

33. W. E., 105.

34. Sarmiento, page 390, also told a curious story about Drake's sending ashore while here an Englishman who spoke Spanish. When he reached land this man began to shout out that the Indians had seen the two other English ships pass by while Drake was at the Morro de Jorje.

35. W. E., 106.

36. The old town of Cobija is actually in about 22° 30′, but there is no likelihood that it existed at that time. Lopez de Velasco places the port of Mejillones in 22° 30′, and this may have come to the knowledge of the compiler of the *World Encompassed*, who interpolated it at the time the book was printed.

37. Silva, see page 344.

38. In the W. E., 106, but out of place in the narrative, there is a reference to what may have been Silva's fishing village. "Farther beyond this cape fore-mentioned lie certaine Indian towns, from whence, as we passed by, came many of the people in certaine bawses made of seales skins; of which two being ioyned together of a iust length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or forme a boate: they haue in either of them a small gutt, or some such thing blowne full of winde, by reason whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen."

39. I am not certain of the identity of Sarmiento's Paquiza with Pt. Paquija, but it may be the same.

40. A small town there is still known by the same name. The Pisagua River breaks through the Coast Range, which elsewhere stands up along this coast with an almost perpendicular face, thus affording access to the interior. No doubt a trail led to Potosi, as a man was found there with some silver bars he had brought down from that place.

41. In the W. E. there are two accounts of this, told in a somewhat different way, one from the "Famous Voyage," which came from the "Anonymous Narrative," and the other no doubt from Fletcher's story, thus giving the impression that two different parties were found on different days, one at Tarapacá and another at another place, but undoubtedly there was only one.

42. The llama, which is allied to the camel, is the Bolivian beast of burden and can only carry about one hundred pounds on long journeys, so the bars very likely were small, weighing about fifty pounds each. Some of the accounts say that the llamas were killed and eaten by Drake's men.

43. John Drake, Nuttall, 45, also said one of the men was taken to pilot the ship to Arica, and if so, he may have been a Corsican named Antonio, but I think Drake mixed up the story with the one about what happened at Arica.

44. *Charqui* is beef cut in narrow strips and dried in the sun. It was sometimes made out of the flesh of the llama.

45. The ship belonged to Jorje Diaz, and not to Nicolas Jorje. Sarmiento, page 391. He said there were thirty-three bars of silver, Nicolas Jorje, thirty-five, page 350.

46. From Sarmiento's relation.

47. From Silva's second deposition.

48. See a translation of his deposition, page 350 *et seq.*

49. In his depositions, Silva did not thus excuse Drake, and I do not think there is a word of truth in either statement. If Drake had not ordered the vessel to be burned he could easily have put out the fire; certainly the sailor was not alone on the ship nor do we hear that Drake punished him. Perhaps Drake apprehended some charges might be made against him for destroying the vessel and gave the sailor secret orders to burn her. Such things have frequently happened before and since.

50. John Drake said that Drake put ashore one of the men he had seized in Valparaiso and one of the Corsicans he had taken in Arica. As he only took one Corsican in Arica, it is possible he referred to the Corsican he had taken in Tarapacá, Nuttall, 45.

51. Probably the 8th. According to both Silva's log and the W. E. this was on February 9.

52. See Diaz Bravo's letter, page 356, for Drake's interesting account of this.

53. From Silva's deposition of May 23. He said they called Drake a thief.

54. The dates are uncertain here because we have none except those in Silva's log, and at Arica he was a day too far ahead.

55. This happened off Quilca, and Sarmiento says Drake took some money and clothing from the ship.

56. He may have taken only two men as the accounts do not agree. Nicolas Jorje is perhaps the best authority on the happenings between February 5 at Arica and March 6, the day he was liberated on Anton's ship. His account, however, is very brief.

57. This Portuguese pilot was undoubtedly the man taken off of Martin's ship in the morning, although Sarmiento, page 391, said he was Juan the Greek.

58. Sarmiento's statement about this is as follows: "Drake entered the port without being seen or without any advice having come to the Viceroy either by sea or land. This could have been done with much ease, and there was more than sufficient time for it. It was the fault of the officials in Chile that it was not done, because they sent the advice in such a way that it arrived at Lima fifteen days after the Englishman had left the port of Callao. The Indians and Spaniards on the coast of Peru were also to blame, as they used no diligence whatever in sending advice to His Excellency, although there was more than sufficient time to do so." The passage is hopelessly mistranslated by Mrs. Nuttall, 69.

59. Hawkins landed in Valparaiso contrary to his own judgment, but forced to do so by his men, who were looking for booty, and this time the notice of it reached Lima before he did, in fact, a sufficient time before so that an armed force was ready to meet him.

60. From casual remarks reported by Drake's prisoners, it seems that he had in view some such plan, but there can be no certainty of it, as it may only have been a little more of his big talk.

61. Sarmiento, page 391, said there were nine vessels there, and Drake cut the cables of seven of them. Included in the nine, it seems, was the ship of Rodriguez Bautista, and that of Miguel Angel.

62. Silva seems to be the only authority who mentioned cutting off the masts of two of the ships, but he made the statement twice, and it hardly seems likely that he could have been mistaken, although from the fact that Drake cut off only the foresail and the yard of Diaz Bravo's ship, it is most likely that he only disabled these in much the same manner. It takes time to cut down the masts of a vessel, and Drake was only in the port two hours altogether.

63. John Drake, in speaking of turning the ships adrift before reaching Callao, just a little previously, said that it was done so that they could not be used in pursuit. Why he assumed in this case a different motive and one that few can believe, is not easy to understand.

64. It seems obvious that if Drake had had the idea attributed to him by John Drake and Mrs. Nuttall, he could easily have carried it into effect. There was no necessity for cutting the cables. He had possession of most, if not all, of the ships in the harbor, and all he had to do was to stay right there and negotiate with the Viceroy about the prisoners. The passage in the W. E., 109, about twelve persons condemned for profession of the gospel in Lima, can hardly refer to them. These prisoners were four in number, John Oxenham, John Butler, his young brother Henry, and one Thomas Xervel, as the Spanish text has it. They were the remnants of Oxenham's ill-fated expedition, the other captives having been executed in Panama. After Drake left, all except young Butler were examined to find out what they knew about him, and to see if any of them knew how to make artillery. Translation in Nuttall, 1 *et seq.*

65. Nicknamed *Patagalana*, "the man who limped."

66. The Spaniards were much more familiar with French corsairs than they were with English, as for many years they had been much troubled by the former in the Caribbean.

67. Lopez Vaz is authority for this. See page 397.

68. None of the English accounts mentions the killing of this man, but it seems to have been a fact, as John Drake, in his second deposition, Nuttall, 47, even gave his name, Thomas.

69. He did not go around San Lorenzo Island as stated by Mrs. Nuttall, 60, but along the island.

70. The preceding account is from Sarmiento.

71. It is possible that Drake took this man named Domingo Martin from this vessel, as stated by John Drake, Nuttall, 29.

72. The date is very uncertain. In the *World Encompassed* it is said to have been February 20. Custodio Rodriguez did not give the date he was captured, nor can it be inferred from his statement, nor from that of Nicolas Jorje. The only Spanish account found that gives a clue is that of Sarmiento, who said, page 392, that the Viceroy's fleet arrived at Paita March 10, and heard that

ECUADOR
CUENCA
LOJA
PRIURA
LIBERTAD
ANCACHS
HUAS
PA
Cayambe
Pichincha
Quito
Cotopaxi
Chimborazo
Sangay Volc°
Guayaquil
Cuenca
Valao
Loja
Morobamba
Chachapoyas
Eastern Cordillera
R. Marañon
R. Curara
R. Morona
R. Paute
R. Huallaga
R. Santa
Sechura Desert
Callao
Lima
Callao Pt
Callao Roads
Chorrillos B
Tamyos
Ancon B
Huacho
Huarmey
Huaraz
Chimbote
Ferrol B
Samanco Bay
Carmen B.
Coishco
Salinas Point
Hornigas de Afuera
Lobos de Afuera
Lobos de Tierra
Silla or Saddle of Paita
Paita
Sechura
Agujas Pt
Parinas
Talara B
Amortajada or St Clara Is
Malpelo Pt
Gallo Pt
Callao Pt
Veldivia
Guayaquil
Gulf
Chanduy
Puna
Jambeli
Jamo
Jama
Caraques Riv
Manta or Pueblo
La Plata I
Salango I
St Elena Pt
C.S.Lorenzo
C.Pasado
C.Blanco
Chanduy
Morrope
Chota
Pimentel Port & Riv
Eten Rd
Progreso
Paeasmayo Rd
Malabrigo Rd
Macavi I
Huanchaco Rd
Trujillo
Guanape Rd
Chao I
Corcovado I
Santa B
Ferrol B
Samanco Bay
Colina Redonda
Huarmey Bay
Callejones Pt
Bahia
Fragata I
Fragata Pt
Fragata Roads
Fragata Bay
Vinita Pass
Beagle M
Fequeta Bay
Salinas Point
Hornigas de Afuera
Guano
Fuchucaquina
Wells
Frailes Pt
Chancay
Chancay Roads
Chancay Bay
Chancay Pt
Chancay Head
Carretas Head
Carrascoillo
Salmillo Cove
St Gallan Is
Del
Tisco
Table de
Los Inderuillos
Nicolas R
Quaquis Heights
Cayambe
Pichincha
Quito
Cotopaxi
Chimborazo
Sangay Volc°
S. Rosa
R. Curara
R. Morona
R. Marañon
R. Huallaga
R. Santa
Eastern Cordillera
Morobamba
Chachapoyas
Sechura Desert
Callao
Lima
Huacho
Huarmey
Huaraz
Chimbote
Ferrol B
Samanco Bay
Carmen B.
Coishco
Salinas Point
Hornigas de Afuera
Lobos de Afuera
Lobos de Tierra
Silla or Saddle of Paita
Paita
Sechura
Agujas Pt
Parinas
Talara B
Amortajada or St Clara Is
Malpelo Pt
Gallo Pt
Callao Pt
Veldivia
Guayaquil
Gulf
Chanduy
Puna
Jambeli
Jamo
Jama
Caraques Riv
Manta or Pueblo
La Plata I
Salango I
St Elena Pt
C.S.Lorenzo
C.Pasado
C.Blanco
Chanduy
Morrope
Chota
Pimentel Port & Riv
Eten Rd
Progreso
Paeasmayo Rd
Malabrigo Rd
Macavi I
Huanchaco Rd
Trujillo
Guanape Rd
Chao I
Corcovado I
Santa B
Ferrol B
Samanco Bay
Colina Redonda
Huarmey Bay
Callejones Pt
Bahia
Fragata I
Fragata Pt
Fragata Roads
Fragata Bay
Vinita Pass
Beagle M
Fequeta Bay
Salinas Point
Hornigas de Afuera
Guano
Fuchucaquina
Wells
Frailes Pt
Chancay
Chancay Roads
Chancay Bay
Chancay Pt
Chancay Head
Carretas Head
Carrascoillo
Salmillo Cove
St Gallan Is
Del
Tisco
Table de
Los Inderuillos
Nicolas R

Drake had entered and left the port fourteen days before. This would place the day as February 24, one much more likely to be correct than that given in the *World Encompassed*.

73. Rodriguez made a deposition in Panama, translated by Mrs. Nuttall, but it contains nothing of any value.

74. A man on this ship, named Gaspar de Montalvo, in 1581 made a deposition regarding the affair. (Nuttall, 144.) It contains no information of any value except that in the heading it is stated that he was taken prisoner by Drake, February 21, 1579. Whether this heading was put there by Mrs. Nuttall or derived from information contained somewhere in the document, I do not know, as I have not seen the judicial inquiry from which she extracted it. I am inclined to believe, however, that the statement is hers and not an official one. The vessel was captured the day after leaving Paita, and as the date of that occurrence is given as February 20 in the W. E., although probably incorrectly, I conclude that to have been the source of her information.

75. John Drake did not make any statement that this ship belonged to the friars, and it is certain that she did not, as the owner was Benito Diaz Bravo. The "Anonymous Narrative" is the only authority that she belonged to a friar. The author of that narrative is also authority for the statement that eighty pounds of gold in round slabs were found in her, and this may have been true. When the claim of the Spanish merchants was sent to London, it was asserted that Drake had captured in this ship silver and gold registered to the value of 18,000 pesos, and unregistered to the value of 50,000 additional. The statement seems to be mixed up with one that follows, evidently referring to the same ship, in which it is said that there were 14,000 pesos of gold on her registered.

76. "Anonymous Narrative," see page 270.

77. Francisco Jacome, the mestizo clerk, also made a deposition at the inquiry at Panama which was translated by Mrs. Nuttall but contains no information of any value not found in the very much more interesting letter of Diaz Bravo from which I have made such considerable extracts.

78. Diaz Bravo said that Drake asked him if it was true that Don Juan of Austria and the kings were dead, but the W. E., 108, probably incorrectly, says they heard at Callao of the deaths of the others mentioned, no doubt referring to the same story.

79. Translated in full, page 354, *et seq.*

80. For Silva's story, see page 348.

CHAPTER VI.

Practically this whole chapter has been written from Spanish sources, the English narratives passing over the events in a hurried manner and giving hardly any details. The "Anonymous Narrative" contains a few interesting stories which were suppressed in the "Famous Voyage" and also naturally in the *World Encompassed*. The Spanish authorities are of very unequal value, and many of the witnesses whose depositions have survived repeated the same story. The most important ones are printed hereafter.

1. John Drake said that he hung out cables and mattresses behind, but as no one else mentions them it is much more probable that he used the Spanish *botijas*.

2. See Nuttall, note 3, 157, for an amusing and fantastical interpretation of what Anton said. His Spanish was, "Que vinagrera es esa para amainar." Before *amainar* is evidently omitted the word *mandar* or *mandarme*. *Vinagrera*, according to the dictionary, means a vinegar cruet, but what Anton no doubt meant was to insinuate that the ship was a vinegar carrier, just a piece of seaman's argot. Insulting epithets of this character are just as common in Spain now as they were then.

3. The only authorities for this statement are John Drake's depositions. In the first, he said it was the pilot, in the second, Anton himself. Someone on the vessel seems to have been wounded and as Anton did not say that he had been the man, nor Lizarza, a passenger on the ship, who also testified, it must have been Anton's pilot or boatswain, Sancho de Anton. In the answers to the interrogatories put to Drake's men in Plymouth, it was alleged that only one man had been wounded on the west coast, and that in the face. Nuttall, 423. That some of the men on board Anton's ship were not killed was just another piece of Drake's good luck.

4. W. E., 111, makes the following statement: "We found in her some fruite, conserues, sugars, meale, and other victuals, and (that which was the especiallest cause of her heauy and slow sayling) a certaine quantitie of iewels and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate, 80 pound waight in gold, 26 tunne of vncoyned siluer, two very faire gilt siluer drinking boules, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360,000 pezoes." "Ryals of plate" is the equivalent of "ryals of eight"—that is, the peso of eight reals.

5. In the bundle of Drake papers in the archives in Seville there is a document which is probably a copy of the register, showing that the treasure belonged to a number of different parties.

86°
85°
84°
83°
82°
81°
80°
79°
78°
77°
76°
75°
10°
9°
8°
7°
6°
5°
4°
3°
2°
1°
Pt. Guionos
Puntarenas
P. Limon
G. of Nicoya
P. Herradura
C. Blanco
COSTA
RICA
Uvita B.
Chiriqui Lagoon
Cano I.
Llorena Pt.
Banco Pt.
Gulf of Dulce
Burica Pt.
Ladrones
Montuosa
Coiba I.
Mariato Pt.
P. S. Lorenzo
P. Nuevo
Bahia Honda
Montijo B.
Parita B.
PANAMA
Colon
Panama
Perlas Is.
Gulf of Panama
C. Mala
S. Miguel B.
G. Escarpado
Caracoles Pt.
Gusgava B.
Ardita B.
C. Marzo
Ootavia B.
Cupica B.
Solano Pt.
Solano B.
P. Utria
C. Corrientes
Caribana Pt.
Gulf of Darien
Piedras Pt.
R. Atrato
R. S. Juan
COLO
C. Chirambira
Buenaventura
Choco B.
Gorgona I.
Guascama Pt.
Patia R. Delta
Cascajal Pt.
R. Patia
Tumaco
Mangles Pt.
Andon de Sardinas B.
Coquito Pt.
Esmeralda
Galera Pt.
C. San Francisco
Rivadeneyra Shl.
Malpelo I.
VAR. 5°E
VAR. 6°E

Anton's "pesos" were probably *pesos ensayados,* of 450 *maravedis,* the same as the *peso de oro.* The question is about the amount of the unregistered silver and gold, which very likely was much in excess of the amount stated by Anton. A discussion of the matter will be found in Chapter XI. There was a tradition very early that Drake signed the register of the ship, having checked off the different parcels of silver and gold bars as they were taken from her. Lope Felix de Vega Carpio celebrated the event in verse in *La Dragontea,* first published in 1598. Cristobal Suarez de Figueroa, in his *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza,* repeats the story, which ought to be true even if it is not. I can hardly imagine Drake or any of his men going to the trouble of looking up the marks on bars to check them against the register, but Drake had a very keen sense of humor and very likely he did sign the register, and I can well believe he kept a copy of it.

6. This nickname which gave rise to this amusing but vulgar joke, Mrs. Nuttall thought should be *Çacafuego.* Whether this was the result of ignorance of the meaning of the word or covered a desire to make it more respectable, I do not know. See note 1 on page 165 of her book.

7. From Anton's deposition, see page 366, note 37.

8. A translation of this letter was made July 7 by John Butler, one of the English prisoners in the Inquisition, in Lima. A translation back into English will be found in Nuttall, 16. Drake evidently kept a copy of the letter or the substance of it, as it was published by Hakluyt in 1600, Vol. XI, 147. There are some slight differences between the two versions. See Chapter I for Drake's probable reasons for writing these letters.

9. Mrs. Nuttall, 155, indulges in some interesting speculations regarding this man's very unusual name, San Juan. Silva said that Anton spoke English and had been brought up in England, and she suggests that he might have been of English descent, the San Juan being the Spanish for St. John and the Anton what was left of Southampton. Anton is called a Vizcaino in some of the official documents. The relations between Biscay and England had been very close for several centuries and no doubt there were some families of English extraction living in that country. The difficulty with the theory is to reconcile it with the use of a family name such as St. John as a Christian name. There was on board the ship another Anton, evidently a relative of San Juan's, named Sancho, and the absence of the San Juan from his name militates against Mrs. Nuttall's theory. The name is certainly a very curious one, even the Anton being an extremely unusual Spanish name. In spite of Silva's statement that Anton spoke English, it is hardly likely that he did so on board Drake's vessel, the intimation all through his own narrative being that he obtained information from people on board who spoke Spanish.

10. Translated by Mrs. Nuttall, 176. It contains no information of importance not found in Anton's own deposition.

11. See translation on page 350.

12. There are in existence two copies of Anton's deposition, as explained on page 358. One of the documents has *carta de marca* and the other *carta de merced.* The former expression was in use at the time to designate a form of commission usually referred to in English history as a "letter of marque," or a "letter of reprisal," as more commonly known at that time. Drake certainly had no such document, but only an ordinary commission, although from his remarks it may be inferred that perhaps he claimed to have one.

13. As I can imagine no possible reason for Drake not telling the truth about this matter, Anton may have misunderstood him. Of course there always remains the slight possibility that the statement was true, but it is so contrary to all the other stories which he told that this hardly seems likely.

14. Nevertheless, the three men were afterwards hung, only the youth, Henry Butler, being spared. It is quite likely that Drake's bluff did them more harm than good. He had apparently heard about them from Diaz Bravo or some of the passengers on his ship, and not at Callao.

15. In this, of course, he referred to the Strait of Magellan, oblivious or ignorant of the fact that the Spanish had passed through it a number of times before him. A discussion of the reasons why the Spanish did not use the Strait will be found in note 1 to Chapter I.

16. The mention by Anton of pickaxes and tools [*herramientas*], mistranslated "agricultural implements" by Mrs. Nuttall, was used by her to support her theory that Drake had the intention of founding a colony in California. See page 19 for a discussion of the subject and a proper translation of the passage.

17. The date is quite uncertain, but this seems to be the most likely one, and in fact is so given in Silva's log and the *World Encompassed.*

18. In spite of his expressed intention, it hardly appears that it would have been very safe for Drake to have put his ship on shore so near Peru. If the two ships sent out by the Viceroy, which reached Paita on March 10, had crossed over directly to Nicaragua, they would almost certainly have found Drake before he left Caño. The General in command of the two vessels did not do this

probably because he was afraid of Drake, as indeed he had very good reason to be, his small force with what few guns he had being no match for the *Golden Hind*.

19. This man also made a deposition, translated by Nuttall, 185. He said that Colchero dictated the letters to him in the presence of an Englishman who knew Spanish. Drake also gave him and Juan de Espinosa, another passenger, letters of safe conduct. Two of his fellow passengers also testified in Panama in the judicial inquiry, namely, Diego de Messa, whose deposition will be found translated on page 190 of Mrs. Nuttall's book, and a Fleming named Cornieles Lanberd, whose deposition, translated by me from the original, will be found on page 369. Most of the information regarding what happened at Caño is derived from the latter. The W. E., 142, has a story of a terrible earthquake which was felt here in the ship a mile at sea.

20. Whether Drake left Caño on the night of the 24th or on that of the 25th is uncertain, as the evidence is conflicting.

21. Colchero's deposition, made on March 20 in Realejo, is translated in Mrs. Nuttall's book, 193. Most of it is devoted to an account of his troubles. Drake without doubt obtained some very valuable information from Colchero, who therefore enlarged on his sufferings in order to counteract the effect of any information which might be given by some of the other prisoners that he had been of any use to Drake. Nevertheless, that he was "hung" seems quite probable, although none of the other accounts mentions it. It seems possible, however, that John Drake's statement in his second deposition, Nuttall, 50, that Drake wanted to hang Zárate's pilot for carrying a gentleman like Don Francisco in a vessel in such ruinous condition, really refers to the hanging of Colchero, although he was not the pilot of Zárate's ship.

22. See page 347.

23. Silva, page 347, said that what was taken were twenty-eight packages belonging to two passengers who were traveling in her. In the "Anonymous Narrative," page 271, it is stated that Drake took out four chests of porcelain and some packages of linen cloth, taffeta and other silks.

24. Zárate, whose account is largely followed here, did not mention the falcon, the knowledge of which is derived from the "Anonymous Narrative," from which the statement was afterwards copied into the "Famous Voyage" and the W. E. Zárate was so much relieved to find that Drake was neither going to kill him nor hold him for ransom that he may have felt impelled to make a somewhat unequal exchange with Drake, if indeed he had anything at all to say in the transaction.

25. The preceding account is principally from Zárate's letter to the Viceroy, printed hereafter, page 373 *et seq.* He did not, however, mention the Negress, or does the W. E.

26. Juan Pascual's deposition made in Guatulco, May 12, 1580, was translated by Mrs. Nuttall from the document in the archives of Mexico, and this statement will be found on page 335 of her book. He had previously made another deposition in Acapulco March 5, 1580. The object of both these examinations was to secure some evidence against Silva. He said that Silva spoke some words in English, page 338. According to the "Anonymous Narrative," page 271, it must have been Pascual who told Drake there were not over seventeen Spaniards in the town; actually there does not seem to have been half that number.

27. If, in addition to an inherent improbability, Pascual's statement is not sufficient to show that Drake did not speak Spanish fluently as asserted by Mrs. Nuttall in her work, there is further and more convincing evidence of the fact in the deposition of James Barron about what occurred at the time of the capture of Pedro de Valdez in 1588. He testified that after Don Pedro came aboard Drake's ship and went to his cabin, Drake "did will his own interpreter to ask the said Don Pedro in the Spanishe tongue whether he would yeelde unto him or no?" Quoted by Lady Eliott-Drake, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 95. People who speak a language fluently do not need to call in an interpreter to ask such a simple question.

28. Pascual, Nuttall, 339, said that he told Drake there were ships and men in the port of Acapulco. No doubt one of Drake's reasons for entering Guatulco was to give the crew an opportunity to pillage.

29. Vargas sent a messenger hurriedly to the Viceroy on Monday night with an account of what had happened that day and followed this the next day with another. These two communications have been preserved and, together with depositions made the following year by the curate, Gomez Rengifo and Lopez, which Mrs. Nuttall found in the archives in Mexico in the Inquisition process against Nuño da Silva, present us the best picture which we have of Drake and his crew. The letters of Vargas translated by the writer appear on page 378, *et seq.*

30. A man who had a grant of Indians from whom he exacted a tax or actual labor.

31. "Anonymous Narrative," see page 272.

32. John Chilton, an English merchant living in Mexico, claimed that part of these goods to the value of one thousand ducats belonged to him. Hakluyt, IX, 365.

33. Gomez Rengifo described the boatswain, whose name he did not know, as small with a scant fair beard and a face pitted with pock marks. Nuttall, 353.

34. Most of the preceding account is from the deposition of Bernardino Lopez, Nuttall, 352.

35. The curate, Miranda, said that when they reached the ship, Drake was asleep in the cabin and when he came out he told them they need be in no fear of their lives, and that Drake then went ashore with the men and plundered the port, but the sequence of events which I have given seems to be the more probable one.

36. These nine Englishmen must have been the gentlemen on board, and it is very probable that this was all there were at that time.

37. Nuttall, 356.

38. *Ibid.*, 357.

39. Pascual, Nuttall, 357, is the authority for this.

40. Actually about three hours after sundown.

41. Printed in full in Nuttall, 245. The exact date of it is not known, but he must have made it a day or two after he landed.

42. *Ibid.*, 360.

43. A copy of this document in some way fell into the hands of the English, from which Hakluyt published a translation in 1600. As a contemporary copy of the original is now available in the Archives in Seville, it can be seen that Hakluyt probably had a slightly different document.

44. A translation is printed by Mrs. Nuttall, 296.

45. Nuttall, 381, for extracts from these letters.

46. I am not sure that Silva was sent with the *flota* of 1582, as a copy of a letter from the Conde de Coruña, in my possession, would indicate that 1583 was the correct year. He was, however, in Seville certainly by July, 1583, so he may have been sent on one of the advice ships early that year. Mr. G. R. G. Conway has kindly sent me from Mexico, photostats of the votes taken by the Inquisition in the case of Silva from the "Libro Primero de Votos" of that body. They are four in number, dated respectively, December 20 and December 23, 1580, October 4 and November 3, 1581. The first two relate to the scheme of the Viceroy, Enriquez, to take Silva to Peru with him; the third orders the torment to be applied to Silva, and the fourth records the sentence. This last is as follows: "Que este reo abjure de behementi en aucto publico con vela, y sea desterrado perpetuamente de todas las indias y en las y tera firme de Su Magestad el cual desterro no quebrantese pero que lo cumpla en las galeras de Su Magestad al remo." All the inquisitors were in favor of this except Bonilla, who was of the opinion that the prisoner should be acquitted. Appended translation of the sentence: "That this prisoner make abjuration 'de vehementi' in an auto-da-fe with a candle, and be perpetually exiled from the Indies, and further, that in them and 'tierra firme' of the King, the said exile should not be diminished, but that he comply with it in the galleys of the King at the oar."

47. Translations of these were published by Mrs. Nuttall, 397-399, and in the introductory note will be found her speculations which follow regarding Silva's later life.

48. So many of the prisoners testified to something of this character that it hardly seems possible they could all have been mistaken, although it may have been the case that Rodriguez originated the story, the others having heard it from him. His testimony in Nuttall, 143. Some of the witnesses thought there were one or more others on the ship besides Silva who had been on the coast previously, including one man who was identified in Guatulco as a pilot named Morera, an account of whom will be found in Chapter VII.

49. The "Famous Voyage," see page 273.

50. See page 347 or Nuttall, 318 and 252. This map was undoubtedly Gilbert's map, this being the entrance on the east side.

51. Drake had obtained this information from some of the pilots he had seized on the coast of Peru or Chile. It sometimes took three months to make the voyage from Peru to Chile on account of the southerly winds. The Solomon Islands had been discovered only a few years previously by Alvaro de Mendaña.

52. See page 372. The mention of the seventy days indicates that Drake had already received information from someone about the Manila navigation.

53. Nuttall, 114. This is only third-hand evidence, however.

54. The map was said to have been made by Andres de Urdaneta.

55. The basis of this was a Spanish map, as will be shown hereafter. It seems to record the results of the expedition of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, who left Mexico in 1542.

56. The basis for the geography of the Pacific delineated on this globe is also some Spanish map, of later date than the one referred to in the previous note.

57. This is about the difference shown on the Molyneux globe.

58. Although Cabrillo was supposed to have gone north as far as forty-three degrees or even higher, no mention occurs in the narrative of seeing any part of the coast above forty-one degrees, where a cape was named Cabo de Fortunas. This cape was almost certainly Point Arena in 38° 57′, showing his observations to have been about two degrees too high.

59. The worst cargo a vessel can carry is bars of metal as it is perfectly rigid. A full cargo of it is exceedingly dangerous.

60. That thorough repair to the *Golden Hind* was necessary is apparent from Drake's actions at Caño in attempting to find a suitable place to put his vessel on shore. While there he did careen the vessel and cleaned and calked her on each side as far above the water line as the shoal water, in which she was tipped first on one side and then on the other, permitted.

61. Nuttall, 31.

62. The "Famous Voyage," see page 274; the passage is very ambiguous.

63. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi sailed from Navidad for the Philippines in the fall of 1564, and the *San Pedro* was sent back in the summer of 1565, having on board Andres de Urdaneta. Apparently he wrote no account of the voyage, but there are others written by the pilots.

64. The typhoons as a rule only occur in the height of summer, July, August and September.

65. From the writer's own list of the movements of vessels between Acapulco and the Philippines down to 1600.

66. Translated from the letter in the A. G. I., 2-5-2/21. A translation of most of it will be found in Nuttall, 232. Velasco at this time was a kind of secret agent of the Madrid government in Mexico, a fact probably well known to the Viceroy, who in consequence was unwilling to accept his suggestions, as he resented his interference.

CHAPTER VII

At times some suspicions have been expressed about Drake ever having seen the Northwest coast, arising from the stories about the cold weather, the supposedly erroneous description of the coast, and other incongruous details. It would be easy to support such doubts by reference to the text of the "Famous Voyage" wherein no mention of America occurs. It is not even said that when he turned towards land that his course was east. The only knowledge that any contemporary reader might have had that the land he reached was actually America was supplied by a marginal note of Hakluyt himself. Even John Drake in his first deposition did not mention America although he did say that at some point in the journey the course was changed to northeast. The cold weather and the snow which appear so prominently, especially in the *World Encompassed,* are no doubt largely some of the exaggerations so common in that book. Nevertheless, there was probably some foundation for the stories. Very considerable evidence is to be found in accounts of other Sixteenth Century voyages to those regions that the weather there was much colder than it is at the present time and that the rainfall was very much heavier. In the north that always means more snow and the mountains a short distance from the coast might well have had their tops covered with snow even as late as June. Some statements, such as that the deciduous trees had no foliage, can be ascribed to the compiler of the *World Encompassed,* who, not having been there, perhaps thought that they should have been without leaves since it was so cold. This is only one of many such inferences scattered through the book. To Englishmen, accustomed to seeing at home, especially in the west of England, an almost semi-tropical luxuriance of vegetation, the aspect of such a country, for example, as the barren hills south of the Russian River, must have been very strange. Very likely they attributed the dried-up appearance of the country to cold weather rather than the true reason, a lack of rain.

So little is said in any of the accounts about the voyage from Guatulco to New Albion that it has been necessary to follow the course pursued almost entirely by

means of a study of the prevailing winds in the north Pacific. The writer is indebted to the various works of Professor George C. Davidson for such data.

Aside from a few remarks about the proceedings on the Northwest coast made by John Drake and the writer of the "Anonymous Narrative," our entire source of information is the account in the "Famous Voyage" as amplified in the *World Encompassed*. The one which follows is extracted from this latter work, stripped of the interpolations, pious and profane, of Fletcher and of the compiler of that work, and the fanciful assumptions regarding the motives of the Indians. After this has been accomplished what remains is the account in the "Famous Voyage" with two or three dates added and one or two facts which may or may not be authentic.

1. See page 274.

2. W. E., 221.

3. W. E., 113.

4. See page 277. On all the maps on which Drake's route is laid down this is shown as closely paralleling the coast of California, an obvious error, the reason for which lies not so much in the incorrectness of the course of Drake, as in the trend of the coast. The cartographers simply used the current maps which showed the coast with too great a trend toward the northwest.

5. *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America*, San Francisco, 1908, 83.

6. Professor Davidson apparently did not accept the statement of the *World Encompassed* that the distance covered was fourteen hundred leagues, and he failed to notice that there is an ambiguity in that work in that the fourteen hundred leagues referred to might have been intended to represent that part of the voyage after Drake turned north or northwest, in which case the total distance sailed from Guatulco to the Northwest coast would have been nineteen hundred leagues. The fact is that the fourteen hundred leagues is an obvious interpolation made when the *World Encompassed* was compiled.

I recently had in my hands a manuscript account of a voyage to California in 1849. The ship passed over much the same route as the *Golden Hind* must have done, but some three months later in the year. June 26 the ship was on the Equator in 100° W., July 7, lat. 17° 33′ N. and long. 106° 30′ W., July 17, 23° 30′ N. and 118° W. After July 17 the northeast trades were encountered and July 25 the ship was in 30° N. and 130° 30′ W. Some days later the wind changed to the northwest, and August 1 the vessel was in 36° N. and 126° W., whence a direct course was taken for San Francisco.

7. I have records of the voyages of Pedro de Unamuno from the Philippines to California in 1587, and of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1595, which I published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society for July 1923 and April 1924. Unamuno makes no mention of finding the northwest winds and merely states that when in the latitude of 39° on September 3 they encountered a north-northeast wind. Cermeño states that October 2 he was in 40° and continuing in a northeasterly direction got up to 41° where a northeast wind was encountered. The wind soon shifted to the northwest, however, and October 22 he was in 42°. At that time he must have been about a thousand miles off the coast. On the 29th he was again in 42° only a few hundred miles from the coast, apparently having had a northwest wind since the 25th.

8. Nuttall, 50.

9. Nuttall, 31. He says they met great storms, but it is hardly likely that any were encountered except gales from the northwest.

10. See page 304.

11. See page 312. Dr. J. G. Kohl, whose sketch of this part of the globe is reproduced herewith from his maps in the Library of Congress, was of the opinion that Blundeville had some other source of information. On the globe Quivira is just below Cape Mendocino in 42° and not in 46° where it was according to Blundeville.

12. See page 315. In a marginal notation of Mr. Huntington's copy of this book opposite 48° is "but 43 degs." At the end in the same handwriting—"Read be me N. Hughes 1595—November."

13. The maps just described are all reproduced in the section of maps.

14. 48°.

15. As Professor Davidson states the case in his *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America*, 27, no navigator would admit the possibility of sailing the *Golden Hind* from 42° to 48° against a strong headwind and a heavy swell in such a short time. He further discusses the subject on pages 82 to 86. He even intimates that the best the *Golden Hind* could do was to sail to the

east and that in doing so she would fall to leeward. Hakluyt probably knew nothing about the prevailing winds in that part of the Pacific beyond what information he could glean from the narratives of Drake's voyage and consequently based his choice on other considerations than those given by Professor Davidson. What these were we do not know. We only have the result which naturally inspires us with some degree of confidence.

16. Nuttall, 32. Herrera changed this to "somewhat more than 45°," page 333.

17. Nuttall, 50. It has been suggested by some writers that the 48° is an error for 38°, but this seems most unlikely as in his first deposition he also said that Drake had gone to 48°. These two statements are the earliest in point of time known about Drake's visit to the Northwest coast. The claim that Drake went up to 48° must, if false, have been fabricated before 1582. While the observations made at sea in the time intervening between June 3 and June 17 could not have been very accurate it is hardly possible that they could have been four of five degrees too high, and even if they had been we would still have to account for Fletcher's statement in the "Famous Voyage" that Drake only reached as far north as 42° or possibly 43°.

18. I have not been able to discover that up to the time Drake left England any knowledge of Cabrillo's expedition had reached there beyond the brief description of the coast given by Lopez de Gomara. That expedition was supposed to have reached as far north as 43°, and some statements were current later that it had reached 44° or even 45°. There is nothing in the narratives, however, to show that land had been seen above 41°. These latitudes were unquestionably too high by probably two degrees. Whether this had been found out by the time Drake captured Colchero, and whether Colchero's charts showed Cabo de Fortunas in 41°, where it had been located by Cabrillo, is uncertain. Colchero probably had some knowledge of the expedition, and he may very well have told Drake that Cabrillo had gone up to 43°.

19. See page 304.

20. W. E., 115.

21. W. E., 118.

22. It is possible Francis Drake himself had made a notation that he had gone up to 48° on either the Fletcher manuscript or some other. The compiler of the *World Encompassed* would naturally have accepted him as the best authority in the matter although we might well hesitate to follow him. There are some indications in Monson's work that Drake did annotate some account of the voyage.

Cape Mendocino

23. The date of the discovery of Cape Mendocino and the origin of the name is one of the unsolved problems of the history of the cartography of America. Like that of the date of the founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico, persistent and long continued research has failed to find an answer. The general idea seems to be that it was named after Antonio de Mendoza and therefore was discovered while he was Viceroy of Mexico, that is, some time between 1535 and 1551. The suggestion is plausible enough in its way, but no known expedition during this period reached as far north as even 39°, except that of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who was on that part of the coast in the winter of 1542 and 1543. Although the original account of his voyage is lost, a summary of it is extant, and Antonio de Herrera evidently saw the original. Neither the summary nor his account mentions the name, nor did Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who gave a slight sketch of that coast from which most of the published maps were constructed up to 1587. In that year, Abraham Ortelius issued in the French edition of his Atlas, a new map of America, dated the same year, on which Cape Mendocino in the latitude of about 45½° first appeared. The map is also remarkable as being the first one known to have the name California applied to the entire peninsula; previously it had appeared only as the name of a cape, usually the one at the southeastern extremity of the peninsula. Some other new names also appear on it—R. de los Estrechos in 49½°, Rio Grande in 40°, y^{a} de Paxaros in 24°, Rio Hermoso for a river probably intended to be the Gila, and along the coast between 54° and 58°, Grandes Corrientes. On Ortelius' *Typus Orbis Terrarum*, which was probably not issued until the following year, although dated 1587, these names occur at still higher latitudes. This is the first appearance of the Island of Paxaros, evidently the same as Guadalupe, although placed several degrees too low. These new names at once awaken our interest, indicating that Ortelius had obtained some fresh information about the west coast, so unreliable, however, that it could hardly have been taken from a map. In the summer of 1585, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was captured in the Atlantic by one of Walter Raleigh's ships and was a prisoner in London for some time. It seems not unlikely that he gave out some information regarding the Northwest coast which, in garbled form, reached Ortelius. Sarmiento had accompanied Mendaña on his expedition to the Solomon Islands and on the return his ship became separated from Mendaña's somewhere in the north Pacific. No record is extant to my knowledge of what he saw during that period, but he stated in his relation, from which so many extracts have been made,

that he had sailed from Cabo de Fortunas in 34° to the Island of Caño, and alluded to Cape Mendocino, which he said was in 43°. Cabo de Fortunas was not in 34° but in 41° according to Cabrillo, a fact which Sarmiento must have known. If he actually followed the coast from Cabo de Fortunas south, he may have made some of the discoveries noted by Ortelius, but that does not account for the naming of Cape Mendocino nor for those names on Ortelius' map north of that cape. For these latter, perhaps Sarmiento drew on his imagination.

Just when Sarmiento wrote his relation is uncertain, but as his principal object in writing it was to set forth his own services, he might have written it at any period after 1579 when he was seeking advancement. At the end there is a very positive indication that it was addressed to the President of the Council of the Indies, and it may therefore have been written after his return to Spain in 1580. Even if he had seen the cape there was no reason why he should have called it Mendocino, as there was no Mendoza prominent in New Spain or Peru after whom the cape might have been named at the time he returned from the Solomon Islands, and none appeared upon the scene until Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, the Conde de Coruña, became Viceroy of New Spain October 4, 1580. The conclusion therefore would be almost irresistible that the discovery had been made after that date and within some reasonable time after his death, which took place June 19, 1583. Dr. Francisco de Sande arrived in Acapulco from the Philippines December 27, 1581, in the *San Juan Bautista,* whose pilot was Francisco Gali. January 24, 1582, he wrote to the Council of the Indies from Mexico that a ship which had left Manila June 4 of the previous year, had passed on, after visiting some ports on the coast of New Spain. The ship had gone either to Panama or to Callao, having no doubt stopped in Acapulco and left some account of the voyage. The expression "ports of New Spain' is somewhat indefinite but Dr. Sande might easily have referred to some on the Northwest coast, as that was always referred to as New Spain by the navigators. I have a suspicion that the cape was discovered on the voyage of the vessel to which he referred and that the name may have been applied in Mexico when the account, perhaps with a map, was sent to Spain.

It does not necessarily follow that the cape at 40° 27′, now known as Mendocino, is the one to which the name was originally applied, in fact there is much evidence that this was much farther north; Sarmiento even placed it in 43°. Cermeño, on his voyage of discovery sighted the Northwest coast November 4, 1595, between two capes twenty leagues apart. From a previous remark that on October 29 he was in 42° it appears likely that he reached land in approximately the same latitude. After lying to during the night, the next morning while sailing slowly south along a rocky coast with a heavy surf beating on it, he found a reef extending about a half league into the sea (or in the sea), which he said was Cape Mendocino, giving as the reason for the identification that the coast ran in one direction southeast from it and in the other north a quarter northeast. Continuing towards the south under full sail a point was discovered with two small islands outside. During the night the wind came strong from the northwest. The next day Point Reyes was sighted, and passing around it he anchored in the bay now known as Drake's Bay, which he christened San Francisco. (Cal. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly,* April, 1924.) From this description it is not clear whether his Cape Mendocino was the one now so known in 40° 27′, Trinidad Head in 41° 03′, or Cape St. George in 41° 45′. We get some light on the question, however, from Francisco de Bolaños, who was with Cermeño and afterwards accompanied Sebastian Vizcaino in 1602-1603. After his return from the latter expedition he wrote a *Derotero,* which begins at a cape in 42° he calls San Sebastian. (MS in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.) This was copied almost without change by Joseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno in his *Navigacion Especulativa y Practica,* Manila, 1734. This cape Bolaños described as large and of clifflike form, and from it he said the coast, formed of land not very high, ran to the south eight leagues, where another large bare cape was found with some white cliffs extending down to the sea. Bolaños called this cape, which he placed in a latitude a little short of 41½°, Mendocino. By reference to his determinations of the latitudes of other points well known, it appears that his observations were about half a degree too high. Therefore his Cape Mendocino was in about 41°, that is to say, it was Trinidad Head or Rocky Point, settling the doubt about the location of Cermeño's Cape Mendocino.

In the *Derotero* made out by Geronimo Martin Palacios, the cosmographer of the Vizcaino expedition, Cape Mendocino is located in 41° 20′. (A. G. I. 60-4-37.) This was printed in Madrid in 1882 in *Documentos referentes al Reconocimiento de las Costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino recopilados en el Archivo de Indias.*, and was translated by George Butler Griffin and published by the Historical Society of Southern California in 1891 in Vol. II. Examining the latitudes assigned by Palacios to Point Año Nuevo and Drake's Bay it appears that these were about half a degree too high, hence his Cape Mendocino should be in about 40° 50′, much nearer Trinidad Head than the one now so called. Moreover, Palacios' chart of this part of the coast which accompanies Vizcaino's report makes it clear that his Cape Mendocino was also Trinidad

Head, as indicated by the large bay to the south of it which can hardly be anything but Humboldt Bay. (A. G. I. 60-4-37.) This part of Palacios' chart is reproduced herewith. The bay shows little resemblance to Humboldt Bay in its present form, but everything indicates that this has been filling up with sand, even since the Americans occupied the country. Mad River originally flowed into the bay through the slough which is still in existence parallel to the sand spit and the northern part of the bay is filled almost entirely with alluvium brought down by that river. That there was no general agreement on the voyage as to the latitudes of any of these places is plain from the statement of Father Antonio de la Ascension that the cape was in 42°. (MS in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, translated by Dr. Bolton in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 1916.)

24. See page 312.

25. *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast*, 22.

26. In the "Famous Voyage" this was called "tabacco," probably Hakluyt's idea of what it was. The use of tobacco by the natives of America as a stupefying agent was known to the Spaniards, but as late as 1572 Juan Fragoso, in his *Discursos de las cosas Aromaticos*, said the Spaniards used it more to beautify their gardens than for its medicinal properties. Of these uses he gives a long list but nowhere mentions smoking it for mere pleasure. In 1586 Drake brought tobacco to England from Virginia, and therefore the word could not have occurred in the original. Nor was the plant apparently tobacco although the Indians at both Point Reyes and Bodega had wild tobacco, certainly when they became known to the Americans. Dr. C. Hart Merriam informs me that the former called it *O-yen-ki-ah* and the latter, *Ki-Ow*. In 1775 the Heceta party found the Indians at Trinidad cultivating it, and smoking it in wooden pipes shaped like small trumpets.

27. In the "Famous Voyage" nothing is said about the roof being covered with earth. These huts half underground were also typical of the north central part of California although the roofs of these were made of brush and poles and not clefts of wood as stated in the W. E. The word "clefts" implies that the pieces had been split.

28. These Indians evidently did not live on the bay, but came from some little distance away.

29. No doubt the usual Indian feather headdress.

30. This was no doubt the Indian money, and was probably of clam or mussel shell which the Pomo Indians obtained at Bodega Bay.

31. Dr. A. L. Kroeber identifies them as the net caps of central California, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, 1924, 276. A caul, spelled "caule" in the narrative, is an old English word for cap.

32. This allusion to down is interesting. The milkweed common near the coast produces in the fall a kind of down-like substance. The northern Indians made much use of bird down for similar purposes.

33. That is, the chignon, or *"la castaña,"* as Bodega called the way Trinidad Indian men wore their hair.

34. Dr. Kroeber thinks this was the *Brodiaea*, a lily bulb largely eaten by the Indians. The word, however, he thinks stands for "potato," possibly the Spanish *papa* or *patata* or *batata*, but I cannot agree with him. The potato is indigenous to the Peruvian Andes and hardly appeared in Europe before 1580 and was not even known in England until 1586 and even that was the sweet potato. The original Peruvian *papa* is still found there; it is about the size of a large marble and is quite distinct in taste from what we call the Irish potato. *Petáh* must be what the English sailors could make out of the way the Indians pronounced the word.

35. Dr. Kroeber says this describes a typical Pomo basket. *Op. cit.*, 276.

36. A black rod was also a feature of a Pomo ceremony, the *Guksu*. Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 261.

37. Dr. Kroeber considers this word to represent *hoipa*, the Coast Miwok word for "chief," which is not impossible but unlikely. It sounds more like some exclamation, interpreted by Drake's men to signify "king" as they were very anxious to make out that the Indians called Drake a king.

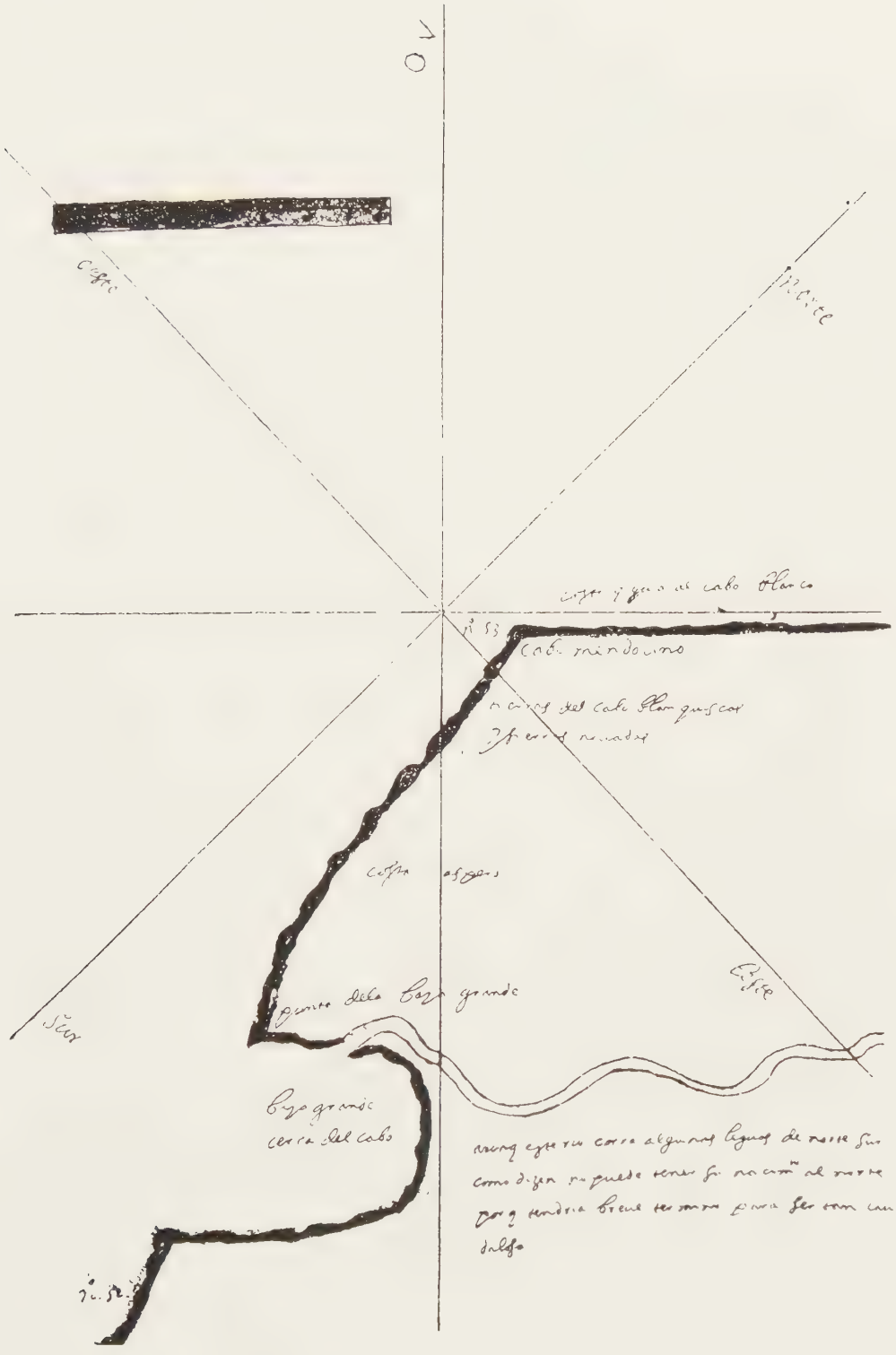
38. This is another indication that these Indians came from some distance and were not those living on the bay, as such could have procured all of this kind of food they wanted. Altogether, on the assumption that this bay was Bodega Bay, it is probable that these visitors were really Pomo Indians from the Russian River, a fact also indicated by the number of their characteristics of dress and ceremony which were the same as those described in the narrative. These Russian River Pomo resorted to Bodega Bay for clam shells out of which to make their money. Kroeber, *Op. cit.*, 248.

39. No doubt when Drake stopped making them presents.

40. This would indicate that these Indians did not belong on the coast.

41. Knowing the unwillingness of sailors to walk, I have a suspicion that this party went in a boat, perhaps up Tomales Bay.

42. The description fits no known California mammal but seems to be that of two or more different ones badly mixed. As ground squirrels answer part of the description and are also ex-



Oy
Norte
Sur
Este
costa y guia al cabo blanco
cabo mendocino
costa aspera
punta dela baya grande
baya grande
cerca del cabo

tremely numerous and much more in evidence than gophers some little distance in the interior beyond the redwood belt, it is probable that these were the "conies.'

43. This skin coat was another Pomo article of dress although not restricted to the chief.

44. The only one who mentioned this was John Drake, Nuttall, 51, but it must have been true as we know Drake took her out of Guatulco, and John Drake would not have said she was left where Drake calked the *Golden Hind* if she had been lost or abandoned at sea. This affords an illuminating glimpse at what was *not* related by the English writers.

45. See page 157 for a possible explanation of this.

46. Compare with that of the giants, note 23 to Chapter III. Fletcher's account of the latter can fortunately be checked with other more reasonable statements.

47. This is apparent all through the *World Encompassed* and the Fletcher MS and indeed was current in English literature for the next half century. The English were no doubt entirely sincere in this belief which they had largely derived from reading Bartolome de las Casas' works, from their idea of the superiority of themselves to the Spaniards and that of their religion to the Roman Catholic and from a lamentable ignorance of the Indians themselves. John Davis even persuaded himself that "his countrymen were a chosen people, pre-destined to be sent unto these Gentiles in the sea, to those hills and famous kingdoms, there to preach the peace of the Lord." *The World's Hydrographical Discription*, London, 1595, 40.

48. Nuttall, 51.

49. It is not impossible that these stories arose from seeing tattooing marks on the faces of the women and the arms of the men. This practice was common to the northern tribes and the Trinidad Bay Indians as can be seen by Bodega's and Mourelle's accounts. (See next chapter.) I have not been able to find any early account of the Point Reyes or Bodega Indians which mentions the custom except that of Archibald Menzies, who visited Bodega Bay in October, 1793. He said most of the Indians there were tattooed with a streak from each shoulder across the breast in crescent shape. The hair was tied up in a knot either on the crown of the head or behind. They had no ornaments, the men were naked and the women wore dressed deerskins about the waist, reaching to the knees, and a small mat of skins without the fur on, on their shoulders. The bows and arrows were like those seen at Trinidad in the preceding May when the expedition stopped at that place. The same small village of Bodega y Quadra was seen in the north part of the bay. Some Indians came on board and Menzies noticed that "their bodies and arms were marked with slight lineal scars seeming made by cutting the Skin in various directions with some sharp instrument for ornament." *Journal* of the Vancouver Expedition, by Archibald Menzies, published in the California Historical Society *Quarterly*, January, 1924.

50. See page 351.

51. Nuttall, 32.

52. *History of Marin County*, by I. P. Munro-Fraser, 1880, 96. The Indians even talked about Drake having given their ancestors a dog and some young pigs.

53. *Documentos para la historia de Mexico, Series III, Tomo IV.* Translated in the *Land of Sunshine* for February, 1900.

54. If Morena's story of wandering four years was true, he should have arrived in Nueva Viscaya about 1583 or possibly 1584. About that time, Rio de la Losa had his headquarters at Sombrerete.

55. See page 380.

56. There is also some slight indication to be found in the accounts of the Vizcaino expedition that some Englishmen had either been left by Drake on the coast or had deserted. Torquemada, Vol. I, 708 (1723 edition) says that while in the Bay of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in the month of October, 1602, the Indians explained by signs that inland there were many people wearing clothes and with beards, who had arms and harquebuses. Zárate Salmeron (*op. cit.*, *Land of Sunshine*, November, 1899) also said that while the expedition was at San Diego, the Indians told them that some white men, bearded like them and wearing leather jackets, were working some ores for metal in the interior. This latter information is not to be found in any of the narratives of the Vizcaino expedition, and consequently unless San Diego is a mistake for the bay just referred to, he must have obtained it from Father Antonio de la Ascension. While Indian stories are very unreliable, and especially so when related only by signs, there evidently were some white men somewhere in the interior, or at least there had been. Perhaps the Indians referred to the Spaniards in New Mexico, who had reached the Bill Williams country in western Arizona. On Oñate's expedition of 1604-1605 to the Colorado and down it to the mouth, he also heard some stories about silver or some metal being mined to the west of the river.

57. See Father Kino's curious ideas on this subject in Dr. H. E. Bolton's *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, 1919, Vol. I, 329, and Vol. II, 244 and 260.

58. In both the "Famous Voyage" and the *World Encompassed*—really only one as the second is

copied from the first. The "Anonymous Narrative" makes the same statement, adding that the country people worshipped it as if it were god, and that Drake nailed a lead plate on the post and scratched the Queen's name on it.

59. W. E., 129. As proof that Drake had the idea just referred to, Mrs. Nuttall, in her Introduction, xxxviii, quoting part of the passage, says, "The riches and treasures of the country (wherewith in the upland countries it abounds) were to be transported to the enriching of her Majesty's kingdom." The proper meaning of the clause is just the contrary to that which she attributed to it.

60. Fletcher's imagination was not confined to California. He was also probably the author of the following, only found however in the W. E., 107. "Hereabout, as also all along, and up into the countrey throughout the Prouince of Cusko, the common ground, wheresoeuer it bee taken vp, in euery hundred pound weight of earth, yeeldeth 25s. of pure siluer, after the rate of a crowne an ounce." Nothing small about this—five ounces per 100 pounds or 100 ounces per ton.

61. The "Famous Voyage" and the *World Encompassed* are usually supposed to contain this statement but at best it is only an inference hardly supported by the context.

62. The grant as cited by Lady Eliott-Drake on page 59 of her book reads as follows: "Whereas Sir Francis Drake, Kt. had circumnavigated the globe from east to west, and had discovered in the south part of the world many unknown places, her Majesty, to perpetuate his fame and valour, did grant unto him and his heirs all the manor of Sherford in Devonshire, once leased to Thomas Maynard and Walter Maynard for the term of their natural lives. . . . . ."

63. Camden. See page 323.

64. Although I am satisfied that Mendoza knew that Drake had been on the Northwest coast within a month after Drake returned, there is no mention of it in any Spanish document I have found before the deposition of John Drake made in 1587. The Hakluyt "Famous Voyage," printed in 1589 or shortly thereafter also contained such information.

65. By Juan de la Isla.

66. The Spaniards had discovered this part of the coast in 1774, and probably this very place. In 1789, hearing of English ships on the coast, they sent an expedition to take possession of Nootka, where an English vessel was found. Another soon appeared which was seized only to be released afterward. Formal possession was then taken. Afterwards Captain Colnett came in with the avowed intention of taking possession for Great Britain and was seized and carried to San Blas. This precipitated the Nootka Sound controversy between Spain and Great Britain which brought them to the brink of war. In October 1790 the famous Nootka Convention was signed by both in which it was agreed that each nation was to have free access to the establishments of the other in those regions and Spain agreed to return any land or buildings taken from the British at Nootka and pay damages to Colnett.

67. Dr. Travers Twiss in his *Oregon Question Examined*, London, 1846, presented the principal argument supporting the British views, and took occasion to investigate carefully rights acquired by discovery. He evidently thought very little of the British claim to any title to the Northwest coast on account of Drake's discovery. All he claimed was (page 378) that his discovery had not lost its validity as a bar to any asserted discovery of a later period. Doctor Twiss was still foolish enough to think that the taking possession by Drake had been made with the consent of the natives, a ridiculous pretention that could only have originated from a lack of even the most rudimentary knowledge of the character of Pacific Coast Indians.

Dr. Twiss, like many other writers, was not aware of the fact that the soil of California was divided between a large number of small tribes, whose territorial boundaries were nearly as well fixed as those of a modern county. Even if Drake's Indians had ceded what sovereignty they possessed to him, it would only have embraced a few square miles of the coast.

CHAPTER VIII

It is with the greatest reluctance that I approach the delicate subject discussed in this chater, more especially because I feel compelled to dissent from the comclusions of Professor Davidson, for whom I have always entertained the greatest respect. Like most others who have never given the subject any great consideration, I had accepted as final his identification of Drake's Bay as the one in which Drake repaired his ship, and it was only while studying the Spanish voyages to the northwest, and especially that of Rodriguez Cermeño that I began to feel great doubt about it. Although Professor Davidson had not seen any account of Cermeño's expedition, he had learned from that of Vizcaino that the former had

been in that bay. He seemed to think that the Spaniards must have destroyed any vestiges of Drake's stay there because they execrated him so heartily, but in saying this, he displayed little knowledge of the methods of the Spaniards in recording their visits to different places. As such accounts were not intended for publication, no good reason can be imagined why they should have suppressed any mention of finding traces of Europeans in Drake's Bay, if any had actually been found, since one of the objects of Cermeño's expedition was to look for signs of civilized people. In arriving at his results Professor Davidson relied mainly on the Hondius broadside as reproduced in the 1854 edition of the *World Encompassed* and some maps of Robert Dudley which he considered to have been in part based upon information derived from Drake himself. These maps are discussed in the section of maps, where it is pointed out how Professor Davidson came to be misled in using them to support his arguments. He seems to have developed such a predilection for Drake's Bay that he was unable to appreciate the force of anyone's argument who, dissenting from his view, attempted to prove that Drake might have repaired his ship in some other bay.

The identification of any bay with the one in which Drake anchored from a comparison of the manners and customs of the Indians as set forth in the *World Encompassed* with those of known tribes, cannot be said to be very satisfactory. Since first writing this chapter, and before seeing Dr. Kroeber's book, I had an opportunity to discuss the matter with him, and pointed out to him my reasons for thinking that Drake had been in Bodega Bay instead of Drake's Bay. He said that he had accepted the current opinion in favor of Drake's Bay, but that there was nothing in the descriptions of the Indians which might not apply equally well to those in Bodega Bay. As for the possibility that Drake had also been in Trinidad Bay, as shown by the Hondius plan and as indicated by the boats and some of the practices of the Indians described in the *World Encompassed*, he expressed no opinion, although he said he had called attention in his book to the failure to mention the tule *balsas* in that work.

1. If any reliance whatever can be placed on this statement about the lack of greenness, it would appear certain that the country described was the hilly country south of the Russian River. In the summer time the hills are brown. The description would not fit the country north of Cape Mendocino.

2. See page 291 for a discussion of this.

3. In Trinidad Bay at a spot corresponding to the one where the Indian is building a fire near the neck, is a rock about thirty or forty feet high.

4. For a description of this village site, see T. T. Waterman's *Yurok Geography*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1920. There could hardly have been fifty people living in it all told.

5. An ample description of these Indians will be found in the work referred to in the preceding note and in Dr. A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California.*

6. I am indebted to Dr. Kroeber for this suggestion. One difficulty at once arises about this theory, namely, the entirely different attitude which these Indians displayed towards the Spaniards when Heceta and his party landed there in 1775. They were then extremely forward in their behavior and after two days became unduly familiar.

A very interesting account of these Trinidad Bay Indians in 1850 will be found in a French manuscript work in the Los Angeles Public Library by one Ernest de Massey, recently published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society.

7. Many manuscript accounts of this voyage are extant. My references are to a copy in my possession of a document in the A. G. I., *legajo* 2314 (old number), which was made by Melchor de Paramas in Mexico, December 27, 1775. Three maps and a number of tables are attached to it. In a recent catalogue of Maggs Brothers another appeared entitled *Segunda Exploracion de la Costa Septentrional de Californias hecha en* 1775. This was apparently written up afterward from the different accounts of Heceta, Perez, Mourelle and perhaps Fr. Miguel de la Campa, the chaplain of the *Santiago*. What is probably the original of Bodega's account is in the A. G. M., Tomo 324,

Seccion de Historia. Several accounts by Antonio Mourelle are also extant which, like those of Bodega, differ very little from each other or from those of Bodega. One of these now no longer extant was translated into English before James Cook's third expedition left England, and perhaps then printed. This translation was inserted in 1781 by Daines Barrington in his *Miscellanies.* It contains many errors as can be demonstrated by a comparison with the account by Mourelle in the A. G. I., Aud. Mex. 19, Doc. 5.

8. Fray Miguel de la Campa wrote a very interesting account of his experiences, which is contained in Tomo 324, *Historia, Californias,* in the A. G. M. He also refers to these knives, which he calls "pieces of swords, about a handbreadth in length," and says that one of the Indians claimed to have made his out of an iron spike obtained from a piece of wreckage and which he said he had lengthened by hammering it with stones. The good father evidently misunderstood the Indian's signs.

9. In Mourelle's account as translated in Barrington's *Miscellanies,* no mention is made of these knives, a grave error having been committed by omitting a part of the passage so that it appears that the arrows had copper or iron points. One of these arrow points was said to have been marked by a C///. The translator left out after the "arrows" a few lines in which Mourelle said they had flint points--as naturally would be expected. Mourelle said the knives looked like old sabres. In the *Miscellanies* there is a note by the translator that the iron arrow points had probably been obtained from Hudson Bay Company traders by some Indians (and passed on, evidently). This of course is barely possible, but really even less likely than that they were relics of Drake's expedition.

10. Of this group there were three known tribes; the Hookooeko, part of whom lived at Point Reyes; the Olamentko, of Bodega Bay; and another between Freestone and Petaluma. In Dr. A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook* there will be found on pages 276 and 277 some remarks regarding the *World Encompassed's* account of the Indians. Dr. Kroeber expresses the opinion that the culture described therein agrees very closely with that existing among the Pomo and their neighbors in the nineteenth century. The Pomo did not belong to the Miwok stock and it is not apparent just why characteristics that agreed with those of the Pomos should be attributed to the Hookooeko of Point Reyes. Passing over this, he found sufficient resemblance to conclude that Drake's Indians must have been those at Point Reyes. The attempt to identify the few native words employed in the *World Encompassed* seems less successful. The principal point Dr. Kroeber makes is that the baskets described were typical Pomo basketry. The "canoe" did not fail to attract his attention as being a harsh note in an otherwise harmonious narrative, as there is no authentic record of true canoes between Cape Mendocino and the vicinity of San Luis Obispo. He says: "Either custom changed after Drake's day, or his canoe is a loose term for the tule *balsa* which was often boat-shaped, with raised sides, especially when intended for navigation." To this it may be objected that as shown hereafter, tule *balsas* were in use in Drake's Bay in 1595 and were so recognized without difficulty.

11. Extracted from the manuscripts cited in note 7.

12. From the document in the A. G. I. referred to in note 7. There is a copy in the Bancroft Library.

13. Nothing better illustrates the changes in the bays on the coast of California even since 1775 than this comparison. Besides the filling of the bay proper it is evident that the Punta del Cordon has grown very much larger, so that now it bounds a lagoon rather than a bay. As late as 1850 and even later there was deep water in the channel along the Punta del Cordon clear beyond the Punta de Arenas to a small island (then) where ships used to load potatoes. In 1579 perhaps the Punta del Cordon did not exist at all.

14. Archibald Menzies with Lieutenant Paget visited the bay in October, 1793, and saw a few Indians who seemed remarkably friendly and docile. The men were naked and the women wore a dressed deer skin hanging from their waists to their knees, and some had a fur mat over their shoulders. He said that a Captain Gibson had been there a few years before. Menzies found signs of Spaniards, no doubt Juan Matute's party which had been there in the summer of the same year. Matute's report is extant in the A. G. M., Tomo 71, *Seccion de Historia.* He gave no account of the Indians. He said Captain Colnett had been there. Menzies' account in his *Journal* in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, January, 1924.

15. These were made of a kind of reed growing in the California marshes, and were in common use by the California Indians below Humboldt Bay except in the Santa Barbara Channel and nearby.

16. Dr. C. Hart Merriam informs me that these Indians had three kinds of houses, tule houses, grass or straw houses, and ceremonial or sweat houses. The last had a strong wooded frame with a brush-covered roof. None conforms to the description of the houses Drake found.

17. See the notes to the preceding chapter for Dr. Kroeber's remarks on these ceremonies.

18. *The Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño in 1595.* Henry R. Wagner, California Historical Society, 1924.

19. MS in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Bolaños' words are as follows: "The coast runs to the southeast a quarter to the south until you reach 38½° where the land makes a point of medium height, which from a distance, being separated from the coast, looks like an island. The point is called 'Los Reyes,' and ends in a very steep headland. On the northeast side it makes a very good shelter and port for all the ships, in the latitude of 38½°. I call attention here that in anchoring in this port, which is called San Francisco, against a south or southeast wind, you have to anchor at the end of the beach in the corner on the west-southwest side. On the northeast side, there are three white cliffs very near the sea. In front of the one in the center there enters from the sea an *estero* with a good entrance without surf. Anyone who enters this will soon find friendly Indians and can easily find sweet water. On the southwest of this port there are six or seven small white *farallones*, one, larger than the others, which may be a little more than a league in circumference. Whoever comes from Cape Mendocino in search of the port, when six leagues away from the cape will sight by the southeast quarter to the south the Punta de los Reyes and will see the *Farallones*. This is a good landmark by which to know this port where the ship San Agustin was lost in the year 1595 while on her voyage of discovery and the cause of her loss was more by reason of the one who steered her than the bad weather." (Trans.)

20. Vol. XIV, 422 *et seq.*

21. This appeared as a kind of Appendix to the *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs in Virginia.* It is there entitled, *A Treatise of the Northwest Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia and by Fretum Hudson,* and is paged 45-50, and signed "H. B." The Purchas version is somewhat different, but the statement regarding the map of California is the same. It thus seems that Briggs had seen the map by 1622, at the time he first published the essay. There is nothing to indicate that his map was published with the pamphlet, nor have I found any mention of his map ever having been bound up with that work, but it is not at all impossible that Briggs did have one engraved at that time, and thus we could account for a Dutch map, which in some respects must have been taken from Briggs' map, and is contained in a book purporting to have been issued in 1624, the year before Briggs' map appeared in Purchas.

22. *Methods and Results. Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539 to 1603.* U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Washington, 1887. It seems likely that Professor Davidson, however, had formed his opinion some time previously. Bancroft in 1884 in Vol. I of his *History of California,* 81-94, discussed the subject at some length and was unable to decide whether Drake had anchored in Drake's Bay or Bodega Bay.

23. See a discussion of his sources in the account of his *Arcano del Mare,* page 434, *et seq.*

24. If Drake had actually been in this bay thirty-six days, or even a short time it is difficult to see how some allusion to this *estero* would not have been made in the narrative, more especially since the Indian villages were almost entirely located on it. It is true that there is very little account of the country in any of the narratives, but some sign of it should have appeared on the "Portus Novae Albionis" if that was intended to represent this bay.

25. W. E., 134.

26. That in Lopez de Gomara's *Historia de las Indias,* Zaragosa, 1552, Vedia ed., 164, was the source of all those known before 1587 at least.

27. A reproduction of part of this globe appears hereafter.

28. *Monarchia Indiana,* Vol. I, 694 *et seq.,* of the 1723 edition.

29. From a photostat of the copy by Enrique Martinez in the A. G. I. The original sketches by the cosmographer Geronimo Martin Palacios are not extant but shortly after Vizcaino's return in 1603 these were copied by Martinez.

30. Nuttall, 31. In this translation the name is omitted, as well as some other words. On the fifth line from the bottom of the page, after the word "islands," insert the following, "one of which, Captain Francis named San Bartolomeo and the other San Jaime, and the said islands are."

31. See page 333.

32. August 24 was St. Bartholomew's Day and on that day in 1578 Drake named the island in the Strait. If it be contended that he also gave the same name to another island on the Northwest coast it must be conceded that he was still there August 24, 1579, and did not leave in July as asserted in the *World Encompassed.* That this is possible although unlikely appears from the "Anonymous Narrative" wherein it is said that Drake did not leave till the "latter ende of August."

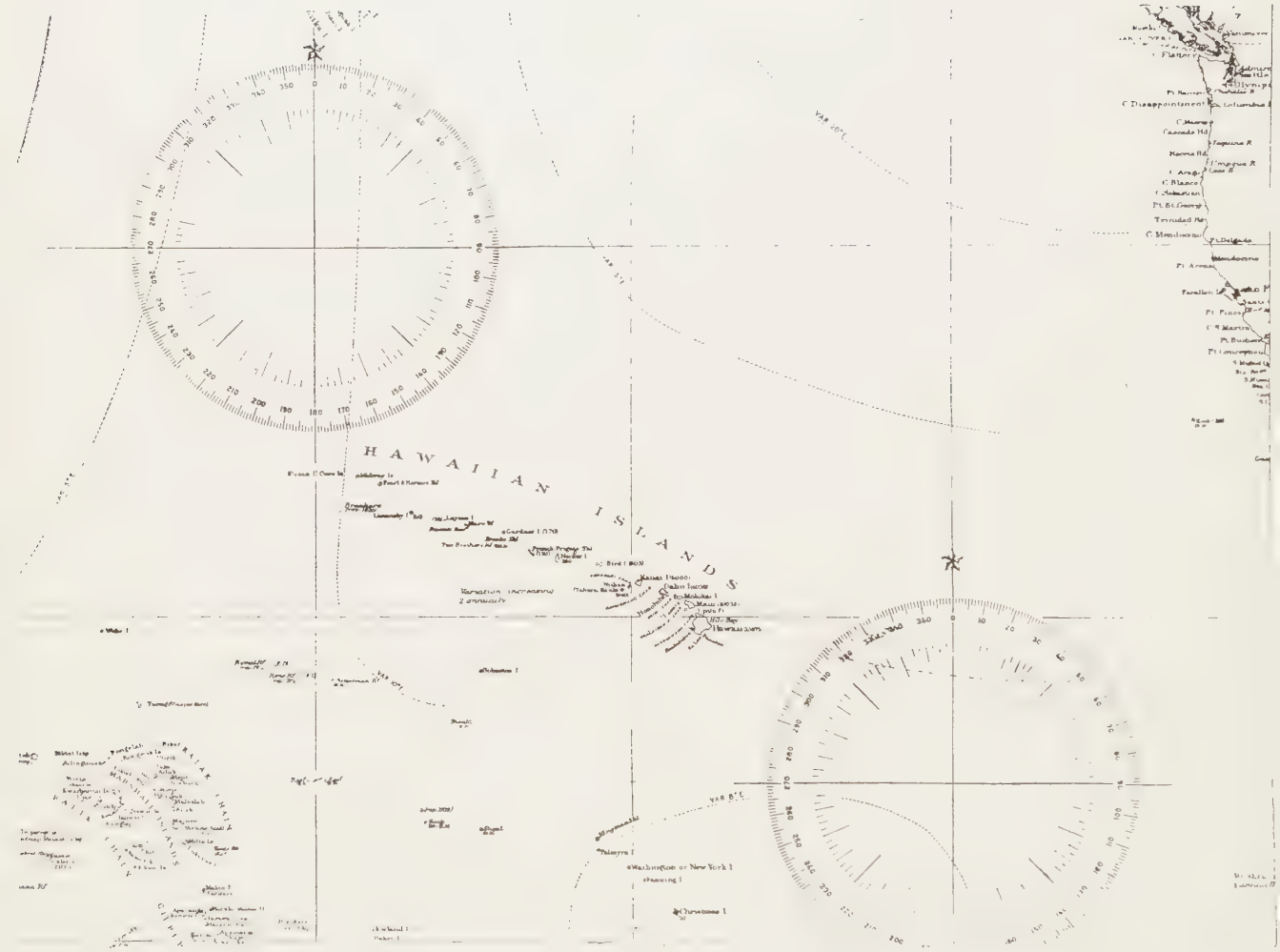
33. July 25 was St. James' Day and the natural inference would be of course that Drake had been at some island and named it on that day but it does not necessarily follow that this was one of the Farallones, still less the southeast Farallon.

34. Reproduced hereafter.

35. Reproduced on page 428.

36. In Bancroft's *History of California,* Vol. I, 89, will be found a quotation from a letter

C H I N A
SEA OF JAPAN
HOKKAIDO
HONSHU
HOSEN
KOREA
BWANG HAI OR YELLOW SEA
NANSEI IS
Okinawa Jima
TAIWAN
LUZON STRAIT
CHINA SEA
SIAM
BURMA
MARIANAS
CAROLINE ISLANDS
BORNEO
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°



The North Pacific

printed October 5, 1878, in the S. F. *Bulletin* which Bancroft supposed had been written by John W. Dwinelle. Unfortunately the writer also made use of Dudley's map to confirm his opinion which was that Drake certainly anchored in Bodega Bay. He also used the 'portus" and was able to present a very good case, although unable to satisfactorily explain the "island" on that plan. He thought that this was supposed to represent Bodega Rock, which lies off the end of the head. When he wrote, the Indian village on the hill was still there, and there were still fifteen feet of water a hundred feet from shore in front of a good sandy beach, on which the *Golden Hind* could easily have been drawn.

37. In his *Identification.*

38. It is astonishing that anyone could ever have paid any attention to this legend.

39. Cermeño was in Drake's Bay some six weeks and when he left he passed close to the southeast Farallon. It was in the daytime but he saw no opening at the Golden Gate. Vizcaino was also in this bay in January, 1603. He did not go ashore but as they were sailing out two canoes with an Indian in each came out from the bay calling to them to come into the port. As in sailing up from the south it is said that the ships had an offshore breeze, it is probable that they kept quite close to the coast.

40. In order to compare Cermeño's description of the Indians with that given in the *World Encompassed,* I include a brief extract from my translation. (See note 18.) As he came to anchor an Indian came out in a boat made of grass like *zacate.* He rowed this with an oar with two blades and coming alongside, talked a long time. There were some Indian dwellings about a harquebus shot from the beach, which consisted of pits dug in the sand, covered with grass and inhabited by about fifty individuals. The men went entirely naked but the women wore skirts of grass or deerskin. The men were well set up and robust and wore their hair long. They had bows and arrows and their breasts and part of their arms were painted black and red. They had no beards. When the Spaniards started to go into the interior, about half a league from the beach they met some Indians dancing the war dance. One had a tall banner of black feathers. He came towards the Spaniards and then stopped. On being spoken to by two Indians from the village near the beach, these Indians lowered their arms and came up to the Spaniards, the one with the banner delivering it to the captain. These Indians had a seed the size of anise seed which tasted like sesame.

CHAPTER IX

While in Spain some three years ago the writer was fortunate enough to discover a letter written by Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, the Governor of the Philippines, to the King of Spain, in which he made some comments on Drake's visit to Ternate in consequence of some information which he had received from one Francisco de Dueñas who had gone there as a spy. A subsequent search in the archives by Miss Irene A. Wright led to the discovery of an original report written by Dueñas, in *legajo* 1-2-1/13, No. 14. The document, in a contemporary handwriting, on thirty-seven folio pages, was received in Mexico in November, 1582, and sent to Spain, January 10, 1583, with a letter of the Viceroy, the Conde de Coruña. It contains a large amount of interesting information regarding Drake's visit to the Moluccas which will be found quoted in full in this and the following chapter. Some obvious errors will be found in it due to the fact that Dueñas had to rely almost entirely on the stories which he heard from the natives and the Portuguese, yet on the whole it enables us to reconstruct Drake's course through these islands in a much more satisfactory manner than has hitherto been possible.

In 1581, Ronquillo, having received advices from Spain that Philip II had succeeded to the Crown of Portugal, determined to send Dueñas to the Moluccas, India, Malacca, and other Portuguese possessions in the East to see how the Portuguese there had taken the news, and to obtain information, especially regarding their forts and forces in the Moluccas, Dueñas in a small *fragata* with some seven other Spaniards set sail from Manila November 26 of that year and returned to Manila May 20, 1582, and presented a report from which such parts as refer to Drake are translated in the text.

The long accounts in the "Famous Voyage" and the *World Encompassed*, practically identical, about the ceremonies with which Drake was received, have been omitted from this chapter, that of the "Famous Voyage" being printed heretofore. In spite of the apparent air of friendliness which pervades this account, it seems very probable that Drake was uncomfortable there. That something was wrong is evident from the shortness of his stay and his anxiety to get away to some uninhabited island in an out-of-the-way place. The explanation no doubt is to be found in Dueñas' account.

1. These islands, which extend on a line nearly north to south from 21° to 13° N. lat., in about 145° E. long., had been so named by Magellan on account of the thieving propensities of the natives. They were not occupied by the Spaniards until the latter part of the seventeenth century, at which time they were officially named the Marianas. Guam, originally called Guahan, is the southernmost island of the group, although on some maps of the sixteenth century, two appear farther south, the southernmost being called Boham as on the Molyneux globe. It was at Guam that the west-bound Manila galleons stopped for water.

2. Nuttall, 51.

3. John Drake, Nuttall, 32, distinctly stated that after leaving these islands, which were in 9°, and navigating nine days to the south and southwest, they found an island in 7° where they spent a day taking water and wood. If the "Island of Thieves" had been one of the Pelew group, this statement could not possibly be true. For what it is worth, it is a strong indication that the "Island of Thieves" was Yap, and the island in 7°, either the southernmost of the Pelew group or possibly Songosor, which, however, is farther south than 7°.

4. *Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean,* London, 1803, Vol. I, 357. Burney usually followed the *World Encompassed* and accepted the stop at Mindanao without question, as likewise did Corbett. Generally speaking, this latter author, in his account, Vol. I, 295-297, accepts the conclusions of Burney, although he calls attention to the extreme inconsistency of the accounts.

5. W. E., 136.

6. The practice of chewing the betel nut or the betel leaf was prevalent in all the islands in the west Pacific.

7. Nuttall, 32.

8. W. E.; the preceding account is largely from this text, pages 134-136.

9. For instance, in speaking of passing Talao in 3° 40′, it is said that they saw to the north, three islands, the "middle whereof" stands in 3°.

10. Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola, in his *Conquista de las Malucas,* Madrid, 1609, 146, states that Dueñas went to Ternate as a spy disguised as a Chinaman, and he evidently saw another Dueñas' report, which he says reached King Philip in Lisbon after the ambassador from Ternate had left. Certainly, much of what he assigns to Dueñas' report was not derived from the one which is quoted so extensively in this chapter. It seems probable, then, that as soon as Dueñas returned to Manila in May, he was sent back again by Ronquillo in disguise, as in his first expedition he certainly did not go to Ternate.

11. W. E., 136.

12. There are no islands six or eight leagues south of Mindanao. Those nearest to Sarangane and Candigan just off the south point are not less than forty miles distant; possibly Drake went into the Celebes Sea far enough to find some islands on the west coast of Mindanao near Borneo, but this is very unlikely.

13. There are a number of ways of spelling the names of these two islands, these being from Dueñas' account. The two are now frequently referred to as the Balut Islands or Sarangani Islands. The latter is the proper name of the one to the east.

14. Dueñas had previously stopped at an island he called Sanguin, no doubt the one now known as Sangi, thus identifying his Siago with Siau or Siaul without much question.

15. Dueñas' name for this island is Matheo and I was much puzzled to locate it until I discovered that it was the Portuguese or Spanish name for Celebes.

16. Translated from the original, A. G. I., 2-5-2/21: "They went to a large island called Borney and there took wood and water. They then went to the Malucos and on the way encountered a ship of which they asked for food, saying they were Englishmen and were in need of it and that if they would not give it they would take it. Those on board the ship would not give anything, saying that they were Lutherans. They followed the ship that day and night and part of the following day without being able to get up to her. They ran in amongst some shoals, where

Captain Francis did not dare to enter, and so he let them go and went away, and never did they find out whether they were Portuguese or of some other nation. From there they went to another island where they captured two or three Indians to show them the road to the Malucos and carried them along until they arrived there."

17. W. E., 137.

18. It seems from a later reference in the narrative that this man was kept as a prisoner until Drake left.

19. A *caracoa* was a large open boat with bow and stern alike, both pointed, the largest ones being propelled by about a hundred oarsmen and carrying some armed men. Some small cannon were usually mounted in the bow and stern. Argensola, *op. cit.*, 24.

20. In confirmation, I quote from a continuation of John Drake's narrative: "At an island a Portuguese mestizo promised that he would take them where food would be given them, and intending to go with him, there came on board the ship a Moorish gentleman in his native dress, with a chain, which seemed to be gold, around his neck, and some keys hanging to a small silver chain. Having asked for the Captain and found out that he intended to go with the Portuguese in order to secure food, the Moor said to him not to go with the Portuguese, as they were deceitful people, but to go with him to where his King was and he would give them what they needed. So they went with him to an island called Terrenate, where the King was, and there they talked with him, who, with some galleys of the kind they use there, had the ship taken to another port where there was a fortress." The small island referred to and called "Mutir" in the "Famous Voyage" was probably the small island at the north end of Ternate. It seems likely that Drake first anchored somewhere near the north end of the island and was then towed to Talangam, the main port farther south on the east side of the island facing Gilolo. The old Portuguese fortress was at this place.

21. The name of this island is spelled in numerous ways. The spelling of Dueñas which is followed here I conceive to be much the nearest in Spanish to the way of writing the native name.

22. This word is usually written Bachian or Bacham, but Dueñas' spelling is used here.

23. In Spanish and Portuguese books, this man was usually called Guichil Babù or Cachil Babù.

24. This had happened about 1577.

25. Really the accounts are identical except where some explanations or additions have been made in the latter.

26. The *sago* or *sagu* of Ternate was obtained from the cabbage palm, and some of the bread made from it was taken back to London by Drake. In 1581, two pieces of this bread were given by Dr. Hugh Morgan, the Queen's physician, to Charles L'Ecluse, who in Antwerp in 1582 published an account of the palm and the method of preparing the bread in his work cited previously. According to him, the pieces were about as large as the palm of a hand and a twelfth of that in thickness, and the bread was almost flavorless, but if taken with a little pepper or cinnamon and sugar, as was customary at the island, he thought it might have been palatable.

27. The compiler of the *World Encompassed,* 142, has a characteristic remark regarding these cloves and Drake's opinion of them: "for a few cloues wee did also traffique, whereof, for a small matter, wee might haue had greater store then we could well tell where to bestow: but our Generalls care was, that the ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith." It is quite likely that this was merely an interpolation of the compiler.

28. See page 277.

29. *Op. cit.*, 107. This work was translated into English and published by John Stevens in London in 1708.

30. See page 334.

31. W. E., 142.

32. See page 279.

33. W. E., 138.

34. Spanish, *cuadrar.*

35. Juan Perez in his letter states that some one with Fenton, probably John Drake, had told him that one of these presents was a crown. See page 399.

36. Nuttall, 32. The Spanish is as follows: "Que allegaron al dicho su navio sesenta hombres."

37. A. G. I., 67-6-6. This letter embodies considerable information which Ronquillo had received from Dueñas.

38. Here Drake was drawing the long bow again. He had not been at Zafi, that is, Saffi, and consequently neither when Sebastian, the King of Portugal, passed through, nor after the King's death in battle, which occurred on August 4, 1578, when Drake was near the Strait of Magellan. He had obtained this information from the passengers on Diaz Bravo's ship. Fletcher calls the town which Drake passed before reaching Mogador, Sophia, and says that the inhabitants sent out

two ships to meet them, adding that the King of Portugal was daily expected to come to the aid of the King of Morocco against his uncle. This bit of information has a suspicious appearance, no mention occurring either in the Cooke or Cliffe account that any Moorish ships came out to visit Drake.

CHAPTER X.

In tracing Drake's route through the Indian Archipelago more difficulty has been encountered than in that of any other part of his voyage and the result as set out in this chapter is submitted with a considerable degree of hesitation. Only one of the texts affords any details whatever—namely, the *World Encompassed*—and these were written obviously so much later than the voyage that they cannot be accepted with the same degree of confidence as would be accorded them if they were strictly contemporary. They appear to be additions of the same character as those referred to in the preliminary note to Chapter VII. Lacking any other source of information, however, it has been necessary to make use of them, the more especially as, although of doubtful origin, they describe a course in which there is nothing inherently improbable. Drake certainly reached the south coast of Java by passing to the eastward of that island and the main question will always be, through just which channel did he pass. Corbett, who also used the same text, arrived at a similar conclusion to the writer's—that Drake passed through the Ombai Passage, although he differed somewhat in identifying the islands at which Drake stopped before reaching there.

1. This was the season between the monsoons and as the W. E. correctly states, it was a period of calms.

2. The W. E. states Drake arrived November 14 at a "little Iland (to the Southward of Celebes)." From this and subsequent remarks it is evident that Drake's maps showed Celebes as a small island extending but very little south of the Equator.

3. In this Drake was followed by Herrera and Argensola. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the account of the W. E., corroborated as it is by Dueñas.

4. Matheo was either the Spanish or Portuguese name for Celebes. Its real name was San Matheo.

5. Translated from the document previously quoted.

6. Corbett, I, 301, does not attempt to locate "Crab" Island but from his subsequent identification of the deep bay as the Gulf of Gorontalo it seems that he must have considered the island to have been much farther north than I have placed it.

7. Although there is much resemblance between this word and Bangay or Banggai, it is not impossible that it may have been the name of Peleng Island. The coast of this island actually runs north and south or very nearly so and it is even possible that this was what Dueñas calls the coast of Castarlibo as at that time it may not have been discovered to have been an island. Andres de Urdaneta, in the *Relacion* of the expedition of Loaysa, which he rendered in Madrid in 1536, says that he was in Bangay, as he spells it, forty days, and gives a short description of the island. The people, he says, were very warlike and had a king who was very rich and had a large supply of gold. Although the island was small, this king was master of many others as well as of the greater part of a large island to the west which he called Tubuzu (that is, Peleng). *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1837. Vol. V, 437.

8. Later in his account, Dueñas called it "Coro Island."

9. Nuttall, 53. In his first deposition, page 32, he even says that they obtained nothing there but water, fuel and some crabs.

10. W. E., 150, where they are called cray-fish. These crabs were the well-known robber crabs which form a connecting link between crabs and lobsters. They sometimes attain a size of two feet in length. L'Ecluse, *op. cit.*, heard about these crabs from some of Drake's companions, who told him that they seemed always to live on dry land because when they threw them into the sea they immediately came back to land. He says that they were good to eat, but does not mention that they climbed trees. (Incidentally, L'Ecluse also says that the island was south of the Equator between Java and the Moluccas.) There used to be a fable that these crabs climbed the coconut trees for the purpose of cutting off the coconuts, but this is now generally discredited.

SUMATRA
BORNEO
JAVA SEA
SUNDA STRAIT
BANTA
BATAVIA
MADURA
BALI
Christmas I.
Variation increasing
3 annually

120°
125°
130°
CELEBES
MOLUKKA PASSAGE
HALMAHERA
SULA
PITTS PASSAGE
MOLUKKA SEA
Variation increasing 2 annually
BANDA SEA
FLORES SEA
SERWATTI ISLANDS
TCHIMBER ISLANDS
OMBAI
SUMBA
SANDALWOOD

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

11. Nuttall, 32. This story is also found in the "Anonymous Narrative" (see page 281) which adds that the Negress was big with child. It was formerly assumed to have been a fiction, and together with other stories in that narrative considered discreditable to Drake, sufficed to stamp it as the work of some malicious individual. The discovery of John Drake's deposition, however, has put another aspect on the case. An amusing commentary on the lengths to which authors will go to excuse their heroes can be seen in the note on page 300 of Vol. I of Corbett's work, where he suggests that Drake, having rescued these people from slavery, and one from death, was leaving them to a life which to them was perfect bliss.

12. *Op. cit.*, a demi-culverin weighed about thirty-four hundred pounds, had a four-inch bore and fired a ball of nine and one-half pounds. The largest gun at that time used aboard ships was usually the demi-cannon, weighing 4000 pounds, firing a ball of thirty and a half pounds, and having a bore of six and three-quarter inches. Monson, *Naval Tracts*, 342.

13. W. E., 150. The northeast monsoon usually begins to blow about this time, and it seems from the narrative that this year it set in just before December 12.

14. "Anonymous Narrative," "January 8 at eight o'clock at night;" the "Famous Voyage," "January 9 at eight o'clock," and the W. E., 157, "January 9 at the first watch."

15. From the accounts it is evident that Drake's map of these seas was extremely inaccurate, a further proof that his famous Portuguese map of the world contained little information of value about these islands.

16. W. E., 156. "2 deg. lacking three or four minutes South Latitude." Corbett identified it as Mulapatia Reef, south of Peleng Island. Vol. I, 301.

17. W. E., 154. The *Golden Hind* reached England with at least fifty-two men and some boys, so John Drake's statement that they numbered fifty-nine at the Cape of Good Hope may be accepted as correct.

18. W. E., 151-156, *passim*.

19. See page 282.

20. *Fortuna* seems to have here the meaning of misfortune. In fact, wherever this word is used in the sixteenth century manuscripts consulted, it seems always to have that meaning.

21. *Op. cit.*, translated from page 107.

22. These islands are in about 5½° S., east of the large Island of Buton in about 124° E. longitude.

23. The charts, even those issued by the U. S. Hydrographical Bureau itself, are so hopelessly at variance in naming the islands in the archipelago, and in the spelling of the native names, that I can only refer the reader for the locations and spelling adopted here to chart 826-a of that office, reproduced at the beginning of this chapter.

24. From this point to the arrival of Drake in Java, his route can not be traced with any degree of certainty. Although the account in the W. E. is quite circumstantial, it evidently contains some errors, hereafter referred to, and the only place which can be identified with some degree of precision is Sandalwood Island and the two small ones nearby, which Drake is said to have lost sight of on the 22nd on the starboard side, and which are located in 10° and some odd minutes. There are no other islands in anything like that latitude which Drake could have passed to the south of, except the islands at the south end of Timor. If Drake passed those on the starboard side he must have passed down on the east side of the Island of Timor. If the description given in the W. E. is at all correct, this was out of the question, as he never could have seen any islands to the south on such a course. The conclusion is inevitable, then, that he passed south somewhere between Timor and Sandalwood Island and thus must have sailed through the Ombai Passage. Corbett, Vol. I, 304, of his work, identified Barativa with Damma because this, he said, is in exactly 7° 13′, the location of Barativa according to the W. E., but as the latitudes given in that text are never right this would in itself furnish a good argument that Barativa was not Damma. Besides, the location of Damma relative to other islands referred to in the W. E., puts it out of the probabilities of the case. The name Barativa may safely be said to be a corruption of Batotiva or Batoteva, as the prefix "Bato," meaning "island," was common in many names of islands in the archipelago on the old maps. From the numerous examples to be seen on these, it seems that the Portuguese, who were the original authors of them, usually corrupted "Bato" to "Barto" or "Bartu."

25. Some of these were taken back to England, and L'Ecluse, who received some of them from Dr. Morgan, described them and gave a picture of them. He says that some of Drake's men told him that they had previously found the tree on which they grew on a desert island but had been afraid to eat the fruit although they were very hungry. The natives boiled it and after having beaten it, cooked it as a kind of porridge.

26. John Drake said they were at this place eight days and that the island was in 5° (Nuttall, 54), but evidently his memory was bad.

27. W. E., 159.

28. The names immediately preceding are spelled differently on other charts.

29. It seems probable that Drake anchored at night while passing through these islands, as charts were unknown, and he probably had no native pilots or reliable maps. Only on this supposition can we account for the length of time employed in sailing from Damma and Roma to and through the Ombai Passage.

30. Purchas V, 200. Cavendish passed through this strait in March, 1588.

31. Also called Sumba Island.

32. W. E., 159.

33. Hakluyt, XI, 132, in his 1600 version of the "Famous Voyage" gives the names of these *rajahs* which were not mentioned in the original account of 1589. The names are spelled differently from those in the W. E. Hakluyt also added in 1600 a short vocabulary of the Java language at the end of the account of the voyage.

34. This account is largely taken from the "Famous Voyage." The statement that the natives were tall is quite incorrect, as the Javanese on the contrary are of notoriously small stature. This statement was omitted in the W. E., which confines itself to giving an account of the *rajahs*.

35. See page 284 for full account, which was also omitted in the W. E.

36. Nuttall, 33. This statement was not copied by Herrera.

37. See page 285.

38. John Drake in Nuttall, 33. His reference to one having died was to account for the total of sixty which he had said they numbered at Ternate.

39. W. E., 162, contains a statement that July 15 they sighted the coast at the Rio de Sesto, where they saw some Negroes out fishing but did not care to land. In view of the great shortage of water on the ship this seems difficult to believe.

40. There is no certainty of the exact day in spite of the explicit statement in the W. E., 162. Drake's trumpeter, Brewer, one of Hatton's men, reached London by September 29, as Mendoza wrote the King that day advising him of Drake's arrival. The letter is lost but this information is obtained from the King's answer of November 14 (Sp. Cal. III, No. 53) and another letter of Mendoza's of October 16 (No. 44). On the Hondius broadside, in the caption, Drake is said to have arrived September 27, and on the small portrait of Drake in the Dutch text, the day is given as the 4th of the Kalends of October, that is, September 28.

41. I have not found just when the *Golden Hind* went up to London, but it must have been in November, but hardly by the third.

42. A. G. I., 2-5-2/21.

43. Pages 407-410.

44. Winter was well received by the Queen, his troubles came from the Portuguese Envoy.

45. To suppose, however, that Drake, who is said to have left Sierra Leone only July 24, actually stopped on the coast of France before July 29 would make it necessary to assume that all the dates given from the time of passing the Cape of Good Hope had been falsified by being advanced at least a month, which seems altogether unlikely, although the extreme brevity of all the accounts of the voyage after leaving Java creates a slight suspicion that something may have been concealed.

CHAPTER XI

1. Sp. Cal., Vol. II, No. 483. Mendoza was a member of one of the leading Spanish families and had served in the army in Italy and the Netherlands with great credit as a captain of light horse.

2. *Ibid.*, Nos. 507 and 516. These two letters are improperly indexed, being entered under 1578, whereas they were actually written in 1579. A copy of part of one of them in 2-5-2/21 in the A. G. I. is correctly dated—1579.

3. *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Tomo XCIV, 458 et seq.* Part of these memoranda or notes, written by Antonio de Padilla, will be found translated in Nuttall, 401-407.

4. Sp. Cal., Vol. II, No. 596.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 599.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 467.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 604.

8. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 53.

9. John Drake in Nuttall, 54.

10. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 44.

11. *Ibid.*, No. 47.

12. The chief reason was that it was contrary to the laws; besides, as it was being conveyed in a clandestine manner, no evidence could be produced that it had even been put on board the ships.

13. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 47.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 49. The Irish affair was the Papal expedition to Ireland, which Elizabeth always asserted was Philip's.

15. Appendix III. S. P. Spain I, fol. 57, endorsed in pencil, October 29, 1580. There is another copy of this with a few differences in spelling in the same volume, fol. 57a, endorsed "Mr. Beale's hand."

16. In his answer to Beale.

17. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 49.

18. S. P. Dom. Eliz., 144, No. 17 (2). A facsimile was reproduced by Mrs. Nuttall, 422. It seems to have been signed before November 8, as Edmund Tremayne wrote Walsingham that day that he had received a request from Drake to have him put certain interrogatories to his men in Plymouth, which he had done and was enclosing the answers.

19. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 59.

20. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 143, No. 30. Printed in Nuttall, 429.

21. *Ibid.*, Vol. 144, No. 17 (1). Extracts in Corbett, Vol. I, 408. Facsimile of the document in Nuttall, 428, signed Drake, Martyn and Harris.

22. Nuttall, 429, in foot-note, from S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 144, No. 17.

23. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 60.

24. Murdin's *Burghley State Papers,* quoted in Corbett, Vol. I, 409.

25. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 53.

26. An English translation is attached to the *Abridgement of the relation,* Lansdowne MSS, Vol. 30, No. 10, and is printed in Nuttall, 418. This power disposes of all the reflections cast on Zubiaure, who, whatever his own motives may have been, was a duly authorized agent to present the Spanish claims, and was empowered to compromise and receive any sums recovered.

27. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 159.

28. *Ibid.*, No. 60.

29. Usually said to have been at Deptford where it seems the ship was actually put on shore and a shed built over it.

30. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 77, April 4. In a letter written April 11, No. 81, Mendoza wrote that while the Queen was entering the ship her purple and gold garter slipped down and was trailing, whereupon Marchaumont picked it up. The Queen asked him for it, promising to give it back to him when she reached home, so he returned it and she put it on before him.

31. John Stow. *Annales,* 1631 edition, reprinted below, page 306. His statement seems to have been the source from which many writers have drawn their opinions about Drake's influence in naval matters. Stow himself was probably not the author of the statement, but Howes, who wrote the continuation of the *Annales,* first published in 1615.

32. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, Nos. 105 and 110. I cannot find any record of an earlier one although there is a possibility that he had had one in November, 1580.

33. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, Nos. 223 and 224.

34. *Ibid.*, No. 238.

35. *Ibid.*, No. 264.

36. Vol. XXX, No. 10. Also in the Ashmole MSS, 830, 19 fol. 732, from which it was printed in Nuttall, 414 *et seq.*

37. Printed as Appendix IV, having been omitted by Mrs. Nuttall.

38. *Annales, The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth,* London, 1625 (Darcie's translation), 428. Reprinted hereafter, page 317, *et seq.*

39. In reality Philip had little to do with the expedition. In the British Museum Add. MSS, 28,420, are some original papers relating to the organization of the expedition. November 8, 1579, the King of Spain detailed the assistance that he would give in a memorandum to the Papal *nuncio* in Madrid. The document is translated in Sp. Cal., Vol. II, No. 666. Philip promised 50,000 ducats, two ships of three hundred tons each, a little food and some arms. As the document is found in the British archives, it is possible that the Queen may have had possession of it at the time Mendoza was negotiating with her, but there is no certainty of this.

40. *Annales,* see page 323.

41. *Historia General del Mundo, Segunda Parte,* 388.

42. Murdin's *Burghley State Papers,* 539. Quoted by Corbett, Vol. I, 409. This account, cited in note 24, dated December 26, 1585, is hardly convincing evidence that this was all the Drake silver entered at the Tower.

43. *The Merchants Map of Commerce*, 1671 edition, 59. The reference is interesting. Referring to Drake's voyage, he says, "which voyage finished by him in 2 years ½, as the relation of Diego Nunio his Pilot testifieth, made profit to himself and Merchants of London his partners and fellow adventurers, according to an account made up at his return, all charges paid and discharged, which I have seen subscribed under his own hand, 47 L. for one pound; so that he who adventur'd with him in this voyage 100 L. had 4700 L. for the same:"

44. This estimate of the cost of Drake's expedition is based on the detailed figures of the cost of outfitting the *Ughtred* of 400 tons and the *Edward Bonaventure* of 250 tons for the Fenton expedition of 1582. The total was 9,473 pounds, 16 shillings and 6 pence, equal to 14 pounds, 10 shillings per ton. As Drake's five ships totalled about 275 tons, the cost of equipping his expedition at the above rate must have been approximately 4,000 pounds.

45. See page 323. If Zubiaure received and turned over any money, he no doubt remitted it to the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands or to the agents of the *Consulado* in Antwerp. This was probably what gave rise to Camden's remark previously quoted, that it was used to pay King Philip's soldiers. I think it doubtful, however, that Zubiaure ever received any of the money, as, if such were the case, it could only have been after May 15, 1582, and after that he seems to have been in prison for one reason or another a great part of the time. On April 1 of that year, Mendoza wrote that in consequence of the failure of a correspondent of his in Seville, Zubiaure had gone to Gravelines, but the English merchants went to the Council and asked for a passport and safe conduct for him. These having been given, he returned, and while entering Mendoza's house at one o'clock in the morning, had been arrested on a charge of having been implicated in the plot to assassinate the Prince of Orange. Corbett, Vol. I, 321, cites some documents that seem to indicate that John Doughty was in communication with Zubiaure, but the matter is obscure and the dates uncertain. There is a note by the editor on page 325 of Vol. III of the Sp. Cal. that Zubiaure was a prisoner in London for a long time for debt, but he certainly must have been released before June 7, 1585, as on that day Mendoza wrote that he had again been arrested in London by order of the Queen on account of some letters of his which had been intercepted. At that time, Mendoza was using him as a spy. Perhaps some day we may get some light on the final outcome of the negotiations for the settlement of the Spanish claims from the local archives in Seville.

46. In the *Abridgement*. A copy of the register of Anton's ship, preserved in the archives in Seville in *legajo* 2-5-2/21 shows that there was on board the *Cacafuego* 359,887 pesos, in which, however, was included 35,000 pesos which was entered in a supplementary register. According to the document this last sum had been sent by various merchants in Lima for the purpose of paying freights and duties in Nombre de Dios. At the end of this register there is an addition of 14,000 pesos in gold captured in Bravo's ship. Of the above total, 106,507 pesos belonged to the King. There are 120 entries altogether, although some of the different parcels belonged to the same individuals, but it is safe to say that there were over fifty people interested in the silver, either as owners or consignees. No statement is made as to how much was silver and how much was gold, except that what was taken from Bravo's ship was said to be gold. In addition to the above, there were the thirty-three bars of silver taken at Arica, the gold taken at Valparaiso, and the few thousand pesos taken from the Spaniard at Tarapacá, probable not over 50,000 pesos, all told, in value. This is not far from the total of 447,000 pesos of Sarmiento. By *pesos ensayados*, he no doubt meant the value of the silver before it was coined. Silver that was assayed and marked, as these bars no doubt were, had a lesser value in bullion than it did in coin. Acosta, *op. cit.*, places the value of a *peso ensayado* as 13¼ reales, or 450 *maravedís*, and therefore the same as the *peso de oro* or *peso de minas*.

47. The value of gold and silver was then usually expressed in *pesos de oro*, a money of account equivalent to 450 *maravedís*.

SPANISH MONEY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In 1497, Ferdinand and Isabella reformed the monetary system of Spain, and the one then established continued in force during the ensuing century and indeed in some respects up to the time of the change to the metric system in the nineteenth century. The real basis of this system was the real of silver, of which sixty-seven were to be coined from a mark of silver 930.55 fine. (*Brave Reseña Historico-Critica de la Moneda Española*, 28.) The Spanish mark was supposed to be the same as the troy mark and is generally so stated to have been by the early Spanish writers. In reality, however, it was somewhat lighter, at least the one in general use. The French writers state that the French troy mark was equal to 1.067 Spanish marks, (*Traité Des Monnoies*, Abot de Bazinghen, Paris, 1764. Vol. II, 494, where it is stated that 126.5 grains French are equivalent to 135 Spanish.) and Lewes Roberts noted a somewhat larger difference. (*The Merchant's Map of Commerce*. Second edition, 1671, 19. This work was first published in 1638 but with a few

exceptions the edition of 1671 is the same.) According to this system, one ounce of fine silver was worth nine reales and an ounce of silver 930.55 fine was worth 8⅜ reales, but the mint only paid 8⅛ reales, the quarter of a real being absorbed for expenses.

One of these reales was fixed at a value of thirty-four maravedís. The maravedí was a very old Spanish coin, originally of silver but later had become part silver and largely copper. No maravedís were ever coined after 1497, but the maravedí became simply a money of account in which the value of different coins was expressed. Accounts were also kept in these and in the sixteenth century the salaries paid by the Crown were usually expressed in them. The actual coins of silver were reales, and subdivisions or multiples thereof. No change was made in this system until 1642 when eighty-two reales were coined from the mark of silver 930.55 fine, instead of sixty-seven as before.

It must not be forgotten that at that time, and indeed for a long time afterward, silver was the standard of value in all European countries, and therefore fluctuations in the relative value of gold and silver to each other were expressed by changing the value of gold coins expressed in terms of silver. At the time of the reform in 1497, the value of gold coins was fixed in maravedís. The principal and best known one then in circulation was the ducat which was fixed in the proclamation at 375 maravedis or practically eleven reales. This had been coined at the rate of 65 1-3 to the mark of gold 989.6 fine. No ducats were thereafter coined but Ferdinand and Isabella put a new coin of the same weight and fineness which they called the excelente de Granada. Although the old ducats continued to circulate, from that time on the ducat became simply a money of account equivalent to 375 maravedís, and in this form it continued to exist for a long time. Previous to 1497 there had been coined the castellano, or, as sometimes called, the medio excelente. Fifty of these had been cut from the mark of gold of the same fineness as the ducat. Under the new system of valuation, this castellano would have been worth 489¾ maravedis, but they were fixed in the proclamation of 1497 at 485 maravedís, and this also became in time a money of account, probably chiefly used for expressing values of gold bullion. The peso de minas or the peso de oro was another money of account in the Indies, valued at 450 maravedís.

During the time of Elizabeth, sixty-two shillings were cut from a troy pound of silver 925 fine or 41 1-3 from the mark of eight ounces. Assuming that the troy mark was seven per cent heavier than the Spanish mark and the fineness of silver very nearly the same, 41 1-3 shillings would have been equal to sixty-seven plus seven per cent, or 71.69 reales. One shilling, therefore, equaled 1.73 reales and the real would have been worth a little over 6 9-10 pence. Actually, however, at that time the real was worth somewhat less. In May, 1582, exchange on Seville in London was seventy pence per Spanish ducat of 375 maravedís. (S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 153, fol. 81.) Resolving this back into reales at thirty-four maravedís each, we find that the real was worth nearly 6½ pence or the piece of eight, as the peso was called in England, would have been worth about four shillings, three pence. In 1595 at the mint in London, 108 reales weighed one troy pound, (Bazinghen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 638, quoting from Gerard Malynes, who wrote in 1615) that is, the equivalent of sixty-two shillings coined silver or one shilling equaled 1.74 reales, very close to the theoretical value above arrived at. This was only the par of exchange but usually the reales were not worth as much as bullion. Pieces of eight reales or pesos were usually worth about four shillings, fourpence or four shillings, sixpence. In 1651 the following results were obtained in the Tower of London on assays of Spanish coin:

Mexican pesos, 420 grains 925 fine, bullion value 52½ pence, actual 54½
Seville pesos, 420 grains 930 fine, bullion value 52¾ pence, actual 54½

What Roberts meant by "actual value" was the actual par. (*Op. cit.*, 18.) Silver in bullion or foreign coins was worth less in the market than English coined silver. The actual par of exchange is the only proper basis to use in comparing one money with another, and it is therefore obvious that during the reign of Elizabeth and later a Mexican peso was actually worth, measured in English coined silver, at least fifty-five pence and probably fifty-seven or fifty-eight, but to be on the safe side I will consider it as fifty-five pence. From this basis, the value of the ducat can be calculated at 75⅝ pence. As near as I can discover from a few references only, the ducat in London in exchange was usually considered to be worth seventy-two pence, (Roberts, *op. cit.*, 327, for several examples) undoubtedly less than its actual worth, as exchange was always against Spain on account of the continual large exportations of bullion and foreign money.

MONEY OF ACCOUNT

Castellano	485 maravedís
Peso de minas, Peso de oro, Peso ensayado	450 maravedís
Ducat	375 maravedís

When we come to consider the value of the actual gold coins, we find increased difficulty owing to the constant fluctuation in the market in the value of gold. In 1537, Charles V put out a new gold coin called the escudo, of which sixty-eight were to be cut from a mark of gold 916.66 fine. He assigned to these a value of 350 maravedís.

In 1556, Philip II, in face of the continued increase in the value of gold, raised the value of the gold coins as follows:

Escudo, from 350 to 400 maravedís.
Ducat, from 375 to 429 maravedís.
Castellano, from 485 to 544 maravedís.

The ducats and the castellanos were old coins as Philip only coined escudos. After this, of course, the ducat and the castellano, as coins, became separated from their continued use as money of account. In this latter capacity they continued to maintain their former values.

48. P. Joseph de Acosta in Vol. I, 224 of his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies,* the English translation of 1880, says that emeralds had lost their estimation both in the Indies and Spain by reason of the great abundance of them. He says that in 1587 the *flota* on which he returned carried two chests of emeralds of about one hundred pounds weight each.

49. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 65.

50. Eliott-Drake, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, 396.

51. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 65.

52. *Ibid.,* No. 60.

53. *Ibid.,* No. 65.

54. *Ibid.,* No. 77.

55. Besides the gold and silver, Drake certainly brought back jewels of some value. Mendoza's estimate that the total value of the plunder was one and a half million (that is, ducats) or about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, may not have been far from the truth. The prodigality of Drake and the care taken to conceal the amount all point to the fact that the booty was enormous. Corbett's calculations in article 5 on page 410 are entirely erroneous. The use of a calculating machine by him would, however, have taken away the opportunity to exercise his nimble wit in his jibe at the United States about the Alabama claim. What any of these sums might represent today is a matter of pure speculation. Before the war it was roughly considered that a certain selected quantity of commodities worth one pound sterling in money in the latter part of the sixteenth century would then have been worth about ten times as much. All in all, Drake's plunder was one of the most colossal of all times, considering the few people engaged in it.

56. The question of Drake's arms is very obscure. Corbett in Appendix G to Vol. I of his work discussed the subject at some length and was unable to reach any very definite conclusion. Among the family heirlooms is a seal inscribed on the neck, "The arms given unto Sir Francis Drake by the Queen's Matie for the voyage round the world: Anno 1580." As the English year did not begin at that time until April 25, the arms must have been granted between April 4, the day Drake was knighted, and that day. There is no evidence that he had any before this, although in the grant it is alleged that he came of a family which had long borne arms.

57. From Eliott-Drake, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, 72, cited from a law case, Drake vs. Drake, Chancery Proc., 1604. There may be some question about the fifteen shillings being the profit; the payment may only have been what the adventurers received when the proceeds were divided.

58. The capture of this ship, called the *San Phelippe,* occurred June 9, 1587. Eliott-Drake, Vol. I, 76, says of the 108,149 pounds sterling, the total value of the prize, the Queen received 45,000 pounds.

59. Herrera, *Historia del Mundo, Tercera Parte,* 598, gives the cause of his death, which I have not seen elsewhere. He says that on the last attempt to take Panama by way of Chagres, many were taken sick and died because they had neglected to purify the river water they drank, slept in the fields at night and ate many oranges and other fruits. Drake, he said, died of the same disease, apparently some intestinal fever of a malarial character, no doubt the one now commonly known as Chagres fever.

60. Reproduced in Lady Eliott-Drake's book, Vol. I, 32. It certainly bears some likeness to Drake as we might imagine him to have been when about thirty years of age.

61. Zuccaro is supposed to have reached England in 1584 and remained there four or five years. Lady Eliott-Drake supposes the portrait to have been painted while Drake was living at Herbor, consequently, after November, 1588. (Vol. I, 105).

DRAKE PORTRAITS

62. The subject of Drake's portraits is an interesting one, which could only be adequately treated after a long study. Several of these exist which were probably painted or engraved during his

lifetime. Besides the paintings referred to in the text, there is also said to be one by Zundt in the British Museum, but I have not been able to locate it there. About a century ago there appeared a portrait engraved by J. Cochran, alleged to have been taken from an original painting in the collection of the Marquis of Lothian. This bears some slight resemblance to Drake, but it may be doubted if the original had been painted in his lifetime.

None of the early engraved portraits which I have seen were taken from any of the painted portraits previously described, nor have I been able to find one which was unquestionably engraved before his death, although undoubtedly some must have been. There is a very interesting note in a letter of Bernardino de Mendoza to the King, dated September 26, 1586. He says, "The French Ambassador has sent an account of Drake's voyage in Latin, which I enclose herewith [that is, the 1585 voyage]. The account was written specially, and is accompanied by a portrait of Drake sent to Secretary Villeroy, who values it very highly, and copies have been ordered to be made from it for presentation to Joyeuse, Epernon and other favorites of the King." Whether the portrait was a painted or an engraved one was not stated. There exists an engraving executed by Tho. de Leu taken from a portrait of Drake painted by Jo. Rabel. It is not known that Rabel was ever in England, nor is there anything to show when the portrait was painted except that Drake's age is given on the border as forty-three. It is sometimes said that it is the original from which the inset on the Hondius broadside was made, but this is not likely. The portrait or the engraving, probably the former, was dedicated to Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador at the French Court during the latter part of the reign of Henry III who died in 1589. It is just possible that Rabel was appointed to paint the copies referred to by Mendoza. The engraving is so much like the one attributed to Hondius described below, that there can be no doubt but that it was made from this or an original painting from which this was copied. There is in the British Museum copy of the account of Drake's 1585 voyage, printed in Latin at Leyden in 1588, a beautiful engraving by Paulis de la Houue, reproduced as the Frontispiece. It is similar to the one just described, an indication that both had been made from the same original.

The inset in the text on the Hondius broadside is generally supposed to have been engraved in 1595 by Judocus Hondius, who, at the same time, is also supposed to have made the large engraving reproduced in this volume, of which only a few copies are known to exist. The two have considerable resemblance to each other, but the inset is a much more finished work of art than the large engraving. I have pointed out elsewhere, in the discussion of the Hondius broadside, the probability that the inset was not made by the engraver of the map, nor is it likely that they were made at the same time. It is plain that in the large engraving we have preserved the original of many portraits of him executed later. What the original authority is for attributing it to Hondius I have never been able to discover. It is uncertain whether it is an original work or was copied from a painting. The Latin inscription at the top is very curious in that Drake's name appears there as *"Draeck,"* the Dutch way of spelling his name, instead of *"Dracus,"* the Latin way of doing so. This certainly points to a Dutch origin for the work. The small map of part of the world in the upper left hand corner is a very strange feature, as America is shown as depicted on the maps in the first half of the sixteenth century. Instead of having been engraved in 1595 it is much more probable that it was done in 1586 or earlier, and as Hondius was in London at that time, the tradition that he was the engraver of it may be true. It is likely that the story originated with George Vertue, an engraver of the middle of the eighteenth century, who owned the original plate and reworked it. Most of the copies now in circulation are from this latter plate.

The first dated engraving appeared in Crispin van der Passe's *Effigies Regum et Heroum*, 1598. Sidney Colvin in his *Early Engravers and Engraving in England*, London, 1905, asserts that this was copied from the inset on the Hondius broadside, and in fact there is some indication that such was the case, although the face is not the same, the expression being entirely different. On the title page to the eighth part of Theodore de Bry's work, printed in 1599, there is a small inset portrait of Drake, which is very obviously copied from the one on the Hondius broadside or from the original from which this was made.

George Barrow, in his *Life of Drake*, published in 1843, inserted a vignette from a portrait of Drake said to have been painted by N. Hilliard, formerly at Strawberry Hill, but at that time in the possession of the Earl of Derby. On this his age is given as forty-two and the year as 1581.

All of these engraved portraits are of great rarity, except the one in Bry and that in Barrow's book, and therefore very few modern reproductions have been made from them. Those most in use are taken from the one in Henry Holland's *Herowlogia*, issued in 1620 and that by Robert Vaughan which first appeared in *Sir Francis Drake Revived* in 1626 and then in the *World Encompassed* in 1628. It is not easy to say from which of the earlier portraits these were taken. The latter has the arms in the upper right hand corner and the inscription at the bottom in Latin, but in some copies of the *World Encompassed* a variation of this occurs in which the portrait is reversed, the arms

appearing in the upper left hand corner, the inscription at the bottom being in English. The authorities differ as to which properly belongs to the 1628 edition. I have seen some correspondence from Mr. Henry Stevens in the John Carter Brown Library, in which he expressed different opinions at different times. Dr. George Watson Cole did not discuss the matter in the Church catalogue. Mr. George Parker Winship has suggested to me that some copies were issued with one and some with the other to suit the wishes of the intending purchaser, and this seems to be the proper solution of a very puzzling question.

It is very likely that the small portraits which appear on the French Drake map and the Dutch Drake map, which are obviously from the same source, were taken either from the one in the *World Encompassed* with the English inscription or from the original from which that was made.

In 1813 Joyce Gold published an engraved portrait of Drake as "Franciscus Draec, AE. 52." I do not know from what original this was taken but it bears more resemblance to the Janssens and Zuccaro portraits than to any other.

Colvin, 111, states that in 1590, François Brunel engraved a portrait of Drake for Henry IV, but I do not know where a copy is to be found.

63. *Historia General del Mundo, Tercera Parte,* 598.

64. London, 1582.

65. Although written in 1584, the work was never printed until 1877, when it appeared as Vol. II of the *Documentary History of the State of Maine.* It is a monument to Hakluyt's learning.

66. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 444.

67. The effect of Drake's enterprises and other similar ones was to nearly destroy the trade between England and Spain, at that time the most profitable one the English merchants possessed.

68. *Naval Tracts,* 212.

69. *Ibid.,* 232. In this chapter Monson remarks that neither Drake, John Hawkins nor Frobisher left any legitimate issue to enjoy their adventurous labors and adds that if two of them were then alive they would not know where to find the estates they left behind them.

CHAPTER XII

A wealth of documents is to be found in the Record Office in London and in the British Museum regarding this expedition, from which the conclusion can be drawn that the only object the adventurers had in view was to send it to the Moluccas in order to carry out the arrangement Drake had made with the Sultan of Ternate. It is true that in Mendoza's correspondence, which in a way affords a running commentary on the proceedings, there occurs an interesting statement about an ulterior object—to plunder Spanish ships. The accounts of the expedition which have survived are very reticent regarding this alleged purpose, but there is sufficient evidence in Madox' account to justify the conclusion that some of the leaders had in view just such a plan. The limits of this book do not permit as full a presentation of the documents concerning the expedition as their interest warrants. I regret, therefore, that space will not permit the printing of Madox' statement, which is far more interesting than that of Luke Ward.

In the extracts from the accounts written by Juan Perez and Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra, printed heretofore, considerable evidence will be found that it was the intention to stop on the coast of Peru en route to the Moluccas with the expectation of picking up some Spanish prizes. Both men, apparently, talked to John Drake or possibly William Hawkins, so after all, this may have simply been the personal opinion or personal desires of these men, and proves nothing about the purpose of the expedition. No intimation was given by either that there was any object of proceeding to the Northwest coast of America or to search for the Northwest Passage. On the contrary, the silence on these matters and the evident intention of proceeding to the Moluccas amply bear out the documents in the Record Office that trade was the only purpose of the expedition.

Previous mention has been made of Mrs. Nuttall's theory that the object of the expedition was to found a settlement in New Albion, a theory which was em-

braced by Professor Charles E. Chapman in his *History of California,* published in 1921. Professor Chapman could hardly have examined the original documents when he states that the expedition "was fitted out with the elements necessary to the founding of a colony and was ordered to find a northern route to New Albion." (111.) That his idea was that the colony to be founded was to be in New Albion can be seen by the quotation from Mrs. Nuttall's book which immediately follows the above. A great deal of loose writing has been indulged in on this subject, as well as about a pretended search by the English for the western entrance to the Northwest Passage. No document so far found discloses any such purpose nor has any evidence been produced that any English expedition ever made any such search except the few references made to Drake's expedition which have been considered in Chapter I, where their probable true meaning has been explained.

1. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 44.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 61. This probably was the same enterprise as the one Fenton afterward headed. No particular secrecy seems to have been practiced about it, and it may be noted that the expedition was to go by the Cape of Good Hope, no doubt the real purpose and not a pretence.

3. Chartered in 1566 as a renewal of that of the old company of "Merchant Adventurers" of Sebastian Cabot, commonly known as the Muscovy Company. The charter is in Hakluyt, Vol. III, 83 *et seq.*

4. Collinson, *The Three Frobisher Voyages*, 111, where the project is printed in full from a document in the S. P. Dom. Eliz., CX, No. 21. The territory to be alloted to the company was that northwest of England.

5. Introduction, page 4.

6. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 144, No. 44. The idea of a "house of contratacon" was derived from the Spanish *Casa de Contratacion* at Seville. Mrs. Nuttall, who printed this document on page 430, obviously did so as support to her theory that Drake contemplated planting a colony in New Albion, in spite of the fact that in the charter it is plainly stated that the sphere of the operations was to be beyond the Equinoctial. In her Introduction, xxxviii, she says: "How great Drake estimated the riches to be [that is, in Nova Albion] may be surmised by the record that 'there is no part of earth here to bee taken up, wherein there is not some special likelihood of gold or silver.'" Later, on the same page, is an implication that this gold and silver was the same as that referred to in the proposed charter. The fact is, of course, that there was no gold or silver near the coast which could by any possibility have been seen by Drake. The statement she quoted from the "Famous Voyage" is pure invention. The only gold ever found on the coast was in what was known in 1850 and 1851 as Gold Bluffs, just below the Klamath River. In the beach sand there were some fine specks of gold intermingled with some heavy black sand, and some little gold was obtained at times in spots where there had been a certain concentration by the action of the tide. Most of it is still there, however. There is absolutely nothing in the narrative to indicate that Drake anchored off this beach, and we can be positive that if he had actually discovered any gold, the accounts would have been full of it.

7. S. P. Dom. Eliz., CXLIV, dated December 16, 1580.

8. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 77.

9. Frobisher's letter to Leicester, October 1, 1581. Otho MSS in the B. M., E8, fol. 86.

10. In the Otho MSS, E8, fol. 84-85, is a mutilated copy of the original underwriters' agreement, and on folios 104-106 some other very interesting memoranda about the subscribers expected and actual.

11. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 150, fol. 96. This document gives a complete account of the outfit for the expedition, its cost item by item.

12. The Muscovy Company is not included in the list of subscribers as that list only contains the names of those who contributed to the purchase of the ships and of the armament and supplies. It seems therefore that the subscription of the Company's merchants was in goods for barter. Mendoza, October 20, 1581, wrote that the idea was to take 3,000 pounds' worth of merchandise. April 29, 1582, he said they took 4,000 or 5,000 pounds' worth. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, Nos. 150 and 248.

13. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 108.

14. The other islands in the group had submitted to Philip. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 111.

15. This project was pursued with some vigor, as Terceira in the hands of Don Antonio would have been of very great aid to England as a supply place for food and water and a fine point of

vantage from which to attack the Spanish fleets. Philip was well aware of this and made continual efforts to reduce the island, but Don Antonio's adherents, with English and French aid, held out until the Marques de Santa Cruz captured it in August, 1583.

16. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 132.

17. S. P. Dom. Eliz., Vol. 148, fol. 47. Endorsed 22,000 L. June, 1581. Printed as Appendix V.

18. Col. Cal., from E. I., Vol. 1, No. 7, 7.1.

19. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 225. In a letter of March 1, 1582. Mendoza said he was secretly inciting the quarrel, in hopes of delaying the expedition.

20. Collinson, *op. cit.*, 306.

21. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, Nos. 254 and 258. These interesting notices are about the only references to this expedition.

22. Otho MSS, E8, folios 84-85 [Col. Cal., No. 184]. This is apparently the original draft of the instructions as prepared by the adventurers. A complete and final list is found in the B. M., Otho MSS, E8, fol. 87-92, dated February 11, 1582, from which the extracts are quoted. [See Col. Cal., East Indies, 1573-1616, No. 187.]

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 127. Printed as Appendix VI.

24. *Ibid.*, a partial one only. Fenton's instructions were first printed by Hakluyt in 1589, Vol. XI, 163 *et seq.*, from which they are reprinted as Appendix VII.

25. See Appendix VII. It seems to me the paragraph would be clearer if a period were placed after "Malucos," as this was evidently where the division occurred in that given to Frobisher.

26. Captain Carleill, who was Walsingham's son-in-law, about this time suffered an opportune attack of the ague and could not go, Captain Nicholas Parker being appointed in his place.

27. Juan Perez. See page 399.

28. E8, fol. 97.

29. E8, fol. 60.

30. Drake had originally intended to put Hawkins in charge of the *Francis*.

31. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 248.

32. Fray Juan de Rivadeneyra. See an extract from his letter printed hereafter.

33. Printed as Appendix VIII. Some changes were made before sailing, as will be seen by Richard Madox' account, but less men were taken.

34. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 211, letter of February 9. Corbett noticed this letter and asserted that the carpenters and bricklayers went along. He, however, did not attribute their presence to an intention to form a colony in New Albion, but rather for the establishment of factories in the Moluccas. Vol. I, 335.

35. Reprinted in Hakluyt, Vol. XI, 172 *et seq.*, from the original edition of 1589. By reference to the other extant accounts, it seems that Hakluyt must have edited this very considerably, almost every reference to any of the dissensions between the leaders being omitted.

36. In his deposition of 1587. Printed in full in Appendix II in Lady Eliott-Drake's book and heretofore, page 402. It will be noted in this account that Drake said that after leaving Terceira, they continued their voyage towards the Cape of Good Hope, but at the Equator, found contrary winds and were obliged to return to Sierra Leone. He even says that they made another effort, but being unable to continue their voyage in that direction, crossed over to Brazil, where they took in water and wood for the purpose of seeking the Cape of Good Hope. All this seems to afford positive evidence that Fenton's instructions to proceed that way to the Moluccas were genuine and not pretended.

37. B. M., Otho MSS, E8. It was printed from this mutilated copy by Clements R. Markham in 1878 for the Hakluyt Society in *The Hawkins' Voyages*. The editor, in the Introduction, xliii, states that the expedition was one nominally to discover the Northwest Passage. Where he got this idea I cannot imagine, as explicit statements were made by Lord Burghley and others that the expedition had no object whatever of discovery. Markham also says: "He [Fenton] was to discover the northwest passage by going around the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies and enriching himself and his employers by trade and plunder." He says that Fenton wanted to abandon the voyage at a very early period and that most of the officers protested against it. Even Hawkins himself does not sustain this statement, still less, Madox or Luke Ward.

38. In the B. M., Otho MSS, E8, 163-164, is a letter, written June 20, 1583, after the return, by Peter Jefferie, giving a short account of the expedition. In a mutilated place, he speaks of a decision to go from the Cape Verde Islands to some island south of the Line, "thear to inhabit." At the Council, December 20, he complained that they had come there without the consent of the merchants, by a forbidden way, and advised going to the Cape of Good Hope. This advice Fenton refused to accept, as they lacked divers necessaries.

39. *Ibid.* Madox' account in three parts in the B. M., Otho MSS, E8, and Titus MSS, B8, fol.

171-221. In the first part, Otho MSS, E8, will be found the origin of most of the dissensions on board the ships. Two parties had already arrayed themselves against each other, one wishing to go to Brazil under any pretext, and the other desiring to avoid it.

40. Related in Richard Madox' narrative.

41. In Luke Ward's account. Juan Perez also gave an account of the capture.

42. See page 398.

43. The above is from Ward's account.

44. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 248.

45. Mendoza, writing April 20, 1582, said: "From what I have heard lately from persons who have been in communication with Drake and others, and have seen the chart of the voyage, I infer that their course is to be different from that which they originally intended, which was to go to the Cape of Good Hope and thence start for the Moluccas. The intention is now to run down the coast of Brazil to Port St. Julian and the Straits of Magellan, which Drake discovered not to be a strait at all. . . ." Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 248.

46. The foregoing account is from the *Hawkins' Voyages.*

47. See Mendoza's letter of April 20 for Drake's statements on the matter. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 248.

48. See his account of John Drake, page 400.

49. See note 36.

50. Sp. Cal., Vol. III, No. 352.

51. I refer to those written by Madox and Hawkins.

52. Sent out by the Earl of Cumberland. The account, printed in Hakluyt, XI, 202-227, was written by John Sarracoll, a merchant, probably the John Saracold who had accompanied Drake and who returned on the *Elizabeth.* An interesting account of this voyage has recently turned up and is now in the Huntington Library. It purports to be written by Thomas Houd, *i. e.*, Thomas Hood no doubt, who was one of the pilots and had been with Drake and Fenton. Houd asserts the expedition was intended for the Indies.

53. The account written by Francis Pretty is printed in Hakluyt, XI, 290-347.

54. The account of John Chidley's expedition, Hakluyt, XI, 381-384, written by W. Magoths. Chidley left England in August, 1589.

55. Cavendish led another expedition to the South Sea in 1591, but this was a failure, as only one ship passed the Strait of Magellan and that one speedily returned to the Atlantic. Cavendish died on the voyage. The account is in Hakluyt, XI, 389-416.

56. Hawkins published his own account in his *Observations* in 1622. He set out in April, 1593, and was captured off the Peruvian coast in June, 1594.

57. Col. Cal., E. I., No. 76. In this it is asserted that Drake brought back a ring for the Queen from Babù, and some cloves.

58. I cannot find anything about this expedition; it must have been either that of the Earl of Cumberland or of Cavendish.

59. This expedition set out in April, 1591. The account, written by Edmund Barker, is in Hakluyt, VI, 387-407.

60. The account of the setting out of the voyage, Purchas, II, 288-297. Wood had been with Chidley's expedition. Robert Dudley organized this expedition, which carried two merchants, Richard Allot and Thomas Bromefield, with a curious letter from the Queen to the Emperor of China. No account of what occurred on the voyage has ever been printed, but Wood certainly returned.

61. Lancaster left England in February, 1601 (1600 Old Style), and reached Java by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The account is in Purchas, II, 392-437. In the document it is said that for some years previously, navigation to these parts had been intermitted.

62. In a petition presented by the East India Company in November, 1612, is a statement that Cavendish made a treaty with the Rajah in Java for all the pepper there. This document also refers to Drake's contact with Babù for the clove trade. On these assurances, that is, those of Drake and Cavendish, merchants sent out Lancaster and Raymond. (East Indies, Vol. I, No. 34—Col. Cal., No. 591).

63. Purchas, II, 432.

64. Middleton's voyage, Purchas, V, 188-193; the letter is printed on page 191. When Ternate was captured by the Spaniards in 1606, a copy of this letter was found in the palace, and from this, evidently, it was printed in Madrid in Spanish, as a Spanish version was recently purchased by the John Carter Brown Library.

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